00031563

00031563

Digitized with financial assistance from

H T Parekh
FOUNDATION

An Initiative by
HDFC
WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 28 December, 2018

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

AN OUTLINE OF BRITISH HISTORY. *Crown 8vo. One Vol. 4s. 6d.*, or in Two Parts: Part I., Earliest Times to 1763. *2s. 6d.*
Part II., 1760-1910. *2s.*

Contents:—Political Outline to 1558—The Anglo-Saxon System—Feudalism—Growth of Towns—Rural Population—Industry and Commerce under the Tudors—The Great Transition—Mediæval English Literature—Political Outlines, 1558-1760—Imperial Expansion—Ireland—Scotland—Capital and Commerce—Town and Country and the Poor Law—National Finance—The Elizabethan Age—The Age of Puritanism—The Era of Rationalism—Political Outlines, 1760-1910—Ireland—Colonial Expansion—India—The Industrial Revolution—Laissez Faire State Intervention—Combination—Literature under George III. and George IV.—The Victorian Era.

'It is needless to say that Mr. Innes has set before himself a very difficult task, but he has done it well. The book is well arranged, clear and comprehensive.'—*Morning Post.*

'The treatment is interesting and scholarly throughout.'—*Scotsman.*

'The leading idea has been well conceived and skilfully carried out.'—*Glasgow Herald.*

'Mr. Innes has a rather unusual gift of neat arrangement and lucid expression, and he is able also to take comprehensive and balanced views. The chapter on India is particularly good.'—*Guardian.*

JUNIOR SCHOOL BRITISH HISTORY. *Small Fcap. 8vo. With Maps. 2s. 6d.*

Contents:—Before the Norman Conquest: 1066—The Making of a Nation—National Growth—The Tudor Period—Under the Stuarts—The Georgian Era—From George IV. to George V.

'It is really an interesting and concise history, well adapted for juniors, carried out on the same lines as the author's "Outline of British History." There is good reason for thinking it will be acceptable to junior class-rooms.'—*School Guardian.*

A SKETCH OF GENERAL POLITICAL HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES. *Crown 8vo. With Maps. One Vol., 6s.*, or Two Parts, *3s.* each.

Contents:—Early Peoples and Empires: to 500 B.C.—The Glory of Greece and the Rise of Rome: to 200 B.C.—The Roman Dominion: to 476 A.D.—The Early Middle Ages: to 1080 A.D.—The Later Middle Ages: to 1470 A.D.—The Age of Hapsburg Ascendency: to 1660 A.D.—The Bourbon Age: to 1789 A.D.—The European Convulsion: to 1815 A.D.—The Modern Nations.

'As a whole it presents a well-constructed picture of the vast structure of political history as it has developed out of the primitive beginnings of pre-historic times down to the highly complex societies of to-day.'—*Glasgow Herald.*

'Such a book was much needed and will be warmly welcomed.'—*Guardian.*

ENGLAND'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT: A Historical Survey of Commerce and Industry. *Crown 8vo. 5s.* net.

'His consistent aim has been to interest the ordinary reader, and his success is beyond question.'—*Aberdeen Daily Journal.*

'This book comes very pat. Mr. Innes shows how England, thanks to the fact that she alone had iron and coal fields next door to one another, and to the sea-power that enabled her to import all other raw material unmolested, became at the end of the eighteenth century an industrial community instead of an agricultural one.'—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

'"A preliminary sketch-map which may assist the explorer," is Mr. Innes' description of his book, and it is happily worded. . . . We warmly recommend Mr. Innes' manual.'
Spectator.

LONDON: RIVINGTONS

A HISTORY OF
ENGLAND AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

In Four Volumes. Crown 8vo. 6s. net each.

Vol. I. Before the English came, to 1485.
Vol. II. 1485-1688.
Vol. III. 1689-1802.
Vol. IV. 1802-1914.

Also a Library Edition, Demy 8vo,
10s. 6d. net each volume.

LONDON: RIVINGTONS

A HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND THE BRITISH EMPIRE

IN FOUR VOLUMES

BY

ARTHUR D. INNES

SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF ORIEL COLLEGE, OXFORD

AUTHOR OF 'ENGLAND'S INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT'
'A SKETCH OF GENERAL POLITICAL HISTORY FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES'
'AN OUTLINE OF BRITISH HISTORY,' 'ENGLAND UNDER THE TUDORS'
'SCHOOL HISTORY OF ENGLAND'

31563

ac

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC

VOLUME I

TO 1485

RIVINGTONS

34 *KING STREET, COVENT GARDEN*

LONDON

1913

TT. l. 37

God
942
Inn/His
31563
Ref
325-342

COPYRIGHT

PREFACE

MANY are the histories of England, or of the British Empire and the kingdoms out of whose union that Empire grew, 'from the earliest times to the present day.' Latterly, almost every such history for which a single author has been responsible is of a compass compatible with its publication in a single volume. Whenever, during some forty years past, a work on a larger scale has been projected, the principle of co-operative production by scholars who have each made a special study of a particular era or of a particular aspect of the whole subject has displaced the principle of unity in outlook and method. For anything which exceeds the limits of a study or a summary we have learnt to seek always the guidance of a specialist; and no one can pretend to be a specialist on the whole of British history from Gildas to the latest Blue-book. No one man can be expected to combine in his own person the erudition of the respective staffs of Dr. Hunt, the late H. D. Traill, or Professor Oman, in the histories of England issued under their editorship.

The advantages of the principle are obvious: only the specialist can be directly in touch at every point with first-hand authorities. But it also has its drawbacks: it must be accompanied by diversities of outlook, a want of unity in idea, and an inequality of treatment which can only be evaded at the expense of each writer's individuality—a process which would inevitably kill the author's interest in his own work, and with it that of the reader. Hence it

appeared to the publisher and the author of the work, of which this volume is the first instalment, that there is yet room for something, not indeed pretending to displace the work of the specialists, on a larger scale than the compendium; of greater fulness than the single-volume publication permits, but with less amplitude of detail and less exposition of evidence than we expect of the specialist; the work of one hand, of one writer viewing the entire subject as one complete whole; a single history, not a series of monographs.

Our work, then, is intended in the first place to appeal to the general reader who finds, on the one hand, less than he requires in the books written expressly 'for the use of schools,' and, on the other, more detail than he desires, together with more apparatus, in the comprehensive works named above. But in the second place, it ought to be of service to advanced pupils and their teachers—sixth-form pupils and pupils of sixth-form capacity, as well as to university and other students who are taking up history for the purposes of examination, yet find the specialists' work somewhat outside their range. Finally, to those who seek a more intimate knowledge of a special period it is hoped that these volumes will provide an introduction, clear, sufficiently comprehensive, and trustworthy. For the reason that detailed discussion of evidence is for such purposes out of place, the apparatus of references has been discarded.

The whole history here presented is the outcome of many years of continued study, so that it has become impossible for the author to estimate even in this first volume the comparative extent of his debts to the numerous authors, living or dead, whose works have at one time or another come within his ken and have been laid, consciously or unconsciously, under contribution. To speak of Stubbs, Green, and Freeman would be superfluous; they, as con-

cerns mediæval England, laid the foundations on which all their successors have built, even those who have introduced the most marked variations into the design. In the field of mediæval economics, indeed, the author can specify with particular gratitude the works of Dr. Cunningham and of Professor Ashley; of the late Professor Maitland on every subject which he handled and illuminated, and of Professor Oman on Mediæval Warfare. As to Scottish affairs, he has derived much enlightenment from Mr. R. S. Rait, as well as from Professor Hume Brown and the late Andrew Lang. But the list might be extended indefinitely.

The work has been planned to form four volumes. On the hypothesis that for the general reader or student, as a citizen of the Empire, the practical interest is much greater in the later than the early centuries, only one volume has been allotted to the period preceding the accession of Henry VII. To this point the history is practically a history of England, in which the subordination of Ireland and Wales and the development of Scotland play only a minor part. The second volume covers two centuries, and the third and fourth not much more than one century apiece. The British Empire definitely begins with the union of England and Scotland under one Crown and the commencement of colonial dominion and of an Indian establishment. But the whole Tudor period is in one of its aspects a preparation for the union of Great Britain. Scotland and Ireland come so much to the fore in the sixteenth century, when a Welsh dynasty occupied the English throne, that we must already look upon ourselves as studying the history not of England specifically but of the British Empire. Hence the selection for the whole work of the title of *A History of England and the British Empire*. With the accession of William III. Great Britain's European relations enter upon a more complicated phase, which demands a fuller treatment

of affairs external to these islands. Economic problems acquire an ever-increasing importance; the Overseas Empire springs into sudden prominence; the geographical area under our inspection is immensely enlarged; the material to be handled becomes overwhelming in its abundance. All these circumstances combine, in the author's judgment, to justify the view that the last two hundred and twenty-five years are not disproportionately treated in having as much space allotted to them as the whole period which precedes them.

A. D. INNES.

GERRARD'S CROSS, 1913.

SYNOPSIS AND CONTENTS

TO 1485

CHAPTER I. BEFORE THE ENGLISH CAME

		PAGE
	Authorities before Cæsar	1
	Brythons, Goidels, and Iberians	2
	Macedonian coins	3
B.C.		
55.	First landing of Julius Cæsar	3
54.	Second expedition of Julius Cæsar	4
A.D.		
43.	The Claudian conquest; Aulus Plautius; Caractacus	5
59.	Boadicea	6
78-84.	Agricola	6
120.	Hadrian's Wall; later walls	7
208.	Severus in Britain	8
287.	Carausius	8
	Picts and Scots	9
407.	The Roman withdrawal	9
	Roman influence	10, 11
	Disintegration of Britain	12

CHAPTER II. THE EARLY ENGLISH KINGDOM

450-613.	I. THE ENGLISH CONQUEST	
	Authorities: Gildas, Nennius, Bede, the Chronicle	13
	The Lamentations of Gildas	14
	The *Historia Brittonum*	15
429.	The 'Hallelujah Victory'	15
	Coroticus of Strathclyde	16

A.D.		PAGE
449.	The Wessex version; Hengist and Horsa	16
477.	Aelle in Sussex	16
495.	Landing of Cerdic	16
549.	Ida establishes the Northumbrian kingdom	16
	Modern reconstruction of the story	17
560-613.	The advance of the English	18
577.	Ceawlin of Wessex; battle of Deorham	19
588.	Aethelfrith of Northumbria	19
603.	Battle of Dawston	20
613.	Battle of Chester	20
593.	Aethelbert of Kent; Bretwalda	20
	Celtic Christianity	21
597.	The mission of Augustine; Canterbury and Wales	22

613-800. II. THE NORTHUMBRIAN AND MERCIAN SUPREMACIES

617.	Eadwin of Deira becomes supreme	23
	The conversion of Northumbria	24, 25
633.	Penda of Mercia; battle of Heathfield	26
634.	Oswald of Northumbria; battle of Heavenfield; Aidan	27
642.	Oswald slain at Maserfield; Oswin and Oswy	28
651-671.	Oswy's supremacy	29
685.	Ecgfrith; battle of Nechtansmere	29
664.	Adoption of Latin Christianity; the Synod of Whitby	30
669.	Theodore of Tarsus archbishop	31, 32
	Bishop Wilfred	31, 32
700.	Decadence of Northumbria	33, 34
700-728.	Ine of Wessex	35
716-757.	Aethelbald of Mercia	35
786.	Death of Cynewulf of Wessex	35
755-797.	Offa of Mercia	36-39
	Offa's power; his relations with Charlemagne	37
787.	First Danish raid	38

A.D. PAGE
793. Second raid, at Lindisfarne 38
Character of the eighth century . . . 38
Dec. 25, 800. [Charles the Great crowned emperor at Rome]

III. THE ENGLISH

Jutes, Angles, and Saxons 39
The Germans as Tacitus knew them . . 40
The English settlements 41
King, witan, and thegnhood 41
The township 42
The open field system 43
The Britons, and British survivals . . . 44
The English character 45
Bede and others 46

CHAPTER III. FROM ECGBERT TO HAROLD

802-865 I. THE RISE OF WESSEX AND THE DANISH RAIDS 47
802. Ecgbert becomes king of Wessex . . . 47
825. Ecgbert overthrows the Mercian power . . 48
Supremacy of Wessex 49
836. Renewed Danish raids; first battle of Charmouth 49
839-858. Aethelwulf king of Mercia 50
840-851. Danish raids; battle of Aclea . . . 51
855. The Danes winter in Sheppey . . . 52
Features of Aethelwulf's reign . . . 52
858-866. The sons of Aethelwulf; Aethelbald and Aethelbert, and Aethelred 53
866. Aethelred's accession; the great Danish invasion 53

866-900. II. ALFRED AND THE BATTLE FOR ENGLAND . 54
866-900. State of England 54
Character of the Danes 55

A.D.		PAGE
866-870.	The Danes in East Anglia and Northumbria	55
871.	The Danes invade Wessex; the year of battles	56
„	Battle of Ashdown; accession of Alfred	57
876.	Second invasion of Wessex	58
878.	Third invasion; battle of Ethandun; treaty of Wedmore	59
884.	Guthrum's fryth; Danelagh established	59
892-896.	Viking incursions defeated	60
	The greatness of King Alfred	60-62
900-978.	III. THE STRONG KINGS OF ENGLAND	63
900-925.	Edward the Elder; a disputed succession	63
	Aethelflaed; the recovery of Mercia	63
921.	Edward's supremacy; the new fortresses	64, 65
	Edward and the Scots kingdom	65
925-940.	Aethelstan king	66
937.	Battle of Brunanburh	66
940-946.	Eadmund king; cession of Cumbria to Malcolm I.	67
946-955.	Eadred king	67
955-959.	Eadwig king; Dunstan	68
959-975.	Eadgar the Peaceful king; Dunstan as minister	69
975-978.	Edward the Martyr king; his murder	70
962.	[Otto the Great becomes emperor]	
800-1000.	IV. THE ENGLISH SYSTEM	71
	The central government; the witenagemot	71
	The thegnhood	72
	System of national defence	72
	Revenue	73
	Folcland and bocland; the burh	74
	'Dooms' of the kings; beginnings of feudalism	75
	Agricultural services	76
	Administration of justice	76-78
	Weregeld	77

A.D.		PAGE
978-1042.	V. THE DANISH CONQUEST	78
978-1016.	Aethelred the Redeless king	78
980-1000.	Viking raids; Olaf and Sweyn Forkbeard; the ransoms	79
987.	[The Capet dynasty founded in France]	
1002.	The St. Brice's Day massacre	80
1007.	Danegeld	80
1013.	Sweyn acknowledged king	81
1014.	Knut king	81
1015.	Struggle of Knut and Eadmund Ironside	82
1016.	Death of Eadmund; Knut's reign begins	82
	Government of Knut	83
1018.	Cession of Lothian to Malcolm II. of Scotland	84
	Knut as a European potentate	85
1036-1040.	Harold Harefoot king	85
	Earl Godwin and Alfred the Aetheling	86
1040-1042.	Harthacnut king	86
1042-1066.	VI. THE END OF THE SAXON KINGDOM	87
1042-1066.	Edward the Confessor king	87
	The great earls: Godwin, Leofric, and Siward	87
	The Godwinsons; the king's character	88
1051.	Sweyn's misdeeds, and the exile of the Godwins	89
1052.	Godwin's ascendency recovered	90
1053.	Stigand archbishop; ascendency of Harold Godwinson	91
1057.	Malcolm III. (Canmore) overthrows Macbeth	92
1056.	Aelfgar Leofricson outlawed and reinstated	92
	Eadgar the Aetheling	93
1057-1064.	Aelfgar, Gryffydd of Wales, and Harold	93
	Question of Edward's successor	94
	William of Normandy	94
	The misdeeds and outlawry of Tostig Godwinson	95
Jan. 5, 1066.	Election of Harold in succession to Edward	95
Sept. 25 „	Battle of Stamford Bridge	96
„ 28 „	Duke William lands at Pevensey	96

CHAPTER IV. THE NORMAN KINGS, 1066-1154

I. Survey of Europe

A.D.		PAGE
	The divisions of Europe to 1056	97
	The expansion of the Normans	98
	The popes before Gregory VII.	99
	Pope Gregory VII.	100
	France and the early Capets	100
	The crusading movement	101
	The coming struggle of Empire and Papacy	102
1066-1087.	II. William the Conqueror	102
Sept. 28 to Oct. 14, 1066.	Campaign and battle of Hastings	103
„	William's advance on London	106
Dec. 25 „	Coronation of William I.	107
1067.	Forfeitures and distribution of land	107-108
1068.	Insurrections in west and north	108
1069.	The Danish invasion	109
„	William wastes the north	110
1070.	Sack of Peterborough	111
„	Hereward and the camp of refuge	111
1072.	William and Malcolm III.	112
1073.	[Hildebrand becomes Pope Gregory VII.]	
1075.	Rebellion of Ralph Guader	113
1076.	Death of Waltheof	114
1082.	Odo of Bayeux	114
1086.	Moot of Salisbury	114
„	[Domesday Book]	
1087.	Death and character of the Conqueror	115
	III. The Conqueror's System	117
	The Norman revolution	117
	Feudalism, and its modifications	118

A.D.		PAGE
	Tenants-in-chief	119
	Earl and sheriff	120
	The council	120
	The Church	121
	Archbishop Lanfranc	122
	Civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions	123
	The Crown and the Papacy	123
	Monasteries	123
	The harsh laws of the Conqueror	124
	IV. THE POPULATION	125
	Norman method	125
1086.	Domesday Book	125
	The manor	126
	Villein, serf, and freeman	126
	Thegns and mesne tenants	128
	Summary	129
	The gentry	130
	Markets	130
	The borough	131
1087-1100.	V. WILLIAM RUFUS	132
1087.	William II. secures the succession	132
	The king and Robert of Normandy	133
1088.	Insurrections crushed	134
May „	Death of Lanfranc	134
	Ranulph Flambard	134
	William's character	135
1090.	The king's younger brother	135
1093.	Death of Malcolm Canmore; the Scots succession	136
„	William and Anselm	137
1095.	Rebellion of Robert Mowbray	135, 138
„	Anselm and the council of Clermont	138
1096.	Duke Robert's crusade	140
1097.	Anselm leaves England	140
1100.	Death of Rufus	141

A.D.		PAGE
1100-1135.	VI. HENRY I.	141
1100.	Henry seizes the crown	142
„	Henry's charter; his marriage	143
1101.	Treaty of Alton with Robert of Normandy	144
1102.	Expulsion of Robert de Bellême	144
1106.	Norman war; battle of Tenchebrai	145
	Henry and Anselm; investitures	145
1107.	The investitures question settled	146
	Henry and foreign princes	147
	Contests in Normandy	148
1120.	Disaster of the *White Ship*	149
	Robert of Gloucester	149
1127.	The oath of allegiance to Empress Maud	149
1131.	The second oath of allegiance	150
1135.	Death of Henry	150
	The *Curia Regis*	151
	Jurisdiction of the lords	151
	Institution of itinerant justices	152
	The Exchequer	152
1135-1154.	VII. STEPHEN	153
1135.	Stephen secures the crown	153
1136.	The barons take the oath of allegiance	154
	Stephen and the Church	155
1138.	Revolt in favour of Maud	155
„	The Scots invasion	156
Aug. 22 „	Battle of the Standard	156
1139.	Stephen quarrels with the Churchmen	157
1139-1147.	Maud and Stephen; the anarchy	158, 159
1149.	Henry Plantagenet in England	160
1153.	Treaty of Wallingford	161
1154.	Death of Stephen	161

CHAPTER V. THE ANGEVIN MONARCHY

A.D.		PAGE
1154-1189.	I. HENRY PLANTAGENET	162
	The Angevin dominion	162
1154.	Coronation of Henry II.; the charter; order restored	163
	The king's ministers	163
	Henry and Scotland	164
1159.	The Toulouse campaign	165
„	Scutage	165
„	Becket as chancellor	165
1161.	Becket becomes archbishop	166
	Claims of the Churchmen	167
	Increase of clerical power	168
1163.	Approach of a crisis	169
1164.	Constitutions of Clarendon	170
	Becket in exile	171
1170.	Coronation of the younger Henry	171
Dec. 29 „	Return and murder of Becket	172
1172.	End of the struggle	172
	The king's sons	173
1172.	Revolt of Henry the younger	174
1174.	William the Lion taken prisoner	174
„	Treaty of Falaise	174
1175.	Strength of Henry's position	175
1179.	Philip Augustus becomes king of France	175
1182-1187.	Family quarrels	176
1189.	Death of Henry II.	176
1169-1172.	II. THE ANNEXATION OF IRELAND	
To 1150.	Ireland in the past	177
	Lack of central government	178
	First projects of annexation	178
	The bull of Adrian IV.	179
1166.	Dermot M'Murrough of Leinster	179
1169.	Norman adventurers help Dermot	180
1170.	Strongbow in Ireland	180

A.D.		PAGE
1172.	Henry II. in Ireland	181
	The annexation; the Irish Pale	181
	Normans and Irish	182
	III. THE ORGANISATION OF ENGLAND	183
	Position of the Norman kings	183
	Henry II. and the Great Council	184
	Military resources of the Crown	184
	The Exchequer under Henry II.	185
	The sheriffs	186
	Normal sources of revenue	186
	Special sources of revenue	187
1188.	The Saladin tithe	187
	Judicature; justices in eyre	188
	The jury of presentment	189
	Specialisation of the king's courts	189
1189-1199.	IV. RICHARD I.	190
	Cœur de Lion	190
	The baronage growing English	190
1189.	Preparations for the crusade	192
1190, 1191.	Richard *en route* for Palestine	192
June 1191.	Richard in Palestine	193
Sept. 1192.	The truce with Saladin	194
1192-1194.	Richard in captivity	194
1191.	Justiciarship of Longchamp	195
1192-1194.	Plots of John and Philip II.	196
1194.	Richard in England	197
1194-1199.	Richard in France	197
1194-1198.	Justiciarship of Hubert Walter	198
1194-1198.	Representation; coroners; knights of the shire	199
	Town charters; William Fitzosbert	200
1197.	Hugh of Lincoln	200
1198.	Geoffrey Fitzpeter	201
1199-1205.	V. JOHN (i) THE LOSS OF NORMANDY	201
	Richard and John	201
1199.	Arthur of Brittany	202

A.D.		PAGE
1200.	John's second marriage with Isobel of Angoulême	203
1202.	War between Philip and John; capture and death of Arthur	204
1204.	Loss of Normandy	204
	Effects on England	204

CHAPTER VI. THE CROWN AND THE BARONS, 1205-1272

1205-1216.	I. KING JOHN (ii) THE POPE AND THE CHARTER	206
1199-1205.	The government in England	206
1205.	The vacant archbishopric	207
1207.	The interdict	208
1209.	John excommunicated	208
1212.	John takes alarm	209
1213.	John submits to the Pope	210
	Quarrel with the barons	210
July 27, 1214.	Battle of Bouvines	212
Jan. 1215.	Demand for confirmation of Henry I.'s charter	212
June 15 „	Magna Carta sealed	213
	Account of the charter	213
Oct. 1215.	John defies the barons; civil war	215
May 1216.	Invasion by Louis	215
Oct. „	Death of John	216
1216-1248.	II. HENRY III. (FIRST PERIOD)	216
1216.	William Marshal regent	216
May 1217.	The Fair of Lincoln	217
Aug. „	Hubert de Burgh's victory off Sandwich	217
„	Withdrawal of Louis	217
	English nationalism	217
1219-1227.	The government during Henry's minority	218
	Character of the king	219
1225.	Blanche of Castile regent for Louis IX.	220
	Papal ascendency over Henry	220

A.D.		PAGE
1232.	Fall of Hubert de Burgh	220
	Peter des Roches and Richard Marshal; the Poitevins	221
1236.	Marriage with Eleanor of Provence; the Savoyards	221
	Bishop Grosseteste	222
	Richard of Cornwall and Simon de Montfort	222
1242.	The campaign in Poitou	223
1244.	General unrest; a Great Council proposes reforms	224
1247.	The Lusignans	224
1248-1252.	Montfort in Gascony	224
1248-1272.	III. HENRY III. (SECOND PERIOD). SIMON DE MONTFORT AND THE LORD EDWARD	225
	The Lord Edward	225
1255.	The Lord Edmund and the crown of Sicily	225
1258.	The Mad Parliament, and the Provisions of Oxford	226
1259.	Edward and the Provisions of Westminster	227
Jan. 1264.	The Mise of Amiens	227
May „	Civil war; Montfort's victory at Lewes	228
„	The Mise of Lewes	228
1265.	Montfort's parliament; burgesses summoned	229
1266.	Montfort, Gloucester, and the Lord Edward	230
Aug. 4 „	Civil war; death of Montfort at Evesham	231
	Appreciation of Montfort	231
1266-1268.	Pacification	232
1272.	End of the reign	233

CHAPTER VII. TWO CENTURIES, 1066-1272

	I. ENGLAND	234
	Constitutional summary	234
	The rural population	235
	Villeinage under the Plantagenets	235

A.D.		PAGE
	Development of serfdom	236
	Villeins' rights	236
	Town development	237
	Town charters	238
	The gild merchant	238
	Masters, journeymen, and apprentices	239
	Trade regulation	240
	Craft gilds	240
	Aliens and Jews	241
	Money	242
	Industrial methods	242
	Influence of the Church	243
	The clergy	243
	The friars	244
	The intellectual movement	245
	Literature	245
	II. SCOTLAND AND WALES	246
	Scotland in the eleventh century	246
	Celts, Angles, and Norsemen	247
	Malcolm Canmore and his sons	247
	Eadgar, Alexander I., and David I.	247
1124-1153.	Reign of David I.	248
	A new Norman baronage	248
	Crown and Church	248
	Progress of the country	249
1153-1165.	Malcolm IV., 'the Maiden'; Somerled	249
1165-1214.	William the Lion	250
1214-1249.	Alexander II.	251
1249-1286.	Alexander III.	252
	Wales to the thirteenth century	253
	Llewelyn ap Jorwerth and Llewelyn ap Gryffydd	254

CHAPTER VIII. EDWARD I., 1272-1307

A.D.		PAGE
	I. EUROPEAN SURVEY	256
	England in relation to Europe, to the thirteenth century	256
	The change in her subsequent relations	257
	France, the Empire, and the Papacy	257
	France under the old Capets	259
	France under the Valois	260
1272-1289.	II. EDWARD THE LEGISLATOR	261
	Edward as Unifier	262
	Edward and the regal power	263
	Parliaments of 1273 and 1275	264
1275.	Statute of Westminster I.	264
1278.	*Quo Warranto*	265
„	Distraint of knighthood	265
1279.	Archbishop Peckham	266
„	Statute of Mortmain (*De Religiosis*)	266
1282, 1283.	Parliaments to grant supplies	267
1283.	Statute of Acton Burnell	267
1284.	Statutes of Rhuddlan and of Wales	267
1285.	Statute of Westminster II. (*De Donis*)	267
„	Statute of Winchester	268
„	*Circumspecte Agatis*	268
1290.	Statute of Westminster III. (*Quia Emptores*)	268
„	[Expulsion of the Jews	353]
1276-1292.	III. THE CONQUEST OF WALES AND THE SCOTTISH ARBITRATION	269
	Wales and the marches	269
	The ambitions of Llewelyn ap Gryffydd	270
1277.	The first Welsh war; treaty of Aberconway	270
1282.	The revolt of David and Llewelyn	271
Dec. „	Battle of Orewyn Bridge, and death of Llewelyn	272

A.D.		PAGE
1283.	The subjugation of Wales	273
1284.	Settlement of Wales	273
1286-1289.	The king in France; maladministration at home	274
1290.	Edward, Gloucester, and Hereford	275
1286.	The Maid of Norway; treaty of Brigham	276
1290.	The claimants to the Scottish throne	277
1291.	The Norham Conference	277
1292.	King John Balliol	278
	Nature of Edward's claims	278
	Attitude of Scots magnates, clergy, and commons	278
	The year a turning point in Edward's reign	280
1293-1297.	IV. CONSTITUTIONAL CRISES, AND THE SCOTS REVOLT	280
1293.	The breach with France	280
1294.	A Welsh insurrection	282
„	Scotland recalcitrant	282
1295.	Franco-Scottish alliance	283
„	The Model Parliament called; its constitution	283
„	Improvement of naval organisation	284
1296.	Invasion of Scotland; the annexation	285
„	Archbishop Winchelsea, and the bull *Clericis Laicos*	286
1297.	Hereford and Norfolk in opposition	287
„	Edward's tact	287
May „	Revolt of William Wallace	288
Aug. „	Edward sails for Flanders	288
Sept. „	Battle of Cambuskenneth; Wallace *Custos Regni*	289
Oct. „	Confirmation of the charters extorted	290
1298-1307.	V. MALLEUS SCOTORUM	290
Oct. 1297.	Truce with France	290
1298.	The Falkirk campaign	291
1299-1305.	Desultory campaigns in Scotland	292
1305.	Death of Wallace	293
„	A form of government for Scotland	293

A.D.		PAGE
1299.	A French treaty	294
1300.	*Articuli super cartas*	294
1301.	A clerical defeat	294
	Accessions of strength to the Crown	295
1302.	Battle of Courtrai between French and Flemings	295
1303.	Death of Boniface VIII.; beginning of the 'Babylonish Captivity'	295
1306.	Revolt of Robert Bruce, and his coronation	296
July 7, 1307.	Death of Edward I.	297

CHAPTER IX. EDWARD II. AND THE MINORITY OF EDWARD III., 1307-1330 298

	Progress of Robert Bruce in Scotland	298
1307.	Leading members of the baronage	299
1308.	Banishment of Gaveston	300
1309.	Gaveston recalled	300
1310.	The Lords Ordainers	301
1311.	The ordinances of the Ordainers, in full parliament	301
1312.	The end of Gaveston	302
1313.	Fall of garrisons in Scotland	303
June 24, 1314.	Bannockburn	303
	Its effects	305
	Ireland prepares to revolt	306
1315.	Edward Bruce in Ireland	306
1317.	End of Edward Bruce	307
	Thomas of Lancaster	307
1318.	Loss of Berwick to the Scots	308
	Pembroke	308
1320.	The Despensers	309
1321.	Coalition against the Despensers, followed by royalist reaction	310
1322.	Lancaster overthrown at Boroughbridge; his death	310

A.D.		PAGE
1322.	Constitutional pronouncement of parliament	311
	The Scots harry the north	312
1322-1325.	The Despenser ascendency	312
	Trouble with France	313
1325-1326.	Isabella and Mortimer in France	313
Sept. 1326.	Isabella and Mortimer in England; fall of the Despensers	314
Jan. 1327.	Deposition of Edward II.; accession of Edward III.	314
Sept. „	Murder of Edward II.	315
	Rule of Mortimer and Isabella	315
1328.	Accession of Philip of Valois in France	316
„	Recognition of Scottish independence by treaty of Northampton	316
1329.	Death of Robert Bruce	317
„	Marriage of Edward III. and Philippa of Hainault	317
1330.	Fall of Mortimer	318

CHAPTER X. THE REIGN OF EDWARD III., 1330-1377

1330-1338.	I. BEFORE THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR	319
1330.	A new atmosphere	319
„	Relations with France and Scotland	321
Aug. 1332.	Invasion of Scotland by Edward Balliol; Dupplin Moor	321
Nov. „	Balliol owns English suzerainty	322
July 19, 1333.	Edward III. in Scotland; Halidon Hill	322
1334.	Treaty of Newcastle	323
1335-1341.	Recovery of Scottish independence	323
1337.	Prospect of a French war; motives of the two powers	324
	The claim to the French crown	326
	Alliances of Philip and Edward	327
1338.	Beginning of the Hundred Years' War	328

A.D.		PAGE
1338-1360.	II. THE YEARS OF VICTORY	328
1339.	The opening campaign	328
June 24, 1340.	The Flemish alliance; battle of Sluys	329
Sept. „	Truce of Esplechin	330
1341.	Edward's quarrel with Archbishop Stratford	331
1342.	Disputed succession in Brittany	331
„	Battle of Morlaix; the longbow	332
1345.	Open war renewed; Derby in Gascony	333
Aug. 26, 1346.	The Crecy campaign	333
Oct. 17 „	Battle of Neville's Cross; David of Scotland taken	335
Aug. 3, 1347.	Surrender of Calais	335
Sept. „	Formal truce, degenerating into eight years of partisan fighting	336
1348-1349.	The Black Death	337
1351.	Statute of Labourers	337
„	Statute of Provisors	338
1352.	Statute of Treasons	338
1353.	Statute of Praemunire	338
1354.	Ordinance of the Staple	337
1355.	Open war renewed; raid of the Black Prince from Bordeaux	338
Feb. 1356.	The burnt Candlemas (Scotland)	339
Sept. 19 „	Battle of Poictiers	339
1357.	Release of David II.	340
	Stephen Marcel in Paris	340
1360.	Treaty of Bretigny	341
1361-1377.	III. THE YEARS OF DECADENCE	341
	The free companies	342
1364.	Accession of Charles V. in France	342
1366.	The Black Prince intervenes in Spain	342
April 1367.	Battle of Najera or Navarrete	342
1367-1368.	Rule of the Black Prince in Aquitaine	343
1369-1372.	Renewal of war, with disastrous results	343

A.D. PAGE

1371. The Black Prince returns to England . . 343
1372. Naval defeat off Rochelle 344
1373. Disastrous March of John of Gaunt through France 344
1360-1370. The domestic record 344
The sons of Edward III. 345
1375. Development of anti-clericalism; John Wiclif . 346
1376. The Good Parliament 347
1377. Balance of parties at close of the reign . . 348

CHAPTER XI. ENGLAND UNDER THE EDWARDS

I. COMMERCE. 349
Progress in the thirteenth century; activity of Edward I. 349
Differentiation of crafts; craft-gild and gild-merchant 350
Fairs and markets; foreign trade . . . 351
Edward I. regulates trade on national lines . 352
The Crown and the merchants; Jews and Lombards 353
Edward III. fosters commerce for political ends . 354
Foreign traders in England under Edward III. . 355
Development of cloth-working 356
The Staple 356

II. THE RURAL POPULATION . . . 357
The villein 357
Progress of commutation of service for payment; rent and wages 358
The Black Death and the Statute of Labourers . 359
Failure of the Statute 360
The new class-antagonism, and its supplementary causes 361
Influence of Wiclif's doctrines 362

PAGE

III. SOCIAL CONDITIONS . . . 362

Material prosperity 362
Decadence of chivalry 363
Literature; ballads; *Piers Plowman* . . 364
Mandeville, Wiclif, Barbour, Chaucer . . 365

CHAPTER XII. THE GRANDSONS OF EDWARD III.

1377-1413

A.D.

1377-1384. I. THE MINORITY OF RICHARD II. . . 367

1377. Accession of Richard II.; state of parties . 367
The first parliament; auditors to control expenditure 368
1378. Continuation of the French war. . . 368
1379. The first poll-tax 369
1380. The second poll-tax; discontent stirred up . 369
June 1381. Outbreak of the Peasant Revolt; Wat Tyler . 370
June 13-15 „ The insurgents in London . . . 371
June 15 „ Richard II. at Smithfield; death of Tyler . 372
„ The rising in East Anglia . . . 373
Nov. „ Measures of parliament 373
Character of the rising 374
The subsequent passing of villeinage . . 376
1378. The Great Schism 377
1383. The Flemish Crusade 377
1383. Death of Wiclif; discussion of Lollardy . 378

1384-1399. II. THE RULE OF RICHARD II. . . 379

1384. The king's friends, and the king's uncles . . 379
1385. Invasion of Scotland 380
1386. John of Gaunt leaves England . . . 380
The king and Gloucester . . . 381
Aug. 1387. The opinions of Nottingham . . . 381
Nov. „ The Lords Appellants 382

A.D.		PAGE
1388.	The Wonderful Parliament	382
	Character of the king	383
	Ascendency of Gloucester	384
May 1389.	Dismissal of Gloucester	384
„	Recall of Lancaster; constitutional rule of Richard	385
1393.	Second Statute of Praemunire	386
1394.	Richard visits Ireland	386
1396.	Peace with France; Burgundians and Orleanists	386
1397.	Expenditure and free speech; Haxey's case	387
July „	The *coup d'état*; murder of Gloucester	388
1398.	The parliament of Shrewsbury gives the king absolute powers	389
Sept. 1398.	Banishment of Hereford and Norfolk	389
„	Richard's despotism	390
1399.	Richard goes to Ireland; Henry lands at Ravenspur	391
Sept. 1399.	Deposition of Richard	393
„	Accession of Henry IV.	393
1399-1413.	III. HENRY IV.	394
1399.	Difficulties of Henry's position	394
Feb. 1400.	Death of Richard	396
	Henry and the Scots	397
1401.	Owen Glendower	397
Sept. 1402.	Battle of Homildon Hill	398
July 1403.	Revolt of the Percies; battle of Shrewsbury	398
1401.	Persecution of Lollardy; the act *De Heretico Comburendo*	399
	Martyrdom of William Sawtre	400
	The House of Commons grows critical	400
1404.	The Unlearned Parliament	401
1405.	The revolt of Archbishop Scrope	401
1406.	A captious parliament	402
1406.	Capture of James of Scotland	403

A.D.		PAGE
1407.	A dispute over Supply	403
„	French affairs; murder of Orleans; Burgundians and Armagnacs	404
1408.	The Prince of Wales	404
1409-1412.	The king, the council, and the prince	405
1411.	English intervention in France	406
1413.	Death of Henry IV.	406

CHAPTER XIII. THE CONQUEST AND LOSS OF FRANCE, 1413-1453

1413-1422.	I. HENRY V.	407
	Character of Henry V.	407
1422.	Henry's conduct on his accession	408
	His ideals.	409
1413-1414.	The suppression of Lollardy	410
1414.	Henry's impossible demands from France	411
	The country eager for war	412
1415.	Conspiracy of Richard of Cambridge	413
„	Henry's plan of action	413
Sept. „	Capture of Harfleur	413
Oct. „	The march to Agincourt	414
Oct. 25 „	Battle of Agincourt	414
„	Its results	416
„	Henry returns to England	417
1416.	The visit of Emperor Sigismund	417
1414-1418.	[Council of Constance]	
1417.	Factions in France	418
„	Henry invades Normandy	418
1418.	Siege of Rouen	419
1419.	Fall of Rouen; murder of Burgundy	420
May 1420.	Treaty of Troyes	421
March 1421.	Death of Thomas of Clarence at Baugé	422
„	Henry conducts a war of sieges	422
Aug. 31, 1422.	Death of Henry V.	423

A.D.		PAGE
1422-1435.	II. BEDFORD AND JEANNE DARC	423
	John, duke of Bedford, acting regent of France	423
	Humphrey of Gloucester and the council	424
Aug. 1423.	Bedford's progress in France; battle of Crévant	425
1424.	Battle of Verneuil; progress of the war	425
	Gloucester and Jacquelaine of Hainault	426
1424.	Release of James I. of Scotland	426
1424.	Richard of York succeeds to the claims of Mortimer	426
1425.	Gloucester and Bishop Beaufort	427
Oct. 1428.	Investment of Orleans	427
1429.	Appearance of Joan of Arc	428
„	Orleans relieved; coronation of Charles VII.	429
1430.	The Maid taken prisoner	430
1431.	Her trial and death	430
1431-1434.	Bedford's difficulties	431
1435.	Conference of Arras; breach with Burgundy; death of Bedford	432
1436-1453.	III. NEMESIS	432
	Leading political figures and groups in England	433
	Gloucester and the Beauforts	434
1435-1437.	Progress of the war	435
1438.	The French attack Guienne	436
1441.	Fall of Gloucester; the Beaufort ascendency	436
1445.	Marriage of Henry VI. to Margaret of Anjou, negotiated by Suffolk	437
1447.	Death of Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort	437
1448-1450.	Loss of Normandy	438
1450.	Murder of Suffolk; Jack Cade's Rebellion	439
„	Richard of York intervenes	440
1451.	Henry evades the dismissal of Somerset	441
July 1453.	Fall of Talbot at Castillon; loss of Guienne	441

CHAPTER XIV. LANCASTER AND YORK, 1453-1485

A.D.		PAGE
1453-1471.	I. THE WARS OF THE ROSES	444
Oct. 1453.	Birth of Edward, Prince of Wales	444
Feb. 1454.	Richard appointed Protector owing to Henry's madness	444
	Recovery of Henry and restoration of Somerset	445
1455.	Richard takes up arms; his victory at St. Albans; his moderation	445
	The hostility of Queen Margaret; her ascendency	446
1457.	The Earl of Warwick's naval successes	446
	Development of private wars; the new feudalism	446
1459.	Civil war; battle of Bloreheath; the Yorkists disperse	447
Nov. 1459.	Parliament of Coventry; attainder of Yorkists	448
1460.	Yorkist rising; Warwick received by London	448
July „	Yorkist victory at Northampton	448
„	Richard claims the crown, but accepts recognition as Henry's heir	449
Dec. 30 „	Margaret raises the north; Richard killed at battle of Wakefield	450
Feb. 2, 1461.	Edward, earl of March, wins battle of Mortimer's Cross	451
Feb. 17 „	Warwick defeated by Margaret at St. Albans	451
Mar. 4 „	Edward and Warwick enter London; Edward IV. proclaimed king	451
Mar. 29 „	Lancastrians overthrown at Towton	452
„	Edward IV. king of England	452
1461-1464.	Suppression of Lancastrians in the north	453
1464.	Edward secretly marries Lady Elizabeth Woodville	454
„	Breach between Edward and Warwick	455
1465.	Warwick's French embassy foiled	456
1467.	Edward marries his sister to Charles of Burgundy	456
1469.	George of Clarence marries Warwick's daughter; Warwick's insurrection	456

A.D.		PAGE
1469.	Escape of Edward and expulsion of Warwick and Clarence	458
Aug. 1470.	League of Warwick and Margaret	458
„	Return of Warwick and flight of Edward	459
1471.	Return of Edward; Warwick killed at Barnet	460
May 3 „	Lancastrians finally crushed at Tewkesbury	460
1471-1485.	II. THE YORKIST MONARCHY	461
	Edward IV. and the 'New Monarchy'	461
	The changed conditions	462
	War projects	462
1475.	The French expedition; treaty of Pecquigny	463
	Easy government at home	464
1477.	The end of Clarence	464
1481.	Edward's intervention in Scotland	464
April 1483.	Death of Edward IV.; the duke of Gloucester and the queen dowager	465
„	Richard seizes control; the princes put in the Tower	466
July „	Richard III. crowned; murder of the princes	467
„	Plots in favour of Henry of Richmond	468
Oct. „	Buckingham's insurrection and death	469
1484.	Richard's parliament	469
„	General disaffection	470
Aug. 21, 1485.	Battle of Bosworth	471

CHAPTER XV. THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

	I. ENGLAND	472
	A new industrial order arriving	472
	The rural problem	473
	Tillage and pasture	474
	The first corn law	474
	The end of villeinage	474
	Object of imposing tariffs	475
	Taxes on exports	475
	Navigation Acts	476

A.D.		PAGE
	The *Libell of English Policie*	477
	Hostility to aliens; the Merchant Adventurers and the Hansa	477
	Cloth-making	478
	Diffusion of prosperity	479
	Effect of the wars	479
	Vagrancy	480
	Moral deterioration	481
	Intellectual progress	482
	II. SCOTLAND	482
	Effects of the struggle for independence	483
	Highlands and Lowlands	483
	Relations of Scotland and England	484
1329-1370.	David II.	485
1370-1390.	Robert II., first of the Stewart dynasty	485
1388.	Battle of Otterburn	486
1390-1406.	Robert III.; the clan fight on the Inch of Perth	486
1406-1424.	James I. captive in England; Albany regent (to 1420)	487
1411.	Battle of Harlaw	487
1424-1437.	James I. rules in Scotland	488
1437-1460.	James II.; overthrow of the Black Douglases	489
1460-1488.	James III.; the Crown and the baronage	490

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

I.	The House of Wessex	493
II.	The Norman Line and the early Plantagenets	494
III.	Descendants of Henry III. to Richard II.	495
IV.	Descendants of Edward III.: (1) House of York	496
V.	Descendants of Edward III.: (2) Lancaster, Beaufort, and Buckingham	497
VI.	Scottish Dynasties: (1) From Duncan to Bruce	498
VII.	Scottish Dynasties: (2) The Bruces and Stewarts	499
VIII.	France: the later Capets and the Valois Succession	500
IX.	France: the Valois—France, Anjou, and Burgundy	501
X.	The Nevilles	502

NOTES

		PAGE
I.	King Arthur	503
II.	The West Saxon Conquest in the English Chronicle	504
III.	Lords' Rights	505
IV.	Freeholders	506
V.	Who were Barons?	507
VI.	The Plantagenet Armies	508
VII.	Justices of the Peace	508
VIII.	The Development of Trial by Jury	509
IX.	The Scottish Parliament	510

MAPS AND PLANS

In Text

I.	Battle of Senlac	104
II.	Battle of Bannockburn	304
III.	Battle of Crecy	334
IV.	The Campaign of Agincourt, 1415	415
V.	England in the Norman and Plantagenet Period, 1066-1485	443

At end of Volume

VI. England and Southern Scotland, ninth century.

VII. Scotland and North of England, 1066-1485.

VIII. France, 1154-1485.

IX. Wales, thirteenth century.

CHAPTER I. BEFORE THE ENGLISH CAME

THE history of England, English land, begins in a sense only when the English came to the land to which they gave their name. For they not only gave the country their name, but made it vitally their own. The whole region which we call England to-day, in the most limited sense of the term, was occupied by the English people; and its history is that of the development of the English people, the English character, and English institutions. The modifications of people, character, and institutions derived from invasions by and contact with other peoples are essentially a part of the history of the English; and this is not true of the earlier history of the peoples found by them in this island. Nevertheless, the contact with these earlier peoples did have its modifying effect, slight enough perhaps so far as concerned the development of the English themselves, but important because the English endeavoured, with different degrees of success, to dominate those peoples outside the limits of England. It will not, therefore, be without interest to open our history with some account of the predecessors of the English.

Apart from possible allusions by the Greek historian Herodotus, the earliest information we have concerning these islands is derived from the Greek writer Pytheas of Massilia, about the last quarter of the fourth century B.C. Unfortunately we have not before us the work of Pytheas himself, but only excerpts contained in the works of unfriendly critics. The criticisms which were intended to discredit Pytheas chiefly go to show that the critics were wrong and that Pytheas was an intelligent and honest person who did actually visit these islands; and Pytheas gave to their inhabitants the name of Pretanes, which we can hardly resist identifying with the name of Britanni afterwards given to them by the Romans. The meaning of it

Pytheas.

appears to be 'The Painted People,' which is again highly suggestive of the name Picti given to the northern tribes at a still later date, though the etymology of that name is uncertain. Definitely, however, the Pretanes were a Celtic people akin to the population of the region which the Romans called Gallia and we call France.

But the Britons or Brythons were the second of two great Celtic waves which poured into the country. We may infer that they represented the same stream of Celtic migration which brought about the invasion of Northern Italy by the Gauls early in the fourth century B.C. They found already in occupation their Celtic predecessors of the first wave, called Goidels or Gaels. They took possession of the larger island from the Channel to the Forth, though how far a Goidelic admixture survived in the western mountainous regions is again a matter of doubt; as a mere question of analogies in conquests, it might be supposed that the admixture would be considerable. The Britons made no appreciable impression upon Ireland or upon Scotland beyond the Forth.

Brythons and Goidels.

Again, by how many hundreds of years the Brythons were preceded by the Goidels is matter of conjecture. Long before the Celts came at all the islands were inhabited by neolithic races—races, that is, who had not learnt to make use of metal, whose tools and weapons were of stone and wood. These races, commonly called Iberian, were not of the Aryan stock; they were 'dolichocephalic,' long-headed—that is, the skull was long from front to back in proportion to the width from side to side. This is proved by the ancient barrows or burial mounds, which show that the long skulls and stone implements were contemporary. Then came a wave of immigrants, using bronze implements, 'brachycephalic,' short-headed or round-skulled, with skulls broader in proportion to the length. The barrows of this folk were round, like their skulls, whereas those of the Iberians were long. That the short-heads did not exterminate the long-heads is fairly demonstrated by the fact that at a later stage short heads and long heads and medium heads, clearly the result of cross-breeding, are found together,

Ancient skulls.

and the long heads have not disappeared to this day. The short head is typical of the Aryan; and the presumption would appear to be that these bronze-using men were the first or Goidelic wave of the Celts, though this is by no means certain. The clear fact, however, which survives is that when the Goidelic Celts came they became the ruling race, but absorbed without destroying their predecessors. Again, it is matter of conjecture how far the religious and other customs of the population when it emerges into the light of recorded history were Celtic, and how far they were Iberian. Therefore, in applying to them the term Celtic, we must not be regarded as begging this question, but as using that term as the most convenient equivalent for pre-Roman—justified, because the entire disappearance of earlier languages before the Celtic dialects is a final demonstration at least of Celtic predominance.

The Brythonic conquest, which we may assume provisionally to have taken place somewhere between 500 B.C. and 350 B.C., may have been due to the fact that the new-comers had learnt to use iron instead of bronze, which gave them a marked military superiority over their predecessors. At any rate they were definitely established before Pytheas arrived on the scene. It was perhaps about a hundred years before the Christian era that there was a fresh influx of Brythonic Celts, who dominated a good deal of the south, and were the people with whom Julius Cæsar actually came in contact. Of the actual intercourse between these remote barbarians and the civilised world, between the days of Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar, we know little, except that traders, principally Phœnicians, visited them, chiefly to obtain tin, and introduced among them the coins of Philip of Macedon, which they copied after a barbaric fashion of their own.

Before Cæsar.

The light of history breaks upon Britain definitely when Julius Cæsar led an expedition thither from Gaul in the year 55 B.C. In that year the time was at hand when the great proconsul of the Republic was to enter upon the short but decisive struggle which overthrew the tottering oligarchy of Rome and raised Cæsar himself to the highest

Julius Cæsar, 55 B.C.

pinnacle of human greatness. As yet, however, he was still preparing himself for empire by the conquest of Gaul; his hour had not yet come. Though Gaul was not completely curbed in the fourth year of his proconsulate, he resolved to penetrate Britain, more perhaps with a view to seeing what use he could make of it than in order to extend the boundaries of the Roman dominion. His visit was more in the nature of an armed exploration than anything else. The tribes of Britain would be taught the terror of the Roman name; but Cæsar had no intention of attempting to carry out an effective subjugation. He took with him only a couple of legions (the unit to which perhaps our nearest term is 'brigade'), with some cavalry. The Britons were quite aware of the intended invasion, and hostile forces were on the watch to drive the Romans back. The troops, however, effected their landing in the face of the enemy by leaping into the sea and struggling up the sand. Once clear of the water, the heavily armed soldiers soon dispersed the Britons, although the Roman horse never made land at all. Storms dispersed Cæsar's ships; the barbarians, who had begun by sending submissive envoys, soon realised that the enemy was completely cut off from his communications, and began to harass the legionaries. Cæsar, thoroughly aware that the circumstances did not permit of a conquest unless the Britons elected to make submission, was satisfied to demonstrate that it was futile to attack him, obtained some formal submissions, and withdrew, claiming in his dispatches to Rome that the Britons had been brought under Roman dominion.

Next year he returned with rather more than double the number of his first force. The campaign was longer, the superiority of the Roman troops was more decisively displayed, more chiefs made their submission, a tribute was imposed, and again Cæsar withdrew to attend to matters in the south which were of much more pressing importance than the acquisition of barbarian territories. Evidently it was only upon his second expedition that Cæsar realised, first that the subjugation of Britain would be a much more serious affair than he had at first supposed, and secondly that there

Second invasion, 54 B.C.

would be no commensurate advantages gained either by the Republic or by himself. He left the record of his campaign, with some brief notes as to the characteristics of the people; but almost a hundred years were to pass before the Romans set about a real attempt at occupation. In the year A.D. 43 Claudius was emperor at Rome. In the interval Augustus had three times contemplated preparations for a conquest, but had carried the matter no further. There had been increased intercourse between the southern Britons and their kinsfolk in Gaul. Some sort of tribute or gifts were occasionally rendered by occasional princelets or chiefs, among whom was numbered Cunobelinus of Camulodunum or Colchester, Shakespeare's Cymbeline. Then in A.D. 43 Claudius was moved to set about the conquest which his predecessors had decided to be not worth the expense.

The business was entrusted to Aulus Plautius with four Roman legions, numbering some twenty thousand men, and perhaps double that number of the 'allies,' the non-Roman cohorts of the Imperial army. It was not without some hard fighting that Plautius made himself master of Kent and Essex, the latter being in effect the kingdom of Cymbeline's son Caradoc or Caratacus, whose name is most commonly given as Caractacus. The Iceni of Norfolk and Suffolk made alliance with the invaders, recognising them as sovereigns; but Caradoc betook himself to the west, where he presently stirred up the tribes to bid defiance to the Romans. It was not till the year 51 that he met with a decisive defeat, and, becoming a fugitive, was surrendered to the Romans by the queen of the northern tribe of the Brigantes. He was carried off to Rome, where he behaved with a dignity which won him general approbation, and he was given his freedom, though he does not appear to have returned to his native country. After the fall of Caradoc there was a general submission to the Roman authority in the south, the east, and the midlands, as far north as Chester and Lincoln, for some seven years.

Claudius, A.D 43.

Then the Emperor Nero sent Suetonius Paulinus as legatus or commander-in-chief of the forces in Britain. Suetonius, an

able soldier, set about the conquest of Anglesey, now the headquarters of the Druidical worship and of what there was of nationalism among the Britons. But while he was fighting picturesque battles in the west, the procurator or civil governor, Catus Decianus, in the east was fomenting insurrection by the iniquity of his rule. The climax was reached when, on the death of the loyal king of the Iceni, the grossest outrages were committed against the persons of his widow and daughters. The name of Boadicea, which undoubtedly ought to be Boudicca, has become too firmly established in literature to be displaced. The Iceni and some neighbouring tribes rose in an outburst of rage, massacred the small garrison at Camulodunum, and overwhelmed and almost cut to pieces a legion which was hurrying from the north to the rescue. In the south-east the hordes of the insurgents slaughtered the Romans, and with them the Britons who had bowed to the yoke and were waxing fat under it. But the day of vengeance came. Suetonius succeeded in drawing together the forces in the north and west, and gave battle to the barbarian hosts, who were routed with a terrific slaughter. The victory was decisive, and may be regarded as having completed the conquest of the southern part of the country.

Boadicea, 59.

It was not till the year 78 that the great governor Agricola was sent to Britain by Vespasian. Agricola was happy in his biographer, his son-in-law Tacitus, the great Roman historian. But his biography, the great authority for the period, unfortunately fails to give really intelligible information as to Agricola's campaigns. He wisely reorganised the government, which meant primarily the collection of revenue; he subdued and garrisoned scientifically the country between the Humber and the Tyne; he certainly carried his arms as far north as the river Forth and the Clyde mouth, and inflicted a great defeat on the Caledonians at the 'Mons Graupius,' which, whatever its precise position may have been, has given its name to the Grampian hills. He joined the Clyde and the Forth by fortifications, and probably by another line of forts anticipated Hadrian's Wall between Tyne and Solway.

Agricola, 78-84.

Agricola's governorship, which ended in the year 84, may be taken as marking the complete establishment of the Roman dominion in what afterwards became England and Wales. His organised government would not seem to have extended beyond the Tyne and the Solway; garrisons planted farther north were merely military outposts in unsubjugated and generally hostile country. The Romans continued in occupation for three hundred and twenty years longer, but the character of the occupation and its effective limits remained the same.

In the year 120 the Emperor Hadrian visited the island and built the great Roman Wall from Tyne to Solway. In its final form it was a solid rampart of hewn blocks of stone, the space between them being filled in with rubble, the whole, in the judgment of antiquaries, having originally been about seventeen feet in height and approximately seven in thickness. At intervals along the wall were the camps or quarters, seventeen in number, each containing its cohort or infantry regiment, with the corresponding cavalry contingent. Between these, about a mile apart, were smaller forts, and between these again were sentinel posts. Manifestly this barrier was intended to stand as the permanent frontier against which the barbarian tribes from the north might surge in vain. It is equally clear that it would not have been built at all had there been any real intention of carrying an effective occupation farther north. There are indeed strong if not absolutely conclusive reasons for believing that the stone rampart generally crowning what was originally a bulwark built of sods was the work not of Hadrian but of Severus ninety years later; but all that is to be inferred from this is that Hadrian's Wall had been found not to be strong enough for its purpose.

Hadrian's Wall, 120.

Hadrian's Wall would correspond approximately to the northern boundary of the region occupied by the turbulent tribes of the Brigantes. This people had been sufficiently broken by Agricola to enable him to undertake his expeditions into Caledonia. But even when he left the country it does not seem that their subjugation was completed. In the course of the next thirty years it is probable that they gave very serious

trouble; and Hadrian's forts were intended to curb them, no less than to hold back the more northern tribes.

Again, about twenty years later, or more, the wall named after the Emperor Antoninus Pius was drawn across Scotland at the narrow neck between the Forth and the Clyde. Possibly this attempt to extend the controlled territory depleted the garrison south of Solway, encouraged the Brigantes to their last revolt, and finally convinced the Roman governors that Hadrian's Wall must remain the effective boundary.

Antonine's Wall.

Towards the close of the century began the prolonged period, when the Imperial purple became the precarious gift of the legionaries, and the reigns of the Roman emperors were for the most part exceedingly brief. To this general rule Severus was strong enough to prove an exception. In the last decade of the century Albinus, the governor of Britain, made a bid for the Empire; and his withdrawal of troops from Britain, in order to fight Severus, unsuccessfully, left the garrisons both weakened and mutinous. The northern tribes, called the Caledonians and the Meatæ—another name for the Picts—broke over 'the wall'—perhaps Antonine's—and harried the country. In 208 Severus himself arrived, and next year conducted a great campaign far into the north of Scotland. Roman garrisons were again established perhaps as far as the Tay, but were again withdrawn a few years later by the Emperor Caracalla.

Severus, 208.

At the end of the third century Diocletian reorganised the Roman Empire, and shared the title of Augustus with Maximian, who controlled the western half. Now for the first time the Saxons appear as sea-rovers, and an official was appointed with the title of *Comes*, 'Count,' of the Saxon shore, who was in effect a sort of admiral in command of a Channel fleet and of the ports on either side of the Channel, whose main business was to suppress the pirates. A certain Carausius, probably either a Gaul or a Batavian but possibly a Briton, conducted his operations as admiral with great success, but finding himself in danger from Maximian's suspicions of his designs he rebelled openly, and appealed to the army in Britain, which

Carausius, 287.

hailed him emperor. For seven years he maintained his independence, keeping a decisive mastery of the sea, and virtually drove Maximian and Diocletian to acknowledge him as a colleague. But he was assassinated by Allectus, presumably one of his officers. Allectus was devoid of his victim's abilities, and was soon afterwards overthrown by Constantius Chlorus, who was given the control of the western quarter of the Empire, with the title of Cæsar, as a junior colleague of Maximian and Diocletian. Constantius was the father of Constantine the Great, who succeeded him in 306. Britain was the base whence Constantine set out to make himself master of the entire Roman Empire.

The wall of Severus served as an effective rampart against the northern tribes for considerably over a hundred years. Towards the middle of the fourth century, however, the Picts again burst over the wall; and from this time we hear of attacks by people who are now distinguished as the Picts, the Scots, and Attacotti, as well as the Saxons, often acting in concert. The Scots were rovers from Ireland who established themselves mainly in Argyleshire and the southern isles. The Picts and Attacotti may be taken as covering the indigenous races north of the wall; possibly they may be identified as the Goidelic and Brythonic Celts respectively. The Attacotti were absurdly accused of being cannibals. The invaders were driven back and sharply punished, and order was restored by the Count Theodosius.

Picts and Scots.

But the Roman Empire was tottering under the attacks of the Goths. In 383 the Roman general in Britain, Maximus, claimed the Empire of the West, and presently, to make good that claim or a more ambitious one, he carried off the pick of the troops to Gaul. He was soon afterwards overthrown by the Emperor Theodosius, the son of the count of that name. After this we hear of a reorganisation of the forces in Britain, but it is impossible to arrive at any clear idea of its character or its value. It seems tolerably certain that the garrison was considerably reduced to reinforce the great general Stilicho in his victorious struggles with Alaric the Goth, and other Teutonic hordes. In Britain, out of reach

End of the Roman occupation.

of any central authority, a soldier of Briton blood named Constantine took the opportunity of claiming the Imperial purple; and, after the precedent of Maximus, carried off the best of the troops to Gaul to make his claim good in 407. Constantine failed, but the troops never came back. In this sense, and in this sense only, the Roman legions evacuated Britain. A very considerable proportion of the garrison, in fact, remained, but there was no further attempt on the part of any Roman emperor to dispatch fresh forces to the island or to recover control of the government. Britain was left to take care of itself. The result was that in what had been Roman Britain there very soon ceased to be any recognised central authority at all, chaos supervened, and the Saxons found in the island a country which lay open to conquest.

Britain had no historian of her own. The written records of the Roman occupation are to be found in the cursory references of the Roman chroniclers, often untrustworthy and almost always desultory. Yet out of the meagre supply of facts, reinforced by what we can infer with tolerable certainty from the remains and inscriptions investigated by archæologists, we have to construct something reasonably compatible with the evolution of the conditions which we know to have actually prevailed (from the contemporary account of the monk Gildas) when more than a century had passed since the date to which we assign the Roman evacuation.

Roman influences.

Wherever the Romans went they carried with them the *Pax Romana*, the Latin tongue, and the religious cult of the City of Rome and of the Emperor; but of all the regions in which they established the Roman peace, none perhaps seem to have been so little Latinised as Britain. In Gaul and Spain the Latin language took so firm a hold that only remnants of other languages survived locally; and when the Teutons, Goths, Vandals, or Franks swept over the land as conquerors, the Latin language, nevertheless, practically obliterated theirs instead of being obliterated itself. But in Britain Latin can never have been the popular tongue at all; it never displaced the Brythonic dialects, and left hardly a trace on the

tongue of the Britons who were cooped up in the western hills by the English invaders. Within a century after the invasion of Aulus Plautius the whole of Britain south of the wall of Hadrian had acquiesced in the Roman dominion; nor did any part of it afterwards make any attempt to shake off the Roman yoke.* It regarded itself apparently with pride as a portion of the Empire; it was the base from which several pretenders to the purple started; but none of them, unless it were Carausius or the last Constantine, thought of separating themselves from Imperial Rome. Rome, it may be said, dominated the imagination of the people of Britain, but it did not make them Romans. It is impossible to say even how far the Druidical religion of the Britons gave place to the worship of the Roman Pantheon, or to the various religions or superstitions which became fashionable from time to time in the Roman world. The one obvious fact in this connection is that in the fourth century Christianity must have been almost universally accepted. For only in a definitely Christian region could a heretical prophet have arisen; and Britain gave birth to perhaps the most important of all the heresiarchs in the person of Pelagius. Christianity took so firm a hold that after the fourth century, when the Britons forgot very nearly everything that the Romans might have been supposed to have taught them, they never reverted to their own earlier paganism.

The Romans, we may say, did not colonise England. They garrisoned the country, but only a small proportion of the garrisons consisted of Roman troops; the great bulk of them, including all those employed on the northern frontier, were regiments of the allies. Some of them acquired estates, the *villae* worked by servile or semi-servile labour; but there never seems to have been more than a small number of what may be called Roman gentry. The Romans built cities, some of which became flourishing commercial centres; but primarily the Roman cities were garrison towns; and only to a very limited extent were the Roman legionaries planted upon British soil as *coloni*. In like manner the Roman roads were built solely for military purposes, and the wealthy

The occupation.

towns were developed only where a valuable strategic position happened also to be well situated as a commercial centre. The *Pax Romana* put an end to the perpetual raiding and counter-raiding of the tribes, which in the past had been the great incentive to military development; and a people which had once borne a high military character lost that character completely. At the same time, under a military government, they were also diverted from progressing politically upon what might be called their natural line of development.

Disintegration.

It would appear that if there had been about the year 410 a capable administrator and soldier among the officials then in Britain, ambitious to seize the supremacy, like Carausius a century earlier, and shrewd enough to limit his ambitions to dominion in Britain, such a man would have had in his hands the material for organising a powerful kingdom. If the British population had ceased to be soldiers as they had been soldiers in the days of Julius Cæsar, there was still a quite considerable professional army; and there is good ground for supposing that the bulk of the professional soldiery were of British blood. Theoretically the regiments of allies had been imported from every province of the Roman Empire, and if a British regiment had been raised it would have been sent to serve on the Rhine or the Danube, or in Africa or Asia. But in practice the foreign regiments were very largely kept up to standard by local recruiting; the men married wives from among the native population; and when the children grew up they were apt to follow in their father's footsteps. The military and political organisations were both there, if there had been any one who knew how to make use of them. But there was no one; both went to pieces; and in a few years, as it would seem, the whole country was breaking into petty principalities, on the pre-Roman lines which had not perished utterly but survived after a sort so far as they had not clashed with the Roman system.

CHAPTER II. THE EARLY ENGLISH KINGDOMS

I. The English Conquest, 450-613

In the first decade of the fifth century the Romans evacuated Britain. In the last decade of the sixth century the greater part of England was English land—that is, the Britons had been driven back into the mountainous regions of the west; into Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall, or 'West Wales'; into Wales itself, behind the Severn; and into the country between the Solway and the Dee; though it was not till some years later that the Angles, by the victory of Chester, completely severed the northern group from their kinsfolk in Wales. It is only about this time that assured history emerges from the mists which obscured it for almost two centuries. From this time our great authority, the Venerable Bede, who died in 735, had definite records to work upon. For the earlier period he had little to rely upon except tradition, the partly contemporary work of the Welsh monk Gildas, and the late seventh-century *Historia Brittonum*, now generally referred to by the name of a ninth-century editor, Nennius. Gildas and Nennius we know; and we have a fourth source of information in the later compilation commonly called the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Of this the early portion appears to have been worked up from earlier records and traditions in the time of King Alfred, from whose day it was systematically continued down to the middle of the twelfth century. The Chronicle, while using Bede himself as the main authority, embodies also the traditions of the conquering race, and especially those of the West Saxons. Gildas, an extremely hysterical person who wrote about the year 545, is a valuable authority for events which occurred during his own lifetime and within his own ken,

The authorities.

but otherwise is very nearly worthless; little more than suggestions of possible truths can be gathered from the collection of British legends in Nennius; so that in the main we have to rely upon the sober traditions of the conquerors, while recognising that they are themselves traditions with little or no documentary authority. There are, however, two documents which throw a definite light upon the condition of Britain in the first few years following the Roman evacuation: the life of the missionary bishop St. Germanus, who visited the country in 429, and again eighteen years later; and a letter written by St. Patrick about 450.

The popular and familiar account, derived from the work which might fitly be called the Lamentations of Gildas, is as follows:—'The departure of the Romans left the unhappy Britons with no troops, no military stores, no rulers, and no knowledge of the art of war, entirely at the mercy of the Picts and Scots who fell upon them from the north and north-west.' The helpless people, says Gildas, appealed to Rome; the Romans sent a legion, which drove the invading hordes out of the country, built a wall across the northern boundary, and then retired. The Picts and Scots broke in again; but the Romans, though they came once more to the rescue, gave notice that it was for the last time, and in future the islanders must take care of themselves. They were no sooner gone than the Picts and Scots returned to the attack, carrying such havoc as do wolves among sheep. Then the British king applied to the Saxons for help; the Saxons came, and having routed the Picts and Scots set about the conquest of the land on their own account, their first excuse being that their pay was insufficient. 'Then,' says Gildas, 'was kindled by the sacrilegious hands of the eastern folk a fire which blazed from sea to sea, and sank not till its red and cruel tongues were licking the western ocean.' There follows a lurid picture of universal devastation. The wretched inhabitants fled to the mountains, or, to escape starvation, submitted themselves to become the perpetual slaves of the conqueror. Then some of the robbers returned home, the fugitives rallied under the leadership of Ambrosius Aurelianus,

Gildas.

the only Roman left, and in the year in which Gildas was born inflicted a great defeat at Mount Badon upon the invaders. From that time—in other words, during the life of Gildas—external wars ceased among the Britons, though not civil strifes; but the people did not reoccupy the regions from which they had been driven, which were left in dreary desertion and ruin. The Britons fell into a state of hopeless anarchy. 'Kings, public and private persons, priests, ecclesiastics, followed every one their own devices. We have kings but they are tyrants; judges but they are unrighteous,' and in such terms his Jeremiad continues.

Onto the story of Gildas is grafted the legend of the *Historia Brittonum*. Stripped of supernatural adjuncts, the story is that a certain Vortigern was reigning in Britain, who took into his pay certain rovers from Germany, whose captains were Hengist and Horsa. Vortigern married the lovely daughter of Hengist, who sent for more and more of his own countrymen, on whom Vortigern bestowed Kent and also a region in the north. Vortigern's son Vortimer after three fierce battles drove the Saxons out again. Then Vortimer died, the Saxons returned in force, Vortigern ceded wide territories to them, and then the Saxon power expanded till it was checked by the British captain Arthur[1] at Mount Badon, the last of a series of twelve tremendous battles. **Nennius.**

Bede's only practical contribution to the story is borrowed from the life of St. Germanus. The bishop came, intent apparently on completing the conversion of the Britons to Christianity and the refutation of the prevalent Pelagian heresy. This part of his work was accomplished not without miracles; but he was also a practical man, who had been a soldier in his youth; and under his direction the Britons won the famous and bloodless 'Hallelujah victory' over a combined force of Picts and Saxons. The enemy, inveigled into mountain passes, fled in wild panic when the cry of Hallelujah, raised by the unseen foe, reverberated on all sides from crag and cliff. Quite evidently at this time, 429, the old enemies **St. Germanus and St. Patrick.**

[1] See Note I., *King Arthur*.

were making onslaughts, but were by no means carrying matters all their own way, as Gildas relates. Moreover, the letter of St. Patrick above referred to is addressed to the subjects of a Coroticus (Caradoc), who had made himself king of the land between Solway and Clyde mouth; and it is evident that the Picts and Scots, instead of overrunning the country, were beaten out by the king, who thrust the Picts back behind the wall of Antonine, fought the Scots' fleets, and raided their lands in Ireland.

The Chronicle.

Now when we turn to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle we get a consistent intelligible account, though an incomplete one, of the course of the conquest. First of all, Hengist and Horsa came over at the invitation of Vortigern in 449. They fought and defeated the Picts, but six years later they were fighting the Britons themselves. Horsa was killed, but in the course of the next eighteen years Hengist and his son had made themselves completely masters of Kent. In 477 came a fresh horde of Saxons led by Aelle, who landed in Sussex (which was completely cut off from Kent by the impracticable wastes called the Andredesweald). In 491 they entirely wiped out the British population of what had been the Roman fortress of Anderida, by Pevensey. In 495 came the third band, the West Saxons, led by Cerdic and his son Cynric, who landed in Hampshire. When Cerdic died in 534 he was master of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight. In the next twenty-six years Cynric extended the West Saxon dominion over most of the modern Wiltshire. This has carried us past the point where the history of Gildas ends. The Chronicle gives no record of invasions north of the Thames until 549, when the Angle Ida fortified Bamborough and founded the kingdom of Northumbria. Ida, says the chronicler, was succeeded in 560 by Aelle. It is to be observed that we have so far no definite account of the English settlement along the east coast between the Thames and the Humber, or of the beginnings of the Middle English and Mercian kingdoms, of which the former name applies to the counties immediately to the west of East Anglia and Essex, and the latter primarily to the 'marches' or northern and north-western half

of the midlands. But as we have no record of later invasions, of the coming of immigrants, after the middle of the sixth century, it is safe to assume that the bands which consolidated into these divisions early in the seventh century must have already penetrated into the country.

Out of the various accounts before us we can now construct a story with some pretence to verisimilitude. Britain, lacking a head after the departure of Constantine, broke up into a sort of confederacy of local magnates or chiefs. Without much concert, but still stubbornly enough for some half century, they made head against the frequently leagued forces of the Picts, Scots, and Saxons. We can hardly imagine that the Picts penetrated any great distance southwards by way of the wall; the attacks would rather have been on the west and east coasts. Some British prince, however, invited a band of the Saxons or, more accurately, their near neighbours the Jutes—Bede is very express in stating that Hengist and Horsa belonged to the Jutish tribe—to enter his service as mercenaries; and those Jutish mercenaries established themselves certainly in Kent, and also very possibly in the neighbourhood of the wall, about the middle of the fifth century. The brief but very definite story of Aelle in Sussex, as related in the Chronicle, suggests that the complete subjugation of the south-east was only achieved after hard fighting a few years before the century closed. Dismissing for the moment the story of the rise of Wessex [1] under Cerdic and his son, which contains in itself strong signs of being legendary, we turn to the definitely contemporary account of Gildas. Gildas seems certainly to have written about the year 545, and he seems definitely to date his own birth and the battle of Mount Badon forty-four years earlier. We must recognise his statement as to the position of affairs between 500 and 545 as having the strongest authority. On this assumption it is clear that by the year 500 the southern Britons—Gildas has nothing whatever to say about the country north of the Humber and the Mersey—had been swept back behind the Severn

The story reconstructed.

The invasion checked.

[1] See Note II., *The West Saxon Conquest.*

and into the western counties of the south. Also it is clear that at the beginning of the sixth century the tide of invasion was broken, and for the next forty or fifty years great districts between those held by the Britons and those fully occupied by the Saxons were left deserted. We should judge, therefore, that during the last decade of the fifth century there was a great incursion, which for a time swept everything before it, but was finally beaten off—an incursion as to which the Saxon tradition preserved silence or modified into the semi-legendary account of Cerdic and Cynric.

As to the Wessex tradition, for the glorification of the house of Cerdic, it may be remarked that several of the names given are open to more than suspicion, including that of Cerdic himself; while it is quite certain that in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight Jutes were firmly established before West Saxons. We incline to believe that the West Saxons, whom we find starting on a really historical career of conquest after 560, were established on the Thames, and had come from the east, not from the south, penetrating inland beyond the Middle and East Saxons of Middlesex and Essex.

At any rate the historical atmosphere has become comparatively clear, and the persons are no longer under suspicions of being legendary when we reach the year 560. In the north Ida had made himself a kingdom, which may have penetrated no great distance inland, from the Forth to the Humber. In this year Ida died; the northern half of his kingdom, called Bernicia, passed under the sway of a series of his sons, of whom the last was named Aethelric; and the southern half fell under that of a chieftain named Aelle. Angles must have been in full occupation of Lincolnshire, Norfolk, and Suffolk, and at least in partial occupation of a great part of the midlands, subsequently consolidated into the kingdom of Mercia; but of these as yet we hear nothing, as we hear nothing of the Saxons in Essex and Middlesex. The great king Aethelbert was just about to succeed to the throne in Kent; Sussex was geographically isolated; and Ceawlin had succeeded Cynric as king of the West Saxons.

The second advance, 560-613.

Whatever Ceawlin's actual dominions may have been at this time, he was the hero of the Saxon expansion in the south. In 568 he put Aethelbert of Kent to rout, and three years later he and his brother Cutha extended his rule over the district on the north of the Thames valley from Bedford to Oxford. According to the Chronicle, this was a war against the 'Britons'; but the existence of an independent British kingdom so far to the east at this date is incredible. The statement is probably due to an error in transcription, and the conquered territories must have been already in the occupation, of Angles or Saxons. In 577, however, a really decisive blow was dealt against the Britons. Ceawlin, carrying his arms westwards, inflicted a great defeat upon them at Deorham in Gloucestershire, between Bath and Bristol; and the effect of the victory was to make him master of the country as far as the Bristol Channel. The people of West Wales, Damnonia, in other words, Dorset, West Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall were permanently cut off from their British kinsmen in Wales itself. A little later Ceawlin was again campaigning against the Britons with no great success; but the region in which this war was carried on cannot be identified. Wessex again relapses into obscurity, and Aethelbert of Kent is recognised as the greatest of the kings of the south, and as apparently in some sort overlord of the rest up to the Humber. The story of conquest is transferred to the north.

Ceawlin of Wessex.

From 560 to 588 Ida's Northumbrian kingdom was divided between his sons and Aelle of Deira. Aethelfrith, son of Aethelric, son of Ida, married Aelle's daughter, and when Aelle died Aethelric again ruled over Northumbria. Eadwin, the son of Aelle's old age, a child of three, was of course passed over. Five years later Aethelfrith succeeded Aethelric, and young Eadwin was very soon a fugitive from his dangerous brother-in-law. Aethelfrith was a man of war. He gained one district after another from the Britons, who, even up to this time, would seem to have maintained their hold on great part of Yorkshire as well as on Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire. In 603 a Celtic movement against this vigorous

Aethelfrith of Northumbria.

warrior was headed by the Scots king Aidan of Dalriada. A great battle was fought at Dawston in Liddesdale, which resulted in an overwhelming victory for the English. 'From that time,' wrote Bede in 730, 'none of the Scots kings ventured to do battle with the English folk in Britain until this day.' On this occasion the Celts were the aggressors. In 613 Aethelfrith delivered the crushing blow which severed the Celts of Wales from the Celts of the north, as Ceawlin's victory of Deorham had severed them from those of the south. The great battle was fought close to Chester, and it carried the dominion of Northumbria to the estuaries of the Dee and the Mersey. The Celtic forces were completely shattered; and among those slaughtered were a great company of monks from Bangor whom Aethelfrith refused to recognise as non-combatants—they were there, he said, to pray for the help of their God in the battle, and therefore were practically combatants no less than if they had carried arms. The battle of Chester in effect completes the story of the conquest. The Britons were now severed into three groups: in Strathclyde from the Clyde to the Mersey, in Wales behind the Severn and the Dee, and in Damnonia on the south of the Bristol Channel.

The decisive conquest, then, was carried out between 570 and 613 by Ceawlin, king of the West Saxons, in the south, and by Aethelfrith, king of the Northumbrian Angles, in the north. Until that time it would seem that from the Tyne to the Channel the Britons had remained in possession west of a line corresponding roughly with the second meridian of longitude, besides holding a substantial portion of Yorkshire east of that line. The campaign which forced back and sundered the loosely associated British confederacy really ended the possibility of a British recovery.

Aethelbert of Kent.

Throughout these years Aethelbert was reigning in Kent, unconcerned with the British wars, but consolidating his own kingdom and developing an ascendency over Saxons and Angles up to the borders of Aethelfrith's kingdom, and, at least after Ceawlin's death in 593, over Wessex itself. Kent was the longest established of all the English dominions, and the one which was in touch with the comparatively advanced civilisation of the Franks. According to Bede, Aethelbert was the

third ruler who had been recognised as general overlord south of the Humber, his predecessors in that honour having been Ceawlin of Wessex and in the previous century Aelle of Sussex. His dignity and reputation were so great that he obtained in marriage the hand of the Frankish princess Bertha, of the reigning Merovingian house, in spite of the fact that she was a Christian and he was a heathen. The years which were signalised by the advance of Angles and Saxons against the Britons were signalised also by the introduction of Latin Christianity among the English of the south-east.

Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, the peoples collected under one name as the English, were pagans, worshippers of the Teutonic deities, of whom the chief were Woden and Thor. There is no sign whatever that any enterprising Christian missionaries had ever attempted to carry Christianity among them. The Britons had been Christianised during the last century of the Roman occupation; the process had been confirmed or completed by St. Germanus in the first half of the fifth century, and the faith had taken firm root in Ireland. But both in Britain and in Ireland the Church had been cut off from ecclesiastical movements on the Continent, and in methods and usages had become considerably differentiated from the Roman Church, which dominated Western Christendom. The Britons in Britain were moved by no missionary zeal to attempt the conversion of their pagan enemies. The Scots from Ireland who built up the Scots kingdom of Dalriada between 450 and 550 were already more or less Christianised; but the spread of Christianity in the north was the work of the Irish monk Columba and his missionaries in the last third of the sixth century. Hitherto the missionaries of the Celtic Church had not touched the Angles planted along the coastal districts from Tyne to Forth and pushing inland under Ida, Aelle, and Aethelric.

British Christianity.

In the year 590 Gregory the Great became pope. Fifteen years earlier, moved by the sight of some fair boys brought to the Roman slave market from Deira, he had been inspired by a fervent desire to spread Christianity among the English. The story is too familiar to be repeated

Gregory the Great.

here. The Church could not spare him to carry out his project, but when he himself was raised to the papal throne, no long time elapsed before he organised the mission which was entrusted to the conduct of Augustine. The opportunity was a good one. The fame of the power of Aethelbert of Kent was spread abroad. His Frankish wife was allowed to practise her own religion, though she had made no attempt to spread it further. A mission was at least not likely to meet with a hostile reception. Augustine himself was evidently extremely nervous, so nervous that a year passed after he started from Rome before he landed with his companions in the island of Thanet, in the spring of 597. The missionary band of forty was received courteously if cautiously. They were quartered at first in the island of Thanet and then at Canterbury itself, the capital of the Jutish kingdom, under the sheltering protection of the monarch, and they were given permission to teach and preach. Before long the king himself received baptism; and the voluntary conversion of his subjects proceeded apace, though no pressure was employed either to accelerate or to retard the process. Progress was so satisfactory and so peaceable that in 600 Augustine was ordained archbishop of the English people. Somewhat prematurely Gregory gave the archbishop instructions for dividing the country into dioceses as soon as such a step should be feasible, and even for appointing a second archbishop to Eboracum—that is, York. Eminently sensible and liberal-minded instructions were also given as to the adaptation of English customs to Christian uses, and the extent to which other Christian customs than those prevalent at Rome should be admitted.

Augustine, 597.

Not long afterwards we find Augustine in conference with the Welsh ecclesiastics. The Welsh were jealous of their own ecclesiastical independence, and obviously supposed, not without reason, that Augustine wished to bring them under the immediate direction of Canterbury and Rome. The Church ought to take concerted action for spreading the faith, but the churchmen must be in harmony. Particularly, in Augustine's view, it was necessary

Augustine and the Welsh Church.

that the Welsh should adopt the Roman principle for fixing the date of Easter. The Welsh could see no reason for changing their own ways, which were in conformity with the earlier practice of the Church at large. We may believe that the real crux was the unwillingness of the Welsh to accept dictation from Canterbury, rather than a conviction that points in dispute, which must appear ridiculously trivial to modern eyes, were worth insisting upon at the price of a permanent antagonism in place of healthy co-operation. Augustine was tactless and dictatorial, the conference came to nothing, and with its failure vanished the hope of a united Church exercising its unifying influence over the whole island.

Before Aethelbert died in 616 the general ascendency had already passed to his nephew Redwald, king of East Anglia.

II. The Northumbrian and Mercian Supremacies 613-800

Apart from the conversion of Kent—for outside of Kent Christianity took no immediate hold, in spite of the baptism of the kings of East Anglia and Essex—the interest of the seventh century centres almost exclusively in the north. Eadwin, the son of Aelle, fled at a very early age from the sight of his fierce brother-in-law Aethelfrith. According to the story, he took refuge for a time with Cadvan, king of Gwynedd, or North-West Wales; and it has been somewhat superfluously suggested that Aethelfrith's Chester campaign was intended to remove from his path this pretender to the throne of Deira. In like manner, it is stated that Aidan's earlier attack upon him was intended to place a cousin of his on the Northumbrian throne. The pretender in either case merely afforded a pretext, not the real reason of the war. In Eadwin's case the story is made the more doubtful because there is no sign that he had any leanings to Christianity before his actual conversion; which does not look as if his youth had been spent at a Christian court in Wales. After Chester, however, Eadwin was certainly at the court of Redwald of East Anglia, who had already superseded

Eadwin of Deira.

Aethelbert in the supremacy of the south. Redwald had been baptised; but his Christianity was more than dubious, since he is reported to have had an altar on which he sacrificed to 'devils' in the same temple in which he set up an altar to Christ. Aethelfrith, however, evidently considered that Eadwin was dangerous, since he invited Redwald to murder his guest. This he had made up his mind to do when, under divine guidance, according to Bede, he was dissuaded from the act of treachery by his wife. Instead of murdering Eadwin he marched against the great northern king, surprised and slew him at the battle of the Idle river, and set up Eadwin as king of Northumbria in 616 or 617. Aethelfrith's sons disappeared into the Celtic north, Redwald died almost immediately, and in a very short time Eadwin was making his hand felt on all sides as the mightiest king in Britain. Redwald being dead, his successor seems to have submitted to the Northumbrian supremacy; Mercia, as yet unorganised, followed suit; and it would seem that Wessex also acknowledged the overlordship. Eadwin did not attack Kent, but obtained for his wife the Christian Kentish princess Aethelberga. In the north also Eadwin's power was acknowledged; and Edinburgh, Eadwin's burgh, takes its name from the great prince, of whom it is said by Bede that in his day 'a woman with her newborn babe might walk unharmed over the whole island from sea to sea through all the king's dominions.'

Eadwin achieves supremacy, 617.

Eadwin's marriage with Aethelberga prepared the way for the spread of Christianity in Northumbria. At first the queen's chaplain Paulinus made little enough progress. But on one night the queen bore a son to the king, and the king himself escaped the dagger of an assassin sent from Wessex only through the courageous devotion of one of his thegns. Paulinus attributed both these happy events to Christian prayers. Eadwin deferred consideration of this point of view till he had executed vengeance upon the kings of Wessex who had sent the assassin. On his return from this expedition he still showed no haste in yielding to the exhortations of Paulinus, until one day, as he sat in solitary meditation after

Eadwin and Paulinus.

his wont, 'the man of God,' says Bede, 'came to him and laid his hand upon his head and asked him whether he recognised that sign.' The action recalled a vision or dream which had come to Eadwin on the night when Redwald was contemplating his murder. The divine visitant had prophesied that Redwald would do him no harm, that he should overcome his enemies, that he should be mightier than any previous ruler of the English, and ended by saying: 'If he who hath foretold truthfully these things which shall come to pass shall be able to show thee counsel of salvation and life better and more profitable than ever was heard of by any of thy kinsfolk, wilt thou obey him and hearken to his saving precepts?' Which promise being readily given by Eadwin, the vision laid a hand upon his head, saying: 'When this sign shall come to thee, remember and make haste to fulfil thy promise.'

When, therefore, Paulinus recalled that sign Eadwin remembered and promised to receive baptism himself, and also to summon his witan or council of wise men and confer with them as to the general acceptance of Christianity. The witan being summoned and the question being propounded, the chief priest Coifi promptly pronounced against the efficiency of the gods whom he worshipped professionally. His experience was that they showed no proper attention to the prosperity of their votaries. A less materialistic argument was adduced by another of the council. 'The life of man is but a span long, like the flight of a sparrow through a chamber in the winter-time, out of the dark into the dark; and, even so, of all that goeth either before or after we know nothing. If the new doctrine can give us knowledge of this vast unknown, surely it is to be followed.' So Paulinus was called in to expound the new doctrine, the witan were convinced, and the high priest himself rode forth mounted, in defiance of the religious law, upon a stallion instead of a mare, carrying sword and spear, galloped up to the temple, flung the spear into it, and called to his comrades to set it on fire. Thus picturesquely was the conversion of the Northumbrian magnates announced to the surprised population. Naturally the spread of Christianity throughout the dominion

The conversion of the north.

was rapid; for it nowhere appears that either Angles or Saxons were deeply attached to the religion of their ancestors. Lincolnshire or Lindsey followed the contagious example; so also did East Anglia, where piety assumed extravagant forms among the upper classes, who became apt to forget their political responsibilities in their desire for monastic holiness.

Mighty as was King Eadwin, a new and dangerous power was being consolidated in the midlands for his overthrow. Nothing practically has hitherto been heard of Mercia; but at about the time when Eadwin was turning wrathfully upon the kings of Wessex, the rulership of Mercia came into the hands of a vigorous and experienced warrior. The Mercians may have more or less acknowledged some sort of overlordship in Aethelfrith; but Penda was somewhat of a primitive pagan, with a hearty contempt for what he had seen of the Christians and no inclination to remain under the yoke of the Christian king of Northumbria. The Welsh in the west as well as the men of Strathclyde were still smarting from the blows dealt by the last Northumbrian king, and very possibly Cadwallon of Gwynedd resented the claims to overlordship put forward by the man whom perhaps his own father Cadvan had protected. The breach between the Welsh and Latin Churches was sufficiently marked for the Welshmen to regard the converted Angles as rather worse than heathens, just as at a later day there were Protestant reformers who thought it justifiable to league with the Moslem against the papist powers. The Welshmen leagued with Penda, who had no objection to seeing the Christians fighting against each other. The allies marched against the Northumbrian king, and overthrew and slew him in the great rout of Heathfield or Hatfield Chase. The Welshmen, more than the Mercians, swept with fire and sword over Northumbria as far at any rate as Tyne or Tweed. Eadwin's wife and young children escaped from the country to Kent. Penda seems to have retired satisfied, or inclining rather to extend his sway over the southern and western midlands, leaving Northumbria for the time to the Welsh.

Penda of Mercia.

The Northumbrians recognised Osric, a young cousin of

Eadwin's, as king in Deira, and Eanfride, the eldest son of Aethelfrith, as king in Bernicia. Osric attacked Cadwallon, but his force was cut to pieces and he himself killed. Eanfride came to treat with the Welshman, and according to the English tradition was treacherously murdered. But redemption came with Oswald, the second son of Aethelfrith, the champion at once of the Anglian and the Christian cause. It has been noted that before the arrival of Augustine in England, the Irish St. Columba and his missionaries, from his monastery in the island of Iona, had established the Celtic Christianity among the Celtic peoples of the north. The Scots king Aidan, who suffered the great defeat at the hands of Aethelfrith in 603, probably regarded his war as one of religion not less than of race, since there was a marked distinction between Gaels and Britons. It is curious, and creditable to Gaelic Christianity, that when Aethelfrith was overthrown by Redwald and Eadwin, his second son Oswald and perhaps other members of the family took refuge among the Scots, and the boy was brought up among the monks of Iona and was thoroughly imbued with Christianity. There he would doubtless have remained, but for the fall of Eadwin at Heathfield and the murder of his own brother Eanfride by Cadwallon. These events, however, brought him back to Bernicia; the Angles rallied to the son of Aethelfrith and representative of the line of Ida. With a comparatively small force he fell upon the hosts of the British king at Heavenfield in Northumberland, shattered them utterly, and by his decisive victory practically recovered all that had been lost at Heathfield. Deira as well as Bernicia welcomed the victor, who reigned mightily over Northumbria as a right Christian prince but also as a vigorous warrior.

Oswald of Northumbria.

The Latin Christianity introduced by Eadwin and Paulinus had received an exceedingly rude shock. Not from the south but from the north, not from Canterbury but from Iona, came the saintly Aidan, who, working in complete harmony with Oswald, established the faith in the northern kingdom, of which Lindisfarne was made the ecclesiastical as Bamborough was the political centre. While Aidan and Oswald by precept and

example spread a very genuine and practical Christianity, the king's supremacy was acknowledged according to Bede by Britons, Picts, Scots, and Angles; but we have no details as to the method by which he extended his overlordship all over the island. Presumably there was nothing more than a formal recognition of a titular supremacy. For old Penda of Mercia was as little inclined as of yore to submit permanently to a Northumbrian supremacy. In 642, the seventh year of his reign and the thirty-eighth of his age, Oswald was slain in battle against Penda at Maserfield, commonly identified as Oswestry.

Penda again.

As before, however, Penda, though he probably ravaged Northumbria, did not seek to extend his own dominion over the north. Two years after Maserfield, Northumbria was again parted in two, with Oswiu or Oswy, brother of Oswald, reigning in Bernicia, and Oswin, son of Eadwin's cousin Osric, whom Cadwallon slew, reigning in Deira. Penda's heavy hand smote the recently Christianised Wessex in 645, and the Mercian kingdom was probably established as far south as the Thames valley. A few years earlier he had smitten East Anglia, and in 654 he smote it again. But the last scene of the old pagan's life belongs once more to the history of Northumbria.

From 744 to 751 Oswy and Oswin reigned in Bernicia and Deira. Oswy was a worthy successor of his brother, while the same combination of Christian virtue and manly valour distinguished Oswin. Both, especially Oswin, were warm friends of Aidan. Unhappily, however, there were dissensions between the two princes; Oswin found himself unable to resist Oswy's superior forces when the dissensions led to open war in 651, and he was betrayed into the hands of one of Oswy's officers, who killed him.

Oswy of Northumbria.

Whether personally responsible for the crime or no, the murder remains the one blot upon the fair fame of Oswy, who ruled gloriously over a united Northumbria for the next twenty years.

Just at this time there was peace between Mercia and Northumbria, and Oswy's son Alchfrid took to wife a daughter of Penda. At the same time Penda's son Peada, king of the

Middle Angles, whom Penda had long since brought under his sway, married Oswy's daughter. The condition, his adoption of Christianity, does not appear to have been resented by the old king. In spite of these matrimonial alliances, however, Oswy found it impossible to curb Penda's aggressiveness; in 655 he marched against him, and the last of the pagans, now over eighty years of age, was slain in the great battle of Winwaed. Possibly the overthrow of the East Anglian kingdom in 654 was the cause which moved Oswy to challenge the fierce old barbarian.

Though Penda was slain Oswy seems to have secured no real hold upon Mercia. His son-in-law Peada was murdered, and Wulfhere, a younger son of Penda but a zealous Christian, was raised to the Mercian throne. Wulfhere seems to have been practically overlord of all the country between the Humber, the Severn, the Thames, and the eastern sea, and to have compelled the kings of East Anglia and Essex to acknowledge his supremacy. South of the Thames the Britons must have regained some of their lost ground, since we find the Wessex kings fighting with them in Wiltshire. Wessex no doubt had suffered grievously at the hands of Penda, and the sway of Sussex, still largely pagan, had extended over part of Hampshire as well as the Isle of Wight. It is claimed, on the other hand, that the Northumbrian overlordship extended to the Britons and the Picts, and was effective in the east of Scotland as far north even as Aberdeen.

Wulfhere of Mercia.

When Oswy died in 671 he was succeeded by his son Ecgfrith. Ecgfrith would seem to have been ambitious, for he attacked Wulfhere of Mercia, from whom he recovered Lindsey. Four years later, in 679, Wulfhere's brother and successor Aethelred got Lindsey back again, and from that year onwards there was peace between Mercia and Northumbria. Ecgfrith turned his arms to the north, where a king of the northern Picts was extending his own domination. In 685 Ecgfrith lead a great expedition beyond the Forth; but the Picts enticed him into unknown ground, and fell on him at Dunnechtan or Nechtansmere in Forfar, where the Northumbrian king was killed and his army was cut to pieces. As the result of

Ecgfrith of Northumbria.

that victory the Picts and Scots in Strathclyde broke almost entirely free from such supremacy as Northumbria had exercised. In effect, after Nechtansmere, the political might departed from the once dominant Anglian kingdom of the north.

The Celtic and Latin Churches.

While Oswy still ruled in Northumbria, the important question was decided whether the Latin or the Celtic Church should predominate. The Latin Church had been firmly established in Kent, found a very uncertain footing in Essex, and then conquered Deira and East Anglia in the time of Eadwin of Northumbria and Paulinus. Then the Celtic Church in the time of Oswald and Aidan secured Bernicia and also in part Deira. Northumbrian zeal taught the Mercians their Christianity and definitely converted Essex, while in the south Wessex was evangelised by the Latins. The apparent presumption was that the Celtic Church would dominate the north and the midlands, while the Latin Church would dominate the east and the south. The real differences were differences of organisation; the controversial differences were of that trivial character which excites the maximum of theological antagonism. They were concerned chiefly with two questions: the correct form of the tonsure and the correct way of calculating the date of Easter. But this latter controversy carried with it practical inconveniences which impressed Oswy. Brought up like his brother Oswald in the Celtic usage, he had married a wife, Eanflaed, the daughter of Eadwin, who had been brought up by her mother in Kent in the Latin usage. Hence it might occasionally happen that one part of the royal household would be plunged in the mourning of Passion Week precisely when the other portion was celebrating the After Easter feast. Oswy made up his mind that the question must be settled, and he summoned a synod to be held at Whitby in 664—to give the place the name subsequently bestowed on it by the Danes. The Celtic party appealed to the authority of St. Columba; the Latins crushed them by a certainly far-fetched appeal to St. Peter. Oswy decided in favour of St. Peter, on the ground that it would be as well to avoid giving needless provocation to the apostle, who had undoubtedly received authority to open or lock the gates of

heaven. The decision of the secular arbitrator was conclusive; the Latin doctrine was accepted throughout Northumbria and with it the Latin authority. For practical purposes the synod of Whitby decided that there should be one Latin Church throughout England.

Five years later Theodore of Tarsus was appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury by the Pope, to take the place of the Englishman Wighard, who died in Rome of the plague, having been sent thither to be consecrated. **Theodore of Tarsus.** Theodore, though he was already sixty-six, proved himself exceedingly vigorous, and an incomparable organiser. His task was rendered easier so far as concerned England because the Celtic clergy of Northumbria had already accepted the Whitby decision. Since he apparently made no attempt to seek reconciliation with the Church of the Britons, it may be doubted whether he would have effected one with the Celtic Church among the English had it still been dominant in the north.

Still he did not find the position of affairs altogether satisfactory. Shortly after the synod of Whitby, Wilfred, who on that occasion had been the champion of the Latins, was nominated to the bishopric of York, which at this time displaced Lindisfarne as the headquarters of the Northumbrian episcopal see. The prevailing system gave one bishop to each Christian kingdom. Wilfred, questioning the validity of consecration at the hands of Celtically ordained ecclesiastics, withdrew to Gaul that he might be consecrated by thoroughly orthodox bishops; but he tarried there so long that Oswy refused to wait, and Ceadda, familiar to us as St. Chad, was appointed in his place. Ceadda now cheerfully yielded to the representations of Theodore and retired in favour of Wilfred.

But Wilfred, a very splendid prelate, a great ecclesiastic, but emphatically a lover of power, was soon at odds both with the secular court and with the archbishop. Theodore **Wilfred.** meant to rule the whole English Church, and to organise the whole of it; Wilfred was indisposed to recede from the position of practically independent authority. The archbishop, wisely enough, saw that the first necessity was to break up the vast

bishopries into smaller and more manageable sees. With the approval of Ecgfrith, now king of Northumbria, he assigned three sees to three new bishops at Wilfred's expense. Wilfred went to Rome to appeal to the Pope, who ordered his full restitution; but when he returned to Northumbria, Ecgfrith threw him into prison on the apparently unfounded charge that he had obtained the papal decision by bribery. After some months he was released but not restored. He withdrew to Mercia, but was presently driven out of it again by the influence of Ecgfrith, who was brother-in-law of the Mercian king Aethelred. Then he went to Wessex, but there the king, Centwine, was the brother-in-law of his particular enemy, Ecgfrith's queen Ermenburga. Expelled from a third Christian kingdom, Wilfred betook himself to Sussex, where the king was indeed a Christian, but the people were still heathens. There, by his labours for the conversion of the South Saxons, he completed the conversion of England, ninety years after the first landing of Augustine. On Ecgfrith's death he was allowed to return to Northumbria, though with only a partial restoration of his dignities. Even then he quarrelled again with Theodore. Banished once more, he betook himself to Rome for the second time, but, in spite of a papal decree, the Northumbrian king Aldfrid declined entirely to set aside the decisions of his predecessors and of the archbishop. After Aldfrid's death, however, there was a general reconciliation, and Wilfred ended his days in peace. The story is important chiefly as foreshadowing very much later struggles between the secular State and ecclesiastical authority backed by the Papacy.

The life of Archbishop Theodore ended in 690. During the twenty-one years of his old age, when he was in England, he successfully carried out his great scheme of breaking up the huge dioceses and multiplying bishoprics so that each bishop had a tolerably manageable see. Tradition makes him also the creator of the English parochial system, but the distribution of local clergy would appear rather to have been the natural appropriation by the clerical organisation of the existing system under which the population was grouped. It was not a clerical invention, but merely an intelligent adaptation

Theodore's work.

of what was already there to clerical uses. It may be remarked of him further that while Wilfred was in a sense the forerunner of Becket, Theodore in his way was the forerunner of Lanfranc and of Stephen Langton in his attitude towards Rome. While he was entirely loyal to the Latin Church, he took his own way as metropolitan of England without any undue subserviency towards the dictation of the Papacy; evidently he did not discourage the Northumbrian monarchs in their contests with Wilfred, since the authority of the State was being exerted therein to maintain the policy of which he was himself the author, in opposition to an adversary who had appealed against him to the Pope.

The twenty years' reign of Aldfrid, the successor of Ecgfrith in Northumbria, was free both from wars of aggression and from other serious contests, apart from the king's quarrel with Wilfred. It did not, however, suffice to revive the old fighting energies of Northumbria. In the south towards the end of the century Ceadwalla, a descendant of Ceawlin with a Welsh name, recovered for himself the kingship of Wessex, which had hitherto rested with the descendants of Ceawlin's brother Cutha. Ceadwalla was a great fighter, who made fierce war upon both Sussex and Kent. Also he seems to have freed Wessex from the domination of Mercia, and to have prepared the way for his successor and distant kinsman Ine to bring the West Saxon kingdom into a more highly organised condition than it had hitherto known. In his last days he resigned his crown, and ended his life in Rome.

Decadence of Northumbria.

From the beginning of the eighth century we find England divided with comparative definiteness into three supremacies: Northumbria north of the Humber, Wessex south of the Thames, and Mercia between; while some of the districts immediately north of the Thames are debated between Mercia and Wessex. The minor kingdoms of Kent, Sussex, and generally Essex are subordinate to Wessex, while East Anglia is subordinate to Mercia. Each of the three dominions had its wars with the Britons, Northumbria with the Picts and Scots also; Mercia is frequently at war with Wessex, but rarely with

The eighth century.

Northumbria. Mercia must be regarded as on the whole the dominant kingdom, and decisively so in the last quarter of the century under the rule of Offa; but even Offa, for whatever reason, made no effort to impose his sovereignty over Northumbria. It is also to be observed as a distinguishing feature that, whatever may have been the case at earlier stages, the debatable land between the English kingdoms and the Briton principalities comes under English dominion without any extirpation of the Britons, who are called Welsh in Wessex as well as in Wales. The Welsh are not even enslaved, but are incorporated, so to speak, as citizens in the English kingdoms.

The Northumbrian expansion was ended at the rout of Nechtansmere, but political decay did not set in till the death of Aldfrid in 705. The succession to the Northumbrian throne through the century practically seems to have followed no rule, except that it always went to some one who claimed descent from Ida, and was usually seized by violence. Only two of the kings are noteworthy. The first was Ceolwulf, a pious but not a strong person. He should have succeeded his brother in 718, but was thrust aside by a usurper. In 729 he did succeed the usurper, but two years later he was deposed and made a reluctant monk at Lindisfarne. Almost immediately afterwards he came out of Lindisfarne to assume the crown for the second time, and reigned for six years; at the end of which he again retired to Lindisfarne, this time voluntarily, leaving the crown to his cousin Eadbert. But in the meanwhile he had procured the elevation of York to an archiepiscopal see, which was occupied by his cousin Ecgbert, the brother of his successor on the throne, Eadbert. Thus during Eadbert's reign the secular and the ecclesiastical supremacies of the north were in the hands of two brothers. Eadbert ruled for nineteen years. He was a vigorous monarch, who successfully repulsed an attack made on Northumbria by Aethelbald of Mercia. In alliance with the Pictish king Angus he waged successful war upon the Britons of Strathclyde, and brought them into subjection; but in 756 his forces were presumably ambushed, and were cut to pieces, somewhere in Perthshire; after which he followed Ceolwulf's example

North-umbria.

and passed the remaining ten years of his life in a monastery, leaving his kingdom to fall into total anarchy.

In the south the power of Wessex continued to increase under King Ine, till he abdicated in order to go to Rome in 728. Ine completed what Ceadwalla had begun by bringing Kent, Sussex, and Essex definitely under his overlordship; his campaigns against the Britons in the west really established the West Saxon dominion as far as the borders of Devonshire, and he successfully repelled in 716 the attack of Ceolred, king of Mercia. **Ine of Wessex.**

For twenty years after Ine's abdication the power of Wessex waned and that of Mercia increased under Aethelbald, who succeeded Ceolred in 716. Even in 731, as we know from Bede, he had compelled Wessex and the sub-kings in the south to recognise his supremacy. He was less successful when in 740 he attacked Eadbert of Northumbria. In 752 Cuthred of Wessex rose against him, put him to rout at Burford, and recovered the West Saxon independence. Five years later Aethelbald was murdered by his own bodyguard, and after a brief interval the throne was captured by Offa, who was descended from a brother of Penda. It is curious that only in the next year Oswald of Northumbria, Eadbert's successor, was also slain by his own bodyguard; for as a rule the bodyguard, *comitatus* or king's thegns, were loyal to the death. That loyalty is illustrated by the story of the death of Cynewulf, who became king of Wessex in 755. Cuthred, the victor of Burford, died in 754, and was succeeded by Sigebryht. Sigebryht's witan deposed him for his iniquities, and elected Cynewulf, who after slaying Sigebryht ruled till 786, waging many wars against the Welsh. He was slain by the Aetheling Cyneheard, Sigebryht's brother. Cyneheard, with his *comitatus*, surprised the king, who was visiting his mistress at Merton, says the chronicler. The king held the doorway against his enemies, till in a burst of rage he dashed out among them in order to slay Cyneheard. He was cut down, but in the meantime his thegns had been roused and joined the fray. Cyneheard offered them money and their lives; they refused, and fell fighting—all but one **Aethelbald of Mercia.** **Cynewulf of Wessex.**

man, a Welshman, 'who was already sore wounded.' Cyneheard and his thegns took possession and barricaded the premises, for Cynewulf had brought only a few of his bodyguard, and the rest might be expected to arrive next morning. They did arrive, and Cyneheard at once offered them lands and money to give him the kingdom. 'Your kinsmen,' he said, 'are here with me and will not forsake me.' They replied that to them no kinsman was dearer than their lord, whose murderer they would never follow; but they offered life to Cyneheard's thegns if they would leave him. The answer was defiance; the fray was joined again, and Cyneheard and all his followers were slain—again with a single exception, who was spared because he was the godson of Osric, the leader of the king's thegns.

In the meagre chronicle of Wessex at this period we may be grateful for the preservation of this picturesque episode, which is strikingly illustrative of the social conditions. Obviously every kind of violence was rife, and the Christian virtues were at a discount. A few years before, St. Boniface, while commending Aethelbald of Mercia for the vigour and justice of his government, denounced him for his personal vices, and prophesied that the judgment of heaven would fall upon the English people for their iniquities—words of warning which were remembered when the Northmen came. But the old barbaric virtues were not dead, and where the Saxon felt that his honour was engaged he would fight to the last gasp.

Character of the times.

Whatever Cynewulf's successes may have been against the Welsh, Mercia under Offa recovered its overlordship, and retained it during the reign of Cynewulf's successor Beorhtric. Beorhtric is interesting chiefly because he secured the crown in preference to Ecgbert, who became king some years later. Also he married Eadburh, the daughter of Offa, and by her he is said to have been poisoned. This lady's other misdeeds were such that for some generations Wessex refused to give the title of queen to the consorts of the kings. Beorhtric seems to have been the willing vassal of his father-in-law.

Offa of Mercia.

In Mercia King Offa reigned from 755 to 797. Aethelbald had

deprived Wessex of the overlordship of the sub-kingdoms of the south, though Cuthred had shaken himself free. Of the earlier years of Offa's reign little is known except that he retained or renewed his predecessor's dominion over all these kingdoms, the overlordship of Wessex being finally secured by the rout of Cynewulf at Besington in 777, according to the Chronicle. Besides subjugating the south, however, Offa was campaigning against the Welsh as early as 760. In the last twenty years of his reign there were three great Welsh campaigns. Twice he ravaged South Wales, and after the second attack in 784 he appears to have built Offa's Dyke, the great rampart and foss running from north to south, which almost corresponds to the modern frontier of Wales, though it leaves something more to Wales in the south and takes something more from Mercia in the north. The dyke can have had little value as a fortification, but it laid down a very definite boundary, the crossing of which would at once provide a *casus belli*. The third campaign was in 795.

Offa, as we have remarked, took no advantage of the eternal disorders in Northumbria; doubtless he felt that he had at least nothing to fear from that distracted kingdom. From the Humber to the Channel, however, his supremacy was complete enough to enable him to treat with the mighty king of the Franks, Karl the Great—not yet crowned emperor at Rome—as a brother potentate. The great influence of the Englishman Alcuin with Charlemagne no doubt facilitated courtesies between the Frankish and the English monarchs. It is not difficult to discover reasons why Offa should have sought and obtained from the Pope the institution of Lichfield as an archiepiscopal see. He did not like the Church in his own kingdom to be subjected to the see of Canterbury; it did not accord with what we may perhaps call the dignity of Mercia. The arrangement, however, which was made in 786, came to an end sixteen years later.

The might of Offa.

With a subservient son-in-law reigning in Wessex, and with Kent, Sussex, and Essex under his heel, Offa completed his dominion in 792 by killing Aethelbert of East Anglia and annexing his kingdom. But the death of Offa in 796, followed after a few months

by that of his son, prepared the way for new dynastic broils and the passing of the ascendency to the line of Wessex. And even before Offa's death came the first sign of a new danger to England. In 787, the year in which Beorhtric of Wessex wedded the Mercian king's daughter, 'first came three ships of Norsemen from Haerethaland. And the reeve rode thereto, and would drive them to the king's vill, for he knew not what they were, and they there slew him. Those were the first ships of Danish men that sought the land of the English race.' And again in 793 comes the entry in the Chronicle, that on 8th January 'the havoc of heathen men miserably destroyed God's church at Lindisfarne through rapine and slaughter.' It may be remarked in passing that the Chronicle gives 794 as the year of Offa's death. As he was certainly alive two years later, we must conclude that the chronicler's dates at this period have become somewhat confused, and may diverge from accuracy at least to the extent of a couple of years. The first coming of the Danes, and the return of Ecgbert to Wessex probably in 802, open a new chapter.

The Danes.

Politically the picture we have of the eighth century is one of perpetual war and turmoil. Among the many princes the only really distinguished figure is that of Offa, with the exception of Ine of Wessex during the first quarter. Outside the monasteries all the signs point to moral disintegration, a falling away from the standard set by the great Northumbrian kings in the previous century, to say nothing of the pious but inefficient rulers of East Anglia. The world and the flesh were also abusing ecclesiasticism after their own fashion. Under the cloak of piety, pretended monasteries and convents were established and endowed with lands for no sacred purpose, as Bede very plainly declared in a letter to Ecgfrith, Archbishop of York. The best products of the period were, in fact, the fruit of the governance of the great men of the seventh century, both kings and prelates. The spirituality of men like Aidan and Ceadda, the educational zeal of Theodore of Tarsus, even the intellectual vigour of Wilfred, combined to create, though within only a limited sphere, the conditions which made it possible for the Englishman Bede to rank among the very

highest of the intellectual children not only of the eighth century but of the whole period which we call the Dark Ages. But this subject belongs rather to our next section.

III. The English

From the chronicle of events we turn now to the reconstruction of the political and social character of the English people, who in the four centuries following the Roman evacuation had extirpated or absorbed their Celtic predecessors throughout all but a small portion of what we now call England and in a small part of what we now call Scotland.

The conquering races, Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, all belonged to the Low German stock, and came from the modern Denmark, Schleswig, and Friesland. Of the three we have reason to suppose that the Jutes were nearest of kin to the Gothic and Scandinavian branches of the whole Teutonic group. None of them had been brought into active contact with the Roman civilisation; they had been following their own development upon purely Teutonic lines, unmodified by collisions with the political and social organisation, which had already reached a high pitch of elaboration long before the Teutons came within its ken. The elaboration of political systems can only follow upon territorial settlement, and the Teutons were still a migrant folk when their hordes swept through Gaul and Spain and Italy and northwards across the seas to Britain during the fifth century. The natural presumption, therefore, would be that the remote peoples on the shores of the North Sea still preserved characteristics which had been noted as distinguishing the German races on the borders of the Roman Empire by Cæsar and Tacitus, from three to five hundred years before the settlement in Britain began. That presumption is borne out by the available evidence, and the conditions described by the Roman writers appear to be the natural precursors of the conditions which we judge to have prevailed in England in the days of Ine or of Alfred the Great.

The race.

The primitive organisation of the Germans was tribal—that

is, it was based on the theory of kinship. The whole of the tribe reckoned themselves as kinsfolk in some degree, while in the smaller groups the bond was extremely close. A certain prestige attached to families of high descent (*nobiles*), and where kingship had been adopted the kings were taken from these families; otherwise they had no exceptional privileges. Where the Germans were settled down they were established not in towns but in rural communities. Each community was a group of farmsteads, called by Tacitus *vicus*; the group of *vici* form the larger aggregate, called the *pagus*. The free men (*ingenui*) of the tribe conducted the tribe's business in a general assembly, which also formed the tribe-in-arms; to it each *pagus* sent a hundred free warriors. This general assembly decided questions of importance which concerned the tribe at large; the measures were submitted to it and openly discussed by the *principes*, the head men of the *vicus* and *pagus*, who presided over the local administration of justice and were captains of the local contingents when the tribe went to war. They were themselves chosen by the tribal assembly. The *princeps* had also a personal bodyguard (*comitatus*), admission to which was regarded as a privilege, though it involved some curtailment of the personal liberty of its members. Originally there was no king, but the tribe on going to war elected a war-lord (*dux*) or commander of the whole host. Where kingship was adopted the king's powers were exceedingly limited; where kingship was not adopted the war-lord was chosen on his merits as a leader, not on account of noble birth. In each community the arable lands were annually allotted among the free men, not held in perpetuity, while the surrounding pasture lands were held by them in common. The great bulk of the population consisted of these free men and their families; but there were a few slaves, prisoners of war or criminals, who had no legal rights, being their master's property, but were generally not ill-treated. There were also freed men (*liberti*), no longer slaves, but of inferior status to the free men.

The Germans of Tacitus.

Precisely how closely to this picture the conditions in Friesland and Jutland approximated in the fifth century it is not possible

to say, but at the earlier stages as to which we have evidence of the system in England several of these features reappear. The English are planted in settlements, *tun*, *ham*, or *wick*, corresponding to the *vicus*, where the arable land is allotted among the occupants, while the pasturage and meadows are undivided. There are no large towns of the Roman type; the term village or township as used hereafter applies to these small rural communities. Place-names imply that many of them were settled by family groups with a common patronymic; they are the ham or tun of the Billings, the Wellings, and so on, though this does not amount to a general rule. The townships are grouped for administrative purposes in aggregates called *hundreds*, clearly corresponding to the *pagus*, which had once sent its hundred warriors to the army; and the territorial aggregate of hundreds makes up the petty kingdom or the shire, while the shire assembly and organisation have taken the place of those of the tribe. The landholders gather to transact local business and administer justice in the *moot* of the tun, the hundred, or the shire, under the presidency of the head man, the hundred *ealdor* or the *ealdorman*, who represents the ancient *dux*. Where the term *shire* is used, it signifies a subdivision of a larger kingdom.

The English settlements.

In the description of the conquest the captains of the invading host are usually described as *duces*, war-lords, *ealdormen*, not as kings; but after the host has thoroughly established its footing they assume kingship, and it is an unfailing law that every king, Hengist or Cerdic, Ida, Aelle, or Penda, traced his descent through a surprisingly small number of generations to Woden, the father of the gods. The succession to the kingship follows no law beyond requiring the king to be of the blood royal, the royal kin. The king, when he promulgates decrees, takes counsel with his *witan* or wise men, who appear to be a survival of the council of the *principes*. This council, *witenagemot*, gathering of wise men, chooses the new king; and we observed an instance in the eighth century where the witan deposed one king and nominated another. The institution of the *comitatus*, the bodyguard, the king's *thegns* or *gesiths*, remains in

King and witan.

full force, and is vividly exemplified in the story of Cynewulf. The *nobiles* are recognisable in the *eorls*, whose descent secures them social privileges but no political authority.

The picture of primitive institutions drawn by Tacitus showed the typical settlement as a village or group of households of free men, owing service to no one, occupying ground which was apparently the property of the community forming the township—arable land only being annually allotted to the several households. Personal property at this stage must have consisted only in the annual produce of the allotted lands, in flocks and herds, and in slaves and spoils appropriated in war. In England, however, it may be assumed that the rule of permanent instead of annual allotment had become established among the conquerors before the conquest. Moreover, as soon as explicit references appear, it is evident that conditions of service[1] attached to the holding of some of the land. There are individuals who in some sort are owners of townships. Kings liberally bestow not new lands but existing townships on monasteries, transferring to the grantee some lordship, some rights, possessed by themselves. Lordships and attendant rights have come into being certainly by the beginning of the seventh century—how much earlier we do not know—though there was no mention of them in the accounts of the primitive Germans. As time goes on there are many details available of the services due from *geneats* to their lords, and from the end of the eleventh century onwards there is no doubt at all that a large proportion of the occupiers of the soil were in a state of serfdom. The question, therefore, arises: Did serfdom characterise the English conquest from the beginning, or were conditions of service created out of conditions of unqualified freedom by circumstances which only produced actual serfdom on a large scale after the Norman Conquest? Until quite recently the latter doctrine held the field unchallenged among English scholars; but this is no longer the case, so that the question demands attention.

The township.

Serfs or free men?

Practically we may state it in a different form: Was the

[1] See Note III., *Lords' Rights*.

township, or *vill* as the Normans called it, originally a settlement of free English *ceorls*, the *ingenui* of Tacitus, or was it a settlement of Britons, preserved to till the soil for the English lords, who formed only a small proportion of the whole population, to which they stood in the same sort of relation as the Normans stood to the conquered English six hundred years later?

The system of agriculture followed does not provide us with an answer. It would fit in sufficiently well with either theory. The village was a collection of farmsteads surrounded by lands under the plough and girdled by the common waste, all included in the area to which the township laid claim. The waste land, pasturage, or common was not allotted at all; the arable land was not allotted in the form of a substantial farm for each household but in long strips, usually about an acre in area, and about a furlong (i.e. *furrow-long*) in length, separated from each other by narrow, unploughed ridges or balks. In each batch of contiguous strips each household had one strip if the total holdings of all were equal. Primarily there is good reason to believe that the allotment to each household was a *hide*, or a total of a hundred and twenty strips; but at a later stage we find the *yard* or *virgate* of thirty strips as the normal holding, though there were smaller holdings of fifteen, ten, or five strips, and larger holdings, multiples of the virgate or even of the hide. The original intention was evidently to ensure that everybody should have his fair share of every kind of land good, bad, or indifferent. The land was ploughed and sown in common; the occupier did not use his own plough team to plough his own land and sow on it what he thought fit. Roughly speaking, there was a plough team to every hide, the team consisting of eight oxen; each occupier contributed to the teams according to the size of his holding—eight oxen if he held a hide, two if he held a virgate; and the teams ploughed not holding by holding but section by section. The system provides us with no answer to the question how it came about that a number of the occupiers owed service to one superior, a 'lord,' and not only service but periodical payments of produce. At present it is enough to say that in many townships there was such a lord, and in many the

The open field.

lord was either the king himself or some person or corporation to whom he had conveyed his rights. To this question we shall attempt to give a further answer when we have before us the evidence of later centuries. At present we can only make a negative point. We cannot accept as a solution the theory that the bulk of the occupants of the soil were subject Britons. The evidence of what we will call provisionally the extirpation of the Britons wherever the English carried their settlements, until the latter part of the sixth century, is too strong to be overthrown without evidence to the contrary very much more conclusive than has yet been produced. This direct evidence may now be examined.

'Extirpation' of Britons.

First, there is the testimony of Gildas, Bede, and the Chronicle. According to Gildas none of the Britons were left alive where the invaders swept over the country with fire and sword; only a few of the fugitives returned to a voluntary slavery. Bede's confirmation of Gildas implies that he at least had no reason in English tradition to question the correctness of the British monk's record. Nor is it questioned by the Chronicle, which expressly states that in the sack of Anderida by Aelle no Britons were spared, though we can hardly infer from the form of the entry either that this destruction was typical or that it was on the contrary exceptional. Such evidence, however, is far from decisive. Gildas was hyperbolical, Bede and the Chronicle were dependent mainly if not entirely upon tradition. Very much more important is the definite fact that the Celtic language entirely disappears from the conquered territory, and not only Celtic but also Latin. In every other Latinised country overrun by the Teutons the Latin language ultimately conquered the Teutonic. Also in every other country the Christianity of the population conquered the paganism of the conquerors. There is no sign whatever that the Christianity of the Britons touched the English conquerors at all. The one possible conclusion is that, if the Britons were not exterminated, a mere remnant of them survived. That women and children, and males who made voluntary submission, were spared for obvious purposes is probable enough; but this would not

Language and religion.

provide a large population, making up the bulk of the tillers of the soil; and the survival of the Britons among the conquerors in large numbers is incompatible with the total disappearance of their language and their religion. It may be added that such a survival would also be incompatible with the possession of the political rights, the voice in local administration, retained throughout the Saxon period by the class who were in a state of unqualified serfdom in the twelfth century.

After the conquerors had settled in England they entirely lost the character of piratical sea-rovers, which had been attached to them since the days of Carausius. Their last appearance upon the seas was when King Ecgfrith of Northumbria raided the north of Ireland the year before he met with his disastrous defeat in Scotland at Nechtansmere; but that the English continued to be a fighting folk rejoicing in battle is sufficiently proved by their record. Whatever they brought with them to England in the way of a literature was a literature of battle, a portion whereof survives in the song of Beowulf. The form in which this earliest poem survives was given to it by Christian editors, but it belongs to pagan days before the Angles had come to England. And battle pieces continued to be the staple product of English singers. Even the great poem of Caedmon (about 680), the monastic servitor who, at the Divine bidding, sang of the beginning of created things, was not so much a versification of the book of Genesis as the story of the heavenly war, which was told again by another Puritan poet a thousand years after Caedmon himself. The Christianity which took possession of the English was in general either of that grimly militant type which was reproduced in Cromwell's Ironsides, or else of the pietist order typified in Edward the Confessor. The latter was the extreme opposite of paganism, whereas the former has in it a considerable element of the spirit of northern paganism, its stern fatalism, its pride, and its endurance. But between the two types stood the mass of the people, who remained very much the same as before, though they propitiated the saints instead of propitiating the gods of Asgard.

The English character.

Nevertheless for a time, mainly in Northumbria in the days of

her great kings and her Celtic missionaries, a really vigorous Christianity took root; and it bore fruit for at least a couple of generations after the power of the Northumbrian kings began to wane. Bede was born at about the time of Oswy's death; and Bede is perhaps, after Alfred, the most attractive figure in the early history of England. In his own day he was the most learned man not only in England but in all Europe, and he was no less saintly than learned. He was not only the first English historian, the first critical compiler of records, he was also a scholar of exceptional erudition and a master of such science as was available in the eighth century. Some centuries were to pass before any born Englishman held so high an intellectual position in the world; not until the time of Roger Bacon could England again claim to be the mother of the greatest intellect of the time. Aidan, Wilfred, and Theodore of Tarsus each had his own share in producing that vigour of spiritual and intellectual activity whereof Bede was the fine flower; but the material conditions were too adverse, and the high level attained in the latter part of the eighth century, before Bede was born and while he was still a young man, was sinking again throughout the eighth and ninth centuries until the revival under Alfred. The one great name, intellectually, in the second half of the eighth century was that of Alcuin, who left his native Northumbria to become the intimate counsellor of Charlemagne.

Bede.

CHAPTER III. FROM ECGBERT TO HAROLD

I. The Rise of Wessex and the Danish Raids, 802-865

Those heralds of the Danish storm whose coming we have noted when Beorhtric was reigning in Wessex were single spies; the battalions did not begin to arrive till a third of the ninth century had passed. In the interval the centre of power in England had finally shifted to the southern kingdom of Wessex under Ecgbert, who would seem to be the first of the English monarchs who, not content with conquest followed by the mere recognition of supremacy, set about the consolidation of his dominions. Not that the area of consolidation was very inclusive, but the south was so far unified that it held its own against the Danish invaders, and forced them back into the area of the disintegrated kingdoms of the north and east, which had been unable to offer an effective resistance.

Rise of Wessex.

When the ninth century opened Coenwulf was king of Mercia and Beorhtric was still king in Wessex. The Mercian supremacy was still unchallenged. Ecgbert, an 'Aetheling' of the line of Ceawlin, whose father had reigned as an apparently popular sub-king in Kent, had failed to make good his claim to the Wessex succession when Cynewulf died, and had then retreated for safety to the court of Charlemagne. There in the momentous years which transformed the king of the Franks into the emperor of the West he may have studied the business of kingship to his own ultimate profit. When Beorhtric died in 802 he sped back to England, and was duly chosen king of Wessex. On the same day an invading force under the Mercian ealdorman of the Hwiccas (the folk of Gloucester and Warwick) was put to rout by the West Saxon ealdorman of Wiltshire. The Mercian may have intended to prevent the

Ecgbert, 802-839.

election of Ecgbert; but since Coenwulf made no attempt to avenge him or to interfere with the new king, it may be presumed that he had been playing for his own hand. Ecgbert the patient had no disposition to quarrel with his overlord. The only record of his activity before the death of Coenwulf is concerned with a war upon the West Welsh—that is, Damnonia—in which he apparently established his sovereignty over the Welsh chiefs in Devon.

But when Coenwulf died in 821 his brother and successor Ceolwulf lost grip. In 823 Beornwulf, one of Coenwulf's ealdormen, succeeded in deposing Ceolwulf and securing a precarious sovereignty in Mercia. Sub-kings were already in rebellion, the dependent Welsh certainly, and the East Anglians probably. In 825 Ecgbert was again campaigning in Damnonia when Beornwulf led an army into Wessex. Perhaps he was already afraid that Ecgbert was becoming too strong, but he was too late. Ecgbert turned on him and smote him at the decisive battle of Ellandune. Striking while the iron was hot, the king of Wessex at once dispatched an expedition to Kent, which was ruled by a Mercian nominee, Baldred. Baldred fled. Kent, Sussex, and Essex all hailed the Wessex men as deliverers from the extremely unpopular domination of Mercia. Sussex was absorbed into Wessex, Ecgbert made his son Aethelwulf sub-king of Kent, and when the reigning king of Essex, of the ancestral house, died, no new king took his place. East Anglia made haste to ally itself with Ecgbert and to acknowledge his sovereignty. Beornwulf, seeing one after another of the sub-kingdoms flinging off the Mercian yoke and attaching itself to Ecgbert, turned upon East Anglia, but was killed in battle. Another ealdorman, Ludican, snatched the Mercian crown, but within two years he met with the same fate as Beornwulf in a battle which was evidently a disastrous slaughter of the Mercians. It is not surprising that in 829 the last independent Mercian king of Mercia was expelled, and Ecgbert was acknowledged overlord of the whole land south of the Humber. The West Saxons revived for him the title of *Bretwalda*, supreme lord, which had been borne in succession by Aethelbert of Kent, Redwald of

Overthrow of Mercia.

East Anglia, and Eadwin, Oswald, and Oswy of Northumbria—a title which had been in abeyance for more than a hundred and fifty years. In the same year the right to the title was completed when Ealdred, king of Northumbria, tendered his allegiance. No such ascendency had been exercised by any of the previous Bretwaldas; for Redwald had displaced Aethelbert before the end of the Kentish king's life, Penda had slain two of the Northumbrians, and the supremacy of the third in Mercia even after Penda's death had at the best been nominal; whereas none of the sub-kingdoms attempted to question the sovereignty of Ecgbert or his son's ascendency. It was not an English power that was to challenge the supremacy of the house of Cerdic. Ecgbert restored in Mercia as his own vassal the king whom he had expelled in 829; his eldest son Aethelwulf reigned over Kent and probably Essex, and another son, Aethelstan, in East Anglia. Northumbria, whose annals had for some time past been either a mere record of bloodshed or a blank, was soon little more than a field to be ravaged by the spoilers from Denmark and Norway.

Ecgbert's supremacy.

Before the close of Ecgbert's long reign the Northmen had embarked upon their course of devastation in England in grim earnest. Between the sack of Lindisfarne, about the time of Offa's death, and 834, when they reappeared in the isle of Sheppey, the ravaging attentions of the rovers were confined for the most part to Friesland and to Ireland and the isles, probably because these so-called Danes came not from Denmark but from Norway. But in 834 the Danes themselves again became active, fell in force upon the districts about the mouth of the Rhine, and detached a band which ravaged Sussex. For thirty years to come their main energies were directed to the coasts and estuaries of the Frankish dominion; their expeditions to England were casual raiding excursions. Their second raid was in 836, when a squadron of the rovers made their way down the Channel and landed at Charmouth. Ecgbert, who happened to be in those parts, promptly led the local levies against them. The English attack was repulsed, for the Danes held the 'place of slaughter'; yet they must have been dissatisfied by their recep-

The Danes and Ecgbert.

tion, for they re-embarked without delay. But two years later they made a league with the Welsh of Cornwall. Possibly this band of 'Danes' had come over from Ireland, not from Denmark itself; but at any rate on this occasion they met with a crushing defeat at Hingston Down. They fled to their ships; the Cornishmen submitted, nor did they ever again renew the dubious alliance with the pagans. In the next year, 839, Ecgbert died. Aethelwulf succeeded him, handing over his sub-kingdom of Kent and the neighbouring counties to his brother Aethelstan, who left East Anglia. There an Aethelweard succeeded Aethelstan. Perhaps this was a reinstatement of the old royal house, since the last of all the kings of East Anglia, St. Eadmund, was probably of that stock; but the name rather suggests a member of the house of Wessex.

Aethelwulf, 839-858.

Aethelwulf was a meritorious prince of distinguished virtue and piety but not of outstanding capacity. His two chief counsellors were bishops; one was the virtuous St. Swithun, whom posterity remembers chiefly on account of the meteorological associations of his name. The other was Eahlstan, bishop of Sherborne, who was of the militant type, the first soldier bishop in our annals. This was perhaps as well for the country, though it was not altogether well for the king himself; for a time came when the bishop incited rebellion against the monarch, who neglected his obvious responsibilities. Eahlstan, however, gave a vigour to the administration which might otherwise have been lacking.

The raids increase.

No sooner was Ecgbert dead than the energy of the Danish raids increased. In 840 a large force defeated the Hampshire levies, and then attacked Portland, where the ealdorman of Dorset, after very nearly winning a victory, was himself slain, while the Danes held the battlefield. Next year they left Wessex alone, but harried Lindsey and ravaged the coast of East Anglia. In 842 they attacked London and Rochester; in 843 their experience at Charmouth was repeated. Aethelwulf attacked them and was beaten off, but they retired immediately. All this time they were treating Picardy and what afterwards became Normandy in very much

the same fashion. Hitherto their activities had ceased and they had returned home when winter came; but in the year of the second battle of Charmouth they wintered at the mouth of the Loire, and next year they were raiding the whole Atlantic coast of the Spanish peninsula, while another contingent killed the king of the hour in Northumbria, Redwulf. In 846 they tried Somerset again, but were badly beaten by Bishop Eahlstan. In 851 the Danes appear to have come in greater force than ever before. The Chronicle states that they were defeated by the Devonshire levies; then Aethelstan, king of Kent, presumably Aethelwulf's brother, 'brought fourteen ships and slew a great force at Sandwich in Kent, and took nine ships and put the others to flight. And the heathen men for the first time took up their quarters over winter in Thanet. And in the same year came three hundred and fifty ships to the mouth of the Thames, and landed and took Canterbury and London by storm, and put to flight Beorhtwulf, king of the Mercians, with his army, and then went south over the Thames into Surrey, and there King Aethelwulf and his son Aethelbald, with the army of the West Saxons, fought against them at Aclea, and there made the greatest slaughter among the heathen army that we have heard tell of until this present day, and there gained the victory.' Aclea is usually but improbably identified with Ockley. It was reputed so great a victory that it is difficult to understand the next statement, that the Danes remained to winter in Thanet. As the same Chronicle records that in 855 they wintered 'for the first time' in Sheppey, there is a good deal of reason to suppose that the entry in 851 is an error; but the statement is repeated by Asser, a bishop of King Alfred, though with a slight variation, and by other chroniclers. The king of Mercia appears on the scene, because London was at this time in Mercian territory, and he marched to its relief. The sub-kings, it may be remarked, were left to do their own fighting, in accordance with the general principle that in most of the battles the Saxon force is the levy of the shire in which the fight takes place. Apparently it was the alarming successes of the Danes at London and Canterbury which brought the Wessex levies up in force to Aclea.

Battle of Aclea, 851.

If the Danes did winter in Thanet, it cannot have been with the intention of renewing the attack, as there is no mention of them in 852. In 853 they landed again in Thanet, and apparently won a hard-fought pitched battle, but with the same results as at Charmouth. In 855, however, they wintered in Sheppey, and in that year we find that some 'Danish' force, Norsemen probably, invading from the west coast, was in Shropshire. Nevertheless, some years elapse after this before there is any further mention of the Danes.

Aethelwulf himself did not take the field against the Northmen after the victory of Aclea. In 853 he answered the appeal of his Mercian vassal, whom he helped in an effective campaign against the North Welsh, who were trying to make their own profit out of the harrying of the English by the Danes. In 855 pious considerations were uppermost in the king's mind. He made a great donation to the Church of one-tenth of his personal estates, an act which has been misread as the institution of tithe. This was preliminary to a pilgrimage to Rome, on which he carried his youngest son Alfred, a boy of six, who had already been sent there two years before. He made handsome presents to Rome, and was absent from his own dominions at this distinctly critical period for some eighteen months. There is no evidence for the theory that the real purpose of his pilgrimage was the formation of a league among Christian kings against the pagan Danes. On his return, bringing with him a second and extremely youthful bride, Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, king of the West Franks, his son Aethelbald, who had presumably been acting as regent, apparently took up arms to demand his abdication, having therein the support of the bishop of Sherborne and the ealdorman of Somerset. Civil war, however, was averted by a compromise. Aethelbald was made sub-king of Wessex, while Aethelwulf contented himself with the general sovereignty, and the specific kingdom of Kent, Sussex, and Wessex.

Aethelwulf goes to Rome.

Aethelbald succeeded to the kingdom on Aethelwulf's death in 858. He shocked Christendom by marrying his father's juvenile widow; but after two years he died. Judith, it may be

mentioned in parenthesis, went back to France, and was secluded in a nunnery by her father, but ran away with Baldwin the Forester, who became count of Flanders, and whose blood runs in the veins of a good many of the royal families of Europe, including our own, since Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror, was his descendant. Aethelbald[1] was followed by his three younger brothers in succession: Aethelbert (860), Aethelred (866), and Alfred (871). The fame of the last overshadowed that of the others; but Aethelbald was the only one of the brothers who was unworthy of their grandfather.

Aethelbald, 858.

With Aethelbert's accession, the fighting with the Danes began again. A sudden and unexpected onslaught was made by a great fleet at Southampton. The raiders penetrated to Winchester, but were then badly beaten by the united levies of Hampshire and Berkshire. But in 865 they were back in Kent, and wintered in Thanet once more. They never again completely evacuated England. The year 866, in the spring of which Aethelbert died, is the year in which they began the regular conquest of what afterwards became the Danelagh.

Aethelbert, 860.

Sixty-nine years had passed since the three first ships of the vikings had made their appearance on the coast of Wessex. It may have been pressure from the west and south which at the end of the eighth century drove the Scandinavian branch of the Teutons, who were in occupation of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, to take to their ships and begin their career as pirates and sea-rovers, in the same fashion as the Saxons five hundred years earlier. All alike were known generically as vikings, Northmen, or Danes. The term viking may have meant, as has generally been believed, 'men of the creeks'; more probably it meant 'warriors.' The Danes of Denmark ought to be but were not distinguished from the Norsemen of Norway; roughly speaking, Norsemen were responsible for incursions in Scotland, the Western Isles, and Ireland, while the Danish hosts scoured the Channel. But Norsemen and Danes alike were bands of free companies, following the banner

The great invasion, 866.

[1] See Genealogies, I., *House of Wessex*.

of some notable warrior, who might be called king or jarl. The great fleets which they began to send out early in the ninth century were not the navies of a kingdom but the fleets of confederates, who acted independently when they thought fit. But they very soon took to acting systematically in concert; and it was at about the date which we have now reached that they began to pass from the stage of being raiders in search of spoil to the stage of being immigrants in search of territories upon which to settle. In the course of the next half century they established themselves permanently in the English region called the Danelagh and in the French territory called Normandy. Their establishment in the Danelagh, their ascendency in the north and east, not their expulsion from England, is one of the prominent features of the reign of Alfred the Great, and that is the story which has now to be told.

II. Alfred and the Battle for England, 865-900

The state of England, 866.

The real struggle, then, for a Danish dominion in England begins in the year of the accession of King Aethelred I. in Wessex. In England at this stage there is a consolidated kingdom of Wessex covering the whole country on the south of the Thames and Severn mouth and including Essex. Throughout this region there are no longer any sub-kings; Aethelred's brother Alfred has not a separate kingdom, though we almost immediately find him associated with the king, and having the unprecedented title of *secondarius*. The divisions of Wessex are now all shires, each having its ealdorman. Outside of Wessex proper East Anglia has a king of its own, Eadmund, whose origin is uncertain, but who was probably of the blood of the old reigning house. Eadmund and the king of Mercia are both vassals of Wessex. In Northumbria there is chaos; the whole of Strathclyde from the Clyde to the Mersey is Celtic and no longer owns the Anglian overlordship. The shire system does not seem to have been adopted as yet outside of Wessex. In Wessex the army unit is the fyrd or levy of the shire, led by its ealdorman; hitherto it has been extremely unusual for the fyrds of more than

two shires to take the field in conjunction. There is no direct information as to the manner of levying an army outside of Wessex. But everywhere among the English there are three outstanding facts: they do their campaigning on foot; they know nothing of entrenched camps, still less of fortified cities; and only in the case of the fight at Sandwich is any expression used which can be interpreted as implying that they ever fought on the water. The army, it may be added, is in no sense a professional army, unless that term can be applied to the king's *gesiths*, the *comitatus*.

The Danish invader, on the other hand, is a professional soldier; a farmer perhaps when he is at home, but spending more of his time on forays. The Danes have studied the art of war, and though they still fight on foot, they move on horseback; their first business when they come ashore is to 'horse themselves.' Wherever the host, the *Here*, goes, it constructs entrenched and palisaded positions, to which it falls back if beaten in the open field. And by sea they move unimpeded in the longships, oar-driven galleys. Their principal leaders are called kings, and of a somewhat lower status are the jarls; but the king's kingdom is not territorial, he is merely king over the host which follows his banner. **The invaders.**

In 865, then, the Danes wintered in England, in Kent. In 866 came a fresh host to East Anglia under the kings Ubba and Ingvar, the sons of a famous viking named Ragnar, perhaps the Ragnar Lodbrog who was the centre of many legends. This year they made terms with Eadmund, but remained quartered in East Anglia for the winter; and in 867 they turned upon Northumbria, because, according to the fable, Aelle, the usurping king of Northumbria, had got Ragnar Lodbrog into his hands and slew him by casting him into a pit among serpents. No such explanation is required. Northumbria was torn with dissensions between legitimate rulers and usurpers, and offered a tempting prey. The Danes seized York, where they were attacked by a temporary coalition of the rival English kings. There was a great slaughter, but the Danes were victorious. No more Anglian kings held sway in Deira. **The invasion, 866-870.**

Next year the Danes marched into Mercia. The king Berhred appealed to his Wessex overlord, and Aethelred came with Alfred to his help. Finding the combined English forces too strong for them, the Danes fortified themselves at Nottingham. The English were no better skilled in attacking than in preparing entrenchments; they could not dislodge the Danes, while the Danes were not strong enough to take the offensive. So terms were arranged. The invaders would stay quietly where they were until the spring, and would then retire, with an indemnity. They did so, and spent the next year in Northumbria. But in 870 they broke out again, burst through the fen country, ravaged the great monasteries, and poured into East Anglia. Eadmund tried to fight them, but his army was routed and he himself was slain. There is no reason to doubt the story that Eadmund himself was killed not in the battle but afterwards; that he was, in fact, martyred for refusing to deny his faith, though as a general rule the Danes were no more inclined to religious persecution than the Saxons had been. Essex also seems to have been overrun.

Next year, 871, began the duel with Wessex. This was the 'year of battles.' Hitherto the only collision with the Wessex king had been at Nottingham; Wessex had left the east and the north to their fate, now she was to fight for her own existence. Under two new 'kings,' Halfdane, the younger brother of Ingvar and Ubba, and Bagsceg, together with five jarls, the Danish host swept down through the Home Counties, crossed the Thames, and entrenched a position at Reading, to be the base of its operations. Before they had been there a week the Wessex force had gathered under Aethelred and Alfred, there was a pitched battle, the Danes were driven into their camp, the English failed in a desperate attempt to storm it, and the Danes sallied out again and drove them off. The invaders were soon marching westward in force, and were again challenged to a pitched battle by Aethelred and Alfred at Ashdown, an uncertain locality. The Danes held the higher ground. Alfred anticipated their attack, since his royal brother, who was at Mass, would not move till the rite was concluded. The attack was completely

The year of battles, 871.

successful; the Danes were routed and fled to their camp at Reading, and Bagsceg and five of the jarls were slain. The rout appears to have been complete; but if this was the fact, it is remarkable that Halfdane was in the field again a fortnight later and defeated the English king at Basing. Two months later there was another fierce battle at 'Meratun,' when after a tremendous slaughter the Danes remained in possession of the battlefield. After this, says the Chronicle, and also Bishop Asser, the Danes received a great reinforcement. Asser perhaps followed the dates in the Chronicle, and it has been suggested that the words, 'After this fight there came a great summer force to Reading,' ought to have followed immediately after the account of Ashdown. If so, it would account for the indecisive results of a victory apparently so overwhelming as Ashdown seemed to be. A few days after the battle of Meratun, Aethelred died, and Alfred, whose prowess and capacity were already fully proved, young though he was, succeeded to the full kingship.

Alfred king, 871.

Whenever it may have been that the 'summer army' reinforced Halfdane at Reading, a month after Aethelred's death he was fighting and beating Alfred at Wilton in Wiltshire. But these desperate battles, while they were draining Wessex of its farming population, were also having a ruinous effect on the invading army and producing no tangible advantages. After Wilton the Danes agreed to accept a substantial subsidy and to retire from Wessex. Till 875 they turned their attentions elsewhere. Alfred had as much as he could do in reorganising Wessex itself, and among other things in making the beginnings of a navy. In 874 the Danes ejected King Berhred from Mercia, and set up the 'foolish thegn' Ceolwulf in his room as a vassal of their own. In 875 Halfdane with part of his force returned to Northumbria, and he from this time was engaged in establishing the Danish dominion over the north. From Humber to Tyne the land became a Danish province, in which it would appear that the Danes held the lands distributed among them in free tenure, with the English in some sort subject to them, but without deprivation of their ordinary political rights. The Danish and

Respite for Wessex, 871-876.

Saxon institutions were closely akin, and though there were changes in nomenclature the system in Danish Deira was not markedly different from that which prevailed in the English south.

Meanwhile the bulk of the Danish host was passing the time in Mercia and East Anglia under three other kings, notably Guthrum. In 875 it concentrated about Cambridge, and lay there for one year, says the Chronicle. In that summer there is the significant note that King Alfred went out to sea with a naval force, fought against the crews of seven ships, took one of them, and put to flight the others. The raiders from overseas were at work again, but so far the Danes in England had kept faith.

In 876, however, Guthrum and his comrades evidently considered that Alfred had got full value for the ransom he had paid in 871. They made a league with their Norwegian or Danish kinsfolk, the rovers who were harrying or settling in Ireland, and swooped suddenly on Wessex, marching across the country and establishing a fortified camp at Wareham on the Dorsetshire coast, where they could co-operate with the fleets of their allies. At Wareham the old experience of Nottingham was repeated. Alfred shut the Danes up in their camp, but could not storm it. At last the Danes promised to retire on the old terms; but instead of doing so, as many of them as were 'horsed' slipped out one night, broke through the English lines, and made a dash for Exeter, where they fortified themselves. There Alfred besieged them, leaving a containing force before Wareham. The Danes held the sea; and after the new year they went on shipboard from Wareham with the intention of relieving Exeter, but fortunately for Alfred a storm shattered the fleet. The force in Exeter capitulated, the conditions demanded of them being their withdrawal from Wessex. They retired into Mercia, where Guthrum remained in the south-west, while the bulk of them spread over the north-eastern half and occupied the territory, establishing not a kingdom but a number of military centres.

Campaign of 876-877.

Guthrum, however, again leagued himself with the sea-rovers, among whom Ubba reappears; and in midwinter (January 878)

he broke into Wessex, and again fortified himself at Chippenham, while Ubba landed in Devonshire and ravaged the west. The surprise was so effective that Alfred was unable to collect his forces, though he himself managed to escape into the isle of Athelney, when tradition says that the episode of the burnt cakes occurred. But the collapse was brief. Before Easter the Devonshire ealdorman Odda routed and slew Ubba. Six weeks later the king was able to emerge from Athelney, join the levies of all Western Wessex, and inflict a decisive defeat on the Danes at Ethandun, driving them back with great slaughter into their camp at Chippenham. The Danes knew that they were beaten at last. Guthrum agreed to retire from Wessex once more; but instead of receiving a subsidy the Danes gave hostages, and Guthrum with several of the other leaders received baptism. This time the Dane intended to justify the generous confidence which Alfred placed in his good faith; he went back to the east and organised the second Danish kingdom, in East Anglia and Essex. When a host came from Denmark next year he did not join with them in an attack on Wessex, as might have been expected, but induced them to retire. Guthrum's newly adopted Christianity was thoroughly genuine.

The decisive struggle, 878.

Treaty of Wedmore.

Nevertheless, the arrival of another force from Denmark in 884 at Thames mouth was too much for some of Guthrum's Danes. A contingent of them joined the new invaders. Alfred, however, was now strong enough not only to drive out the new-comers but to call the Danes of East Anglia to account. Guthrum very soon came to terms, and the former treaty of Chippenham or Wedmore was confirmed and amplified by 'Guthrum's fryth.' A definite line was drawn between what was now to be known as the Danelagh and Wessex. The line followed the river Lea to its source, then struck across to Bedford, and from Bedford to Chester by the great Roman road called Watling Street. All that was south and west of this line belonged to Wessex, all that was north and east of it was under the Danish supremacy. English and Danes were to receive equal treatment in both regions, but each party was to keep

Guthrum's fryth, 884.

strictly on its own side of the line of demarcation. It should be remarked, however, that Guthrum's kingship extended over little more than East Anglia and Essex. Danish Mercia behind Watling Street was in the hands of a number of jarls, who were independent of his rule, as also was Northumbria.

The last struggle.

Even now the struggle was not ended. During these years the Danes from overseas had been mainly occupied with onslaughts on the Continent; but in 891 they met with a disastrous check at the hands of Arnulf, king of the East Franks. Therefore in 892 they again turned their attention to England. The host, driven off from Flanders, flung itself upon Kent and entrenched itself at Appledore, while another body led by the viking Hasting entered the Thames. Next year the larger of these forces, penetrating westwards, was defeated by Alfred's son Edward and driven over the Wessex border into Essex. Hasting took example by Guthrum (who was now dead), and made peace, accepting baptism, but immediately afterwards he set about raiding English Mercia; and though Alfred stormed his headquarters and he himself disappears from the story, the Danes of the Danelagh broke from their compact, and there was prolonged campaigning. By 896 the Danish attack had been finally broken up. Alfred had at last taught the English to employ the methods which had given the Danes their earlier successes—the use of entrenched positions, and what was of no less importance, the construction and management of fleets which could meet and beat the Danes on their own element. The last four years of the great king's life were years of peace.

Alfred as ruler.

But for the personality of King Alfred, the Danes, as we can hardly doubt, would have made themselves masters of Wessex as well as of the Danelagh. The country would have been broken up into petty kingdoms and jarldoms, which might ultimately have become consolidated in the same sort of fashion as the Scandinavian kingdom. England would have been assimilated to the Scandinavian group, and the whole course of her history would have been changed. Because he prevented this from happening and preserved the

English character of the country, Alfred stands out pre-eminently as the maker of England. But besides being a great captain he was a great administrator and organiser; and in Alfred these great powers were combined in a quite exceptional degree with a moral enthusiasm and a moral sanity which are not always found in the same person. Alfred was a great law-giver, not because he made new laws, but because he systematised and codified the diverse customs and laws prevailing in different parts of his kingdom so as to provide a common standard, whereby the 'Dooms' of Alfred became the groundwork of all subsequent legislation. His genius for military organisation not only enabled him to roll back the advancing tide of Danes, but made it possible for his son and grandson to establish a real supremacy from the Channel to the Forth. We have already noted the two main features, the building up of a naval power and the establishment of *burhs* or fortified garrison towns, which were not only a permanent check to insurrection, but greatly facilitated the rapid concentration of military forces—a matter of great difficulty when there was nothing to depend upon except the hasty gathering of the fyrd of each shire. A third point is the arrangement which he is said to have introduced, by which the fyrd was summoned in divisions, so that, when it was brought together, the country was not depleted of men to carry on ordinary farming operations, and thus the militia could remain under arms without too strong a temptation to disbandment.

Alfred the educator.

But it is perhaps the special glory of Alfred that he realised the necessity for education, and exerted himself to the utmost to organise the training of the young in accordance with the best examples and under the direction of the best teachers. The tradition of his precocity in reading is indeed a curious misrendering of the recorded facts. The deficiencies of his own education taught him only the more emphatically the importance of educating the new generation. He was twelve years old before he could read; the great feat of his childhood was not reading the book which his mother had shown him, but repeating to her the story it contained, which was read to him by the chaplain. Though in later life he trans-

lated and wrote much, he never appears to have read manuscript with ease, and avowedly his translations were made with the help of the learned ecclesiastics whom he had called in from Saxony and from Flanders as well as from other parts of England. Morals, history, and geography supplied subjects fit to be imparted to the youth of England. The miscellaneous *History* of Orosius and Bede's own *Ecclesiastical History* were translated by the king, as well as the *Consolation of Philosophy* of Boethius; but he had no scruples about varying from his originals when he thought fit to do so. For future generations, however, the most important literary work for the production of which he was responsible was the original compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a work of which the character has already been described.

Of Alfred's laws we shall speak elsewhere. Enough has been said to show that, in the midst of a life largely taken up with strenuous fighting and serious diplomacy, Alfred found time to do an amount of public work, which would have been remarkable even had his whole reign been undisturbed by warfare. And this was accomplished although his campaigning days began before he was twenty, and in spite of some painful disease the nature of which has never been elucidated. The practical nature of the man is marked by the extraordinary success with which in the midst of his immense public burdens he brought up his children to be his entirely worthy successors; it is rare indeed for a father such as Alfred to be followed by a son such as Edward the Elder, to say nothing of a daughter such as Aethelflaed of Mercia. And it is rarer still to find a man who appears never to have made an enemy in his life, for whom all men had unstinted praise in his own day, and yet in whom after ages have been unable to discover a single blemish of character, a single error of judgment, a single failure to do the best thing which could be done at the time. To Alfred alone of all English monarchs the English people has given deservedly the title of honour usually reserved for conquerors, naming him Alfred the Great.

Alfred the man.

III. The Strong Kings of England, 900-978

Alfred's son Edward, who succeeded his father probably at the end of the year 900, inherited Alfred's talents as a soldier. He had been through the whole series of the last campaigns against the Danes, in which he had very soon distinguished himself. No less valiant and capable was his sister Aethelflaed, whom Alfred had married to his Mercian ealdorman Aethelred. Edward's succession was disputed by his cousin Aethelwald, the son of Aethelred I.; but there was nothing to prevent the witan from preferring the proved valour of the great king's son to his cousin's seniority in royal birth, as constituting a claim to the throne. Primogeniture was not recognised as a guiding principle; seniority was only one among the more important factors. The pretender beat a retreat into Northumbria; the Danes throughout the Danelagh naturally judged that it would suit them to give him their support, and in three years' time Danes and East Anglians marched into Mercia under King Aethelwald. They retreated when Edward and his levies marched against them, but were brought to a pitched battle, in which they seem to have got rather the better in the fighting, but to no purpose, since Aethelwald himself was killed.

Edward the Elder, 900-925.

The affair, however, had demonstrated that the Danelagh was a menace to Wessex. The old pact could only work if the Danes on one side of the border and the Saxons on the other followed a policy of consistent non-interference with each other. Alfred had recognised the logic of facts. The Danes had conquered Northumbria and East Anglia, kingdoms only vaguely subordinate or dependent upon Wessex, without any attempt on the part of their nominal overlord to defend them. It would, in fact, have been futile for the southern kingdom to set about the reconquest of the north and east, where even among the Angles there would have been no great enthusiasm for the cause of Wessex. The king had achieved enough in consolidating a single kingdom considerably larger than had ever before been ruled over by a single monarch. Everything within the line from Chester to London was England. But King Edward's

The Danelagh.

England was fit to fight for the unification of a larger England; and it was bound to do so unless it was content to see its own unity perpetually threatened by the men of the Danelagh, who were at best only one generation removed from being vikings themselves.

From 910 to 924 Edward was either fighting or establishing fortresses in lands which he or his sister Aethelflaed had brought under his dominion. Almost all Mercia had been won by 918, the year of Aethelflaed's death. Next year the princes and people of North Wales tendered submission; by 921, if not earlier, what remained of Danish Mercia, with East Anglia and Essex, acknowledged King Edward; and then in 924 the Scots, the Strathclyde Welsh, and all the Northumbrians, 'Danes, Norsemen, or English,' in the words of the Chronicle, 'chose him as father and lord,' whatever that somewhat enigmatical phrase may mean. It is to be remarked that in this passage the Chronicle for the first time speaks of 'Englishmen, Danes, and Norsemen,' evidently distinguishing between Norwegians and Danes proper. It is probable that north of the Tyne at least the not very large number of Scandinavian settlers on the east coast were Norwegians, not Danes; and it is quite certain that the element which sometimes conquered and sometimes amalgamated with the western and northern Celtic populations was almost invariably Norse, not Danish.

The extension of the sovereignty.

The conquests of Edward and Aethelflaed denote their mastery of those principles of the art of war which Alfred had learnt originally from the Danes and had developed by his own genius. Aethelflaed, the 'lady of Mercia,' after the death of her husband the ealdorman in 911, conducted her martial operations with a vigour and a success which no man could have bettered. She was not called queen, but for all practical purposes Edward evidently treated her as a viceroy with a perfectly free hand, though after her death Mercia was reorganised on the same lines as the rest of the kingdom of Wessex. In 910 and 911 Edward was campaigning in Northern Mercia and Northumbria. After that the annexation of Danish Mercia was left to Aethelflaed, who also effectively convinced North Wales of the wisdom of

submission, and before her death was extending her military successes into Strathclyde and Deira. Every advance was secured by the rise of a *burh* or garrison town, usually the fortification of some place which had already acquired importance. The Danes had set the example by establishing themselves in the 'five boroughs,' Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, Leicester, and Derby. Meanwhile Edward had been pursuing a similar policy in Essex, East Anglia, and the eastern border of Mercia; and in 915 the attack of a fleet in the Bristol Channel met with a termination disastrous to the raiders.

It is clear, then, that before Edward's death in 925 he was indisputably master of the whole country as far as the Humber, was acknowledged as master in the Anglo-Danish or Anglo-Norse districts farther north, and was 'chosen as father and lord' by the Celtic princes at large. Before this time, it may be noted, the Scots kingdom of Dalriada and the Pictish kingdom beyond Forth had been united under one crown by Kenneth M'Alpin, who inherited the Scottish kingdom from his father and the Pictish kingdom through his mother. Strathclyde was not subject to the Scots. Controversy has raged round the statement of the Chronicle regarding the Scots kingdom; a great modern historian has pronounced that from the year 924 'the vassalage of Scotland was an essential part of the public law of the isle of Britain.' As a matter of fact, the 'public law of the isle of Britain' at this period is a mere figment. There was no permanency in the vassalage of the kingdom. There was no code of international law; and if we are to fall back upon custom, it was the custom of all dependent states to repudiate vassalage as soon as they thought it was to their advantage to do so. The validity of the English king's suzerainty lasted precisely as long as he was able to maintain it by force, and once it was thrown off it was only by force of arms that it could be recovered. No king would ever have dreamed of admitting that he was a vassal because his great-grandfather had sworn fealty a hundred years before. King Edward I. would have laughed to scorn the suggestion that he was a vassal of the Pope because his grandfather, King John, had voluntarily and

Edward's dominion.

deliberately become the Pope's man; yet in the thirteenth century there would have been infinitely more colour for such a plea than in the tenth.

The chronicles, which are very full for the reigns of Alfred and Edward the Elder, now suddenly become painfully meagre; a great misfortune for the historian, since we have just enough to make it clear that Edward's son Aethelstan was a very great potentate. Edward had a very large family; three of his sons reigned after him in succession; and of his numerous daughters one married that son of the German king Henry the Fowler who afterwards became the great Emperor Otto I. Another married Charles the Simple, the king of the West Franks; a third was the wife of Hugh the Great, whose son was to supplant the Carolingians on the French throne and establish the house of Capet. Two more were married to lesser European kings. All these marriages took place while Aethelstan was reigning in England, and they are a sufficient demonstration of the prestige which he enjoyed. Also it is on record that he was in friendly relations with Harald the Fair-haired, who spent a long and strenuous life in establishing the Norwegian monarchy. Denmark too, it may be noted, was by this time shaping into a single kingdom. The 'Dooms' or laws of Aethelstan show too that unification and organisation were far advanced throughout the land south of the Humber. But the unification did not extend to the lands beyond the Humber, nor were the Welsh brought into the English system.

Aethelstan, 925-940.

At the outset of his reign yet another sister of Aethelstan's was married, to the Danish or Norse king of Northumbria who reigned at York, Sihtric. Sihtric died next year, and Aethelstan seized the kingship of Northumbria for himself. Also he 'subjugated,' whatever that may mean, the English king of Bernicia, Constantine, king of Scots, and the kings of North Wales and of Cornwall. Nevertheless, in 937 the English supremacy was challenged by a great combination brought together by the Scots king Constantine. In this combination were joined together the Scots, Strathclyde, and the whole swarm of the Ostmen, the Danes and Norsemen of

Brunanburh, 937.

Ireland, one of whose kings was Anlaf or Olaf, Sihtric's son, whom Aethelstan had ejected from Northumbria. The allies were routed with terrific slaughter at the great battle of Brunanburh—probably Burnswark in Dumfriesshire—celebrated in a ballad which is happily preserved in the Chronicle and has been finely rendered into modern English by Tennyson. But though the victory was overwhelming, it only served to demonstrate that the north could not be brought into the area of English unity. Aethelstan was fully warranted in taking the quasi-Imperial title of 'Basileus' of Britain; he exercised a supremacy a good deal more powerful than any of his predecessors, but he had to reinstate Northumbria as a sub-kingdom, as Ecgbert had to reinstate Mercia. The extension of the single kingdom beyond the Humber made it too unwieldy.

Aethelstan died in 940 and was succeeded by his exceedingly promising but youthful half-brother Eadmund, a lad of only eighteen, though he had already won laurels at Brunanburh. The accession of so young a prince was at once made the occasion of revolt, not only in Northumbria, where Anlaf reappeared, but in the Mercian Danelagh. Eadmund was equal to the occasion; he established his dominion completely in the Mercian Danelagh, and brought the north into subjection. Also in 945 he ravaged southern Strathclyde or Cumbria, and then ceded it to Malcolm I., king of Scots, on 'condition that he should be his fellow-worker both on sea and on land.' Probably he wished to assign to the Scots king as an ally the business of checking the incursions of the Norsemen on the west coast, a perpetual incentive to rebellion on the part of the Northumbrian Danes. In 946 Eadmund's vigorous career was prematurely cut short by an assassin, and the witan naturally passed over his two very small sons in favour of his brother Eadred. Two years later turbulent Northumbria elected as its king Eric, the son of Harald Bluetooth, king of Denmark. Eadred harried Northumbria, which submitted to him, and expelled Eric, who made sundry unsuccessful attempts to recover his kingdom. Thenceforth the Northumbrian ruler is not a

Eadmund the deed-doer, 940-946.

Eadred, 946-955.

king, but an 'eorl' appointed by the king of the English. Eadred died in 955, leaving no children, and his nephew,[1] Eadmund's elder son Eadwig (Edwy), was called to the throne.

Eadwig, 955-959.

The boy's reign—he was only fifteen—was brief and troubled. He was completely under the influence of a kinswoman, Aethelgifu, whose daughter Aelfgifu he wished to marry, and did marry, only to be separated from her on the ground of affinity by Oda, the archbishop of Canterbury. There was in fact, as it would seem, a short and sharp struggle, though without war, between Eadwig and a court party, and the clerics who had risen to prominence in the reign of Eadred, Archbishop Oda and Dunstan, the abbot of Glastonbury, in conjunction with leading lay magnates. After a short time Eadwig managed to drive Dunstan into exile, but was compelled to allow his younger brother Eadgar to be named king of Mercia and East Anglia, while he himself was only king of Wessex. But he died in the fourth year of his reign, in 1119, and young Eadgar became king of all England. Tradition relates how Eadwig on his accession deserted the state banquet to dally in the bower of his young lady-love and her mother, till the indignant magnates dispatched Dunstan to recall him to a sense of his dignity and duties. The story is hardly to be interpreted after the old fashion as describing an insolent though ultimately successful attempt of the clergy to snatch the mastery over a youthful king. On one side were ranged Eadwig and his bride's mother, for the bride herself was too young to count, and also some of the clerics. On the other were the young king's grandmother and the greatest lay magnate in the realm, Aethelstan, ealdorman of East Anglia, known as 'the half-king,' besides Oda and Dunstan. The contest was perhaps quite as much between the two parties in the Church, the reforming disciplinarians and the old lax school, as between clerical and lay authority. But the obscurity is increased by the fact that the records, though drawn mainly from nearly contemporary lives of Dunstan, were written by monks whose fervent desire was to magnify Dunstan in the character of a clerical champion.

[1] See Genealogies, I., *House of Wessex*.

With Eadgar's accession Dunstan returned to take Oda's place at Canterbury, to be Eadgar's political guide, and to impose a by no means welcome discipline upon the Church. Naturally, but unfortunately, we have much more information about Dunstan as an ecclesiastical reformer than about the statecraft which made the reign of 'Eadgar the peaceful' traditionally a sort of golden age. The fact, however, is clear that young as Eadgar was his rule was firm and strong and free from outbreaks of any kind. It is reasonable to suppose that this extremely successful government was in part at least due to the wisdom of counsellors older and more experienced than Eadgar himself, nor is there any reason to doubt that the chief credit belongs to Dunstan. There is no doubt of the substantial truth of the statement that five Welsh 'kings,' and with them the kings of Scots, of Strathclyde, and of Man, acknowledged Eadgar's suzerainty; and it appears to be superfluous scepticism to question the tale that these eight sub-kings rowed the king of England in state on his barge upon the river Dee. Only to late authorities are we indebted for the stories of the tribute of wolves' heads imposed upon one of the Welsh kings, which in three years exterminated the wolves that remained in the country, and of the enormous fleet whose three divisions patrolled the three sides of the triangle of Great Britain. But again there is no reason to doubt that both these stories had a solid foundation in fact.

Eadgar and Dunstan, 959-975.

As to Dunstan's ecclesiastical reforms, there would seem to have been ample justification for them. There is no appearance that he was engaged in an attempt to snatch for the Church an excessive authority in the State. Primarily he was a reformer of clerical morals, who also endeavoured for the best of reasons to apply the ecclesiastical authority to raise the standard of morals among the laity. He strengthened the monastic element among the clergy, mainly at the expense of the bodies of 'canons,' who were neither monks nor parish priests, but collegiate bodies living under a much laxer rule than the most lax of the 'regular' clergy; and in the monasteries he encouraged the more rigid discipline which was invari-

Dunstan and the Church.

ably demanded by all moral reformers. The methods adopted by his most vigorous coadjutor, Aethelwald of Winchester, were arbitrary, and when Dunstan no longer had the power of the Crown at his back there was an anti-monastic reaction. Whether the country was the better for that reaction, let the annals of the reign of Aethelred the Redeless tell.

When Eadgar died in 975, being not yet thirty-three years old, he left two sons: Edward, a boy of fourteen, born of his first wife Aethelflaed, and Aethelred, aged seven, the child of his second wife Aelfthryth, who survived him to work mischief for many years. From the day of Eadgar's death she plotted to raise her own child to the throne. Her attempt to have Edward set aside was frustrated, but during the boy's short reign she no doubt fomented the reaction against the policy of Dunstan, who had defeated her plot in favour of Aethelred. East Anglia supported Dunstan, Mercia under the ealdorman Aelfhere worked against him. Earl Oslac of Northumbria, revered by the churchmen, was driven into exile, and in Mercia itself new or recently restored monastic establishments were despoiled. To this reign belongs one of the favourite stories of the monastic party concerning Dunstan. At a conference held in an upper chamber at Calne for the discussion of the great question between the monks and the canons, the flooring gave way and numbers of the disputants were precipitated into the room below; while Dunstan himself was miraculously preserved, because the crossbeam over which he was standing held fast. But the day of his supremacy was almost over. In 978 Edward, three years after his accession, was stabbed, by Aelfthryth's order, as he was drinking the stirrup-cup at the gates on his departure from her abode at Corfe Castle. The miraculous preservation of his body from decay, coupled with the indubitable wickedness of his murderess, caused him to be hallowed as a martyr. Strangely enough, no attempt was made to punish the bloody deed; and the boy Aethelred was raised to the throne unchallenged. The woes of his disastrous reign were attributed by mediæval monks, as they would have been by the Greeks of old, to the vengeance of heaven.

Edward the Martyr, 975-978.

IV. The English System, 800-1000

It is only when society has already reached a high state of complexity that legislation becomes a frequent function of government. In earlier stages law is for the most part established local custom, a system of conventions familiar to every one which no one is permitted to ignore and no one is inclined to change. The need of legislation, of a formal alteration in conventions, of new rules of life, comes in only with the appearance of new conditions for which the old conventions have made no provision. The domestic business of the supreme authority is not to make laws, but to see that the conventions are observed; its external business is to prevent the outsider, the alien, from disturbing the local economy, or else to take aggressive action against the alien for the advantage of the community. Its primary functions are concerned not with law-making, but with organisation for war and the administration of justice, with which is included something in the nature of the supervision of morals. **Central government.**

The supreme authority in the minor kingdoms, and ultimately in the single kingdom of England, was the king acting with his witenagemot or witan, the assembly of wise men. A degree of uncertainty attaches to the composition of this body. It is clear that under ordinary circumstances it consisted exclusively of magnates—that is to say, the higher clergy, the ealdormen, who were the royal lieutenants in the shires, and a number of thegns; but it is to be presumed that only such thegns would attend as were persons of recognised importance. On the other hand, it is at least possible that any free man had a right to attend, although that right was only exercised on occasions of special importance, such as the election of a king when the throne became vacant—occasions when, as a matter of course, the lesser folk would offer no opposition to the resolutions of the great men. In other words, the witan was normally the equivalent of the ancient council of chiefs, though on occasion it might take the character of the ancient assembly of the tribe-in-arms—an assembly which had fallen into **The witan.**

desuetude when the tribal system expanded into a territorial system.

The thegns in the time of King Alfred and his successor meant in general every one in possession of five hides of land or more; the word had ceased to be the distinguishing name of the king's thegns, the members of the royal *comitatus*, though these still had the specific title of king's thegns. There was no hereditary right to any political office; no office attached to the thegnhood; the eorl of high descent and the Aetheling of the royal family had as such no claim to office; the ealdorman was appointed as the king's representative, theoretically on his merits; and if there was a tendency for a competent son to receive such an appointment in succession to his father, it was only a tendency, not an established rule.

National defence.

While English kingdoms were merely engaged in fighting each other, there was no change in the old system, or want of system, in raising armies. The great Danish attack in the ninth century gradually brought home the necessity for the organisation of national defence by the central government. Hitherto the kingdoms, Wessex or Mercia or Northumbria, had been content with what may be called shire defence; the ealdorman, the king's president of the shire or province, was the commander of the shire levies; there was no common action between the shires unless their ealdormen chose to work in concert or the king intervened for exceptional purposes. It was assumed that the fyrd of the shire was capable of dealing with any force that penetrated into the shire. That idea survived until the middle of the ninth century, so long as the Danes confined themselves to raiding. But when raiding gave place to systematic invasion the inadequacy of the system became obvious. Hence came a great advance in military organisation, for which King Alfred was responsible. Thegns and ceorls no longer took the field with the single desire to fight a pitched battle and get home again to their ordinary employments; the fyrd was called out in shifts, so that the fields were never deserted, and when one shift went home another was taking its place. Since the sea was no barrier against the 'ship-

folk,' Alfred taught the Wessex men to fight the ship-folk on their own element; and since the Danes dominated the country which they occupied by forming entrenched camps and fortifying strategic positions, Alfred taught his family the same principle of establishing fortified *burhs* with permanent garrisons. The three great duties of the free men, called the *trinoda necessitas*, were two of them definitely military, service in the fyrd and maintenance of fortifications; and military considerations had a great deal to do with the third, the maintenance of roads and bridges. During the tenth century under vigorous kings the new organisation served its purposes efficiently; the son and grandsons of Alfred used it to make themselves masters of the whole country; but under incompetent administration it was still doomed to fail disastrously, since it was never completely national, never sufficiently centralised to give a real security.

A prominent function of government in modern times is the direction of taxation, the provision of the wherewithal for carrying on the administration. But taxation in the modern sense did not exist in the early times. The main claim was for service, not for money. The king's revenue was derived not from taxes, but from his own estates and from the dues which he was already empowered to exact at the earliest stage of which we have any record. How these rights of the Crown came into existence we can only conjecture. Even in the seventh century kings were conveying lands by written charter to monasteries or to individuals; and the conveyance of land meant only the transfer to the favoured persons of such rights over those lands as the king possessed—rights to personal service from the occupier, rights to a share in the produce of the soil, rights to the exclusive possession of the soil. Such presentations were curtailments of the royal revenue; the most notorious is Aethelwulf's appropriation of a tenth of his estates or of the produce thereof to the Church, which has often, though erroneously, been described as the first institution of tithe.

Revenue.

With these royal grants or charters originate the distinction between *folcland* and *bocland*. Until quite recently it was the

general belief that all land was regarded as 'folcland,' 'the land of the folk,' the property of the community, until the king obtained through the witan authority to convey it to individuals, when it became 'bocland,' 'charter land.' This belief, however, has been dissipated finally, if such a word can be used at all in regard to matters over which any obscurity still hangs, by Professor Vinogradoff. It is now admitted doctrine that the term folcland did not mean land which was the property of the community, but merely land which was held by customary title, while bocland was land to which there was a written title. Further, the magnates, bishops and others, whose names are attached to these early charters or written grants, signed not as sanctioning the grant but as unimpeachable witnesses. If ever the land was regarded as being a general possession of the community, only to be appropriated to individuals by the community's consent, the evidence thereof is not to be found in the folcland and bocland of the early English. When the king granted bocland he merely transferred such rights as he happened actually to possess by recognised custom over the estates in question, and gave documentary confirmation of the act.

Folcland and bocland.

Customary dues, then, fell to the king and to public officers and public bodies; market tolls and fines of various sorts, besides revenue from his own lands. But there is no record of a tax or general order to make a payment to the State before the first levying of the danegeld in the reign of Aethelred the Redeless. The king also had privileges, one of which was of public importance. The king's peace in a special sense extended over a fixed area round his abode—that is, there was a stricter preservation of order under sterner penalties. But the king's abode did not necessarily mean merely the spot where the king happened to be in residence at a given time. The precincts of royal palaces were included, and also, it would appear, of royal fortresses. Where there was a king's *burh* there was not only additional security against hostile onslaughts; there was also an increased security for the persons and property of the inhabitants against lawless folk;

Taxation.

The burh.

and this was probably one of the factors which tended to develop the *burhs* into commercial centres.

Successive kings promulgated 'Dooms' or laws after taking counsel with the witan; but their legislation did not mean that they were establishing new principles of law. **The Dooms.** Alfred's work consisted chiefly in collating local conventions and modifying them so as to ensure that reasonable degree of uniformity required by public conditions. The process of unification necessitated some formulating of legal principles, so that Alfred endeavoured to provide the basis for his dooms by reference to the divinely authorised law of the Hebrews. But, in fact, the dooms of Alfred meant only a more thorough systematising of the law of Wessex; the dooms of his successors meant the harmonising of that law with customs prevalent in Mercia or in the Danelagh; or they gave the sanction of the royal authority to new customs which were the outcome of a prolonged period of warfare. Thus it is during the tenth century that the definite principle is formulated that the landless man must attach himself to a lord who will be answerable for him; because landless men of free birth were multiplying, and unless they were responsible to some one who was responsible for them it was hardly possible for them not to become Ishmaels, vagabonds, regardless of the law themselves, and lacking the power to obtain for themselves the protection of the law. **Feudal beginnings.** And in the same way there seems to have been developing a practice which was one of the bases of feudalism, the practice of commendation, whereby the small occupier attached himself to a wealthier and stronger neighbour by the feudal contract, under which the inferior rendered service in return for protection. In its more developed form the inferior, the vassal, became the lord's tenant—that is, he surrendered his land to the lord and received it back upon condition of service; but as commendation was practised by the English, it was common that there should be no actual transfer of land; the relation was one only of protection and service; the relationship of lord and vassal was terminable, and the vassal could transfer himself with his land to another lord.

The elaborate system of services due from the lesser occupiers of the soil to lords may possibly have been due only to the relations between them of protector and protected; but this is only less hard of acceptance than the doctrine that the services were the outcome of what were originally the relations between a conquering race and a conquered servile population. No solution[1] has yet been found which accounts adequately for the transformation of a free soldiery planted on the soil into a peasant population politically free but owing agricultural service to superiors. Signs of this relationship are to be found in the dooms of the earlier kings; but a document called *Rectitudines Singularum Personarum*, probably dating from the tenth century, shows that at that time the system was completely established, and that a large number at least of the free ceorls were under a definitely recognised obligation to devote a fixed amount of weekly labour to the cultivation of the lord's demesne, besides giving additional services at special seasons.

Services.

It was the basis of the English judicial system that the local unit enforced the customs, conventions, or laws within its own area. A larger aggregate enforced the conventions as between the members of different units. The members of each community formally meted out justice among themselves at the town moot, the hundred moot, or the shire moot; there are signs that a certain amount of jurisdiction was already passing from these popular courts to the lords. But it was only when individuals had a strong case for claiming that justice had been denied to them that an appeal lay from the lower court to a higher court, and ultimately to the justice of the king himself.

Justice.

The dooms of the kings were mostly concerned with injuries to person and property, the penalties for robbery and violence. In this system two features are strikingly prominent: the universality of fines as the penalty for law-breaking and the joint responsibility of the malefactor's kinsfolk for the misdeeds of the individual. Punishment by imprisonment had not been invented. Mutilation was introduced later by the Normans.

[1] See Note III., *Lords' Rights.*

Apart from the extreme penalty of death, injuries to person and property were punished by fines, for which the general term was *weregeld*. This was in part compensation to the injured person or his kinsfolk, in part an additional penalty payable to the community; and of this penalty or *wite* the public officials and the king had their share. Not only the guilty person, but those also who were of his kin, were jointly responsible for paying the weregeld. The system originally came into being manifestly in order to put a stop to the practice of the blood-feud. In primitive times, if A killed B, B's kinsfolk were in honour bound to kill A, while A's kinsfolk were bound to protect him. Thus retaliation led on to retaliation endlessly. The weregeld was substituted for the retaliatory slaying of A. If A and his kinsfolk paid up the weregeld fixed by law, they were to be exempt from retaliatory attack. The amount of the compensation followed a regular scale. The weregeld for killing a king was twice as high as for killing any one else. Next to the king came the archbishops and the Aethelings or members of the royal house. A bishop or an ealdorman was worth half an archbishop; an ordinary 'thegn' was worth quarter as much as a bishop and six times as much as the humblest free ceorl. There was a regular tariff according to the injury suffered. Between the ceorl at the bottom and the thegns, with their weregelds of two hundred and twelve hundred shillings respectively, there were gradations based apparently on the amount of land held by the individual. **Weregeld.**

If any one invented trial by jury, it was not Alfred the Great but Henry II., though there is some appearance that the primitive method of trial by the whole assembly of the hundred or the shire gave place ordinarily to trial before a committee commonly consisting of twelve persons. The ordinary process of a trial had very little resemblance to modern conceptions of what a trial ought to be. There was no sifting of evidence, no cross-examination; what happened was that the bench, if we may use the phrase, called upon one party or the other to prove his case, and the proof was a matter of hard swearing. Thus the accused to prove his case would solemnly swear to his own **Trials.**

innocence, and would then produce a number of 'compurgators,' who swore that they believed his oath. The number of compurgators required varied according to their social status; a thegn's oath was worth those of five ceorls, and so on. An unpopular or untrustworthy person would probably find great difficulty in collecting a sufficient number of compurgators; but he could then appeal to the 'ordeal,' which was presumed to express the judgment of the Almighty: the ordeal by hot water, or the ordeal by hot iron, when guilt or innocence was proved by the behaviour of the burn or scald; the ordeal by cold water, when the accused was held innocent if he sank; and the ordeal by the morsel, which the innocent could swallow but which would choke the guilty. The ordeal by battle was not employed; it was introduced later by the Normans.

V. The Danish Conquest, 978-1042

Aethelred II., the Redeless, 978-1016.

During the years of Aethelred's minority there was no violent disturbance of the existing order. Archbishops, bishops, and ealdormen remained as they were until they died in the ordinary course. The only impression we can receive is that whereas in the time of the vigorous Eadgar there was a strong central government, there was no one after Eadgar who could concentrate control in his own hands. Dunstan's strength was conditional on the royal favour. Thus there was no sufficient coherence among the magnates for them to venture on attacking the murderess of Edward the Martyr; nor, on the other hand, was she strong enough to strike at the men who would naturally have been most opposed to her influence. The result was that when the evil days came there were wise men and valiant men to be found, but they were left to act in isolation; and of Aethelred the Redeless himself, after he came to years of discretion it can only be said that he never by any chance did the thing that he ought to have done, and if there was any one thing which at a given time he conspicuously ought not to have done, that was the thing he did.

Since the days of King Alfred there had been no organised attack upon England on the part of either the Danes of Denmark or the Norsemen of Norway. The Danes or Norsemen, who had made themselves troublesome, were either those of the Danelagh or the vikings from Ireland and the Isles, assisted by stray outlaw chiefs from the mainland. In the days of the son and grandsons of Alfred, invaders and insurgents had invariably received unpleasantly severe lessons. But now, very soon after Aethelred came to the throne, the raiders began experimenting again, and their experiments were encouraging. From 980 to 982 there were raids, all to the west of Southampton, with the exception of a stray attack upon Thanet. In 988 there were more extensive harryings, and in all these cases the raiders were the western vikings. But they discovered, and reported, how the organisation of the English defences had gone to pieces; and in 991 one of the most famous of the Norse vikings, Olaf Tryggveson, began a series of descents upon the English coast. In this year was fought the great battle of Maldon in Essex, where the stout old ealdorman Brihtnoth died gloriously, and with him many valiant men of his thegnhood. But the Norsemen won. The king did not march to the rescue of Essex; on the contrary, taking the pusillanimous advice of Sigeric, who had succeeded Dunstan at Canterbury, he paid to Olaf a ransom of ten thousand pounds of silver. He got little enough by it. Two years later Olaf ravaged Northumbria, and in 994 he came again with a new ally, Sweyn, the son of the king of Denmark, Harald Bluetooth. Harald had become a Christian; but Sweyn, though baptised, had reverted to his paganism. Also he had quarrelled with his father, and, like Olaf, was fighting as a viking for his own hand. The valiant men of London offered so stout a resistance that the vikings drew off, but sailed down channel and ravaged Sussex and Hants. They were bought off by a fresh ransom; the ransoms rose regularly about fifty per cent. each time. Olaf definitely embraced Christianity, promised not to attack England again, and went off to Norway, where he fought for the crown and won it. He kept his promise. Sweyn also was drawn off, though only

Renewed viking raids.

Ransom.

for a time, on the similar business of getting the kingdom of Denmark for himself. Then came a new series of incursions without Sweyn, apparently with Ireland again as the raiders' base. Throughout this period the treachery of Aelfric, one of Aethelred's ealdormen, who was strongly suspected of having had a hand in the murder of Edward the Martyr, is a subject of bitter denunciations in the Chronicle. It is also somewhat ominous that Aethelred began to take into his service captains and troops from among the Danish raiders.

In the year 1002 Aethelred, who already had a numerous progeny by his first wife Aelflaed, obtained for his second wife Emma, the sister of Richard the Good, duke of Normandy, which had now become a very powerful province of France and, like the English Danelagh, had entirely ceased to be in alliance with Danes or Norsemen. In the same year Aethelred perpetrated the most insane act of his reign. He ordered a general massacre of the Danes on St. Brice's Day, 13th November, having just paid ransom for the third time. The massacre can only have been that of the Danish mercenaries recently settled in Wessex; but one of the victims is said to have been a sister of King Sweyn, the wife of the Danish jarl Pallig, who had entered Aethelred's service, but broke faith with him.

St. Brice's Day, 1002.

The massacre of St. Brice's Day set Sweyn at work again. In 1003 he harried most of Wessex; in 1004 he fell upon East Anglia, though here his forces met with some rough handling from the obviously Danish ealdorman Ulfketyl. The general demoralisation of England was becoming evident, for about this time Malcolm II. of Scotland harried Northumbria, though he was beaten off by Uhtred, nephew of the useless earl, whom he succeeded. In 1006 Sweyn returned again, and played havoc all over Eastern Wessex; so the fourth ransom was paid, this time amounting to thirty-six thousand pounds of silver.

The respite obtained was utilised in an attempt to organise a fleet, for which purpose a general land tax was imposed called the danegeld, the original precedent of ship money. A mighty fleet was prepared, but the only use made of it was in

Danegeld.

a feud between a favourite of the king's and a Sussex thegn, Wulfnoth, who was probably the father of the great Earl Godwin.

By this time the king's counsels were dominated by the arch-traitor Eadric Streona, ealdorman of Western Mercia, who had managed the last disgraceful treaty with the Danes. When the Danes reappeared they were led by jarl Thorkill the Tall. In 1009 they ravaged Kent and East Wessex. In 1010 they ravaged the whole of the east country. In 1011 they were promised a ransom, but went on ravaging, the proceedings culminating in the murder of Archbishop Aelfheah, popularly known as St. Alphege, in 1012. Nevertheless, another huge ransom was paid, and many of the Danes went home, though Thorkill himself with a large force took service with the king.

This did not suit Sweyn, who in the next year, 1013, came over with a great fleet, bent upon conquest. But by this time the people of England were thoroughly sickened of Aethelred's government. Hitherto the men of the Danelagh had fought stoutly enough against the vikings; now when Sweyn appeared in the Humber they offered him the crown. Sweyn marched into Mercia, most of which made prompt submission, though London once again distinguished itself by an indomitable resistance, beating off the Danish attack. Thorkill did not desert his new paymaster; but when Sweyn raised the siege of London and marched into Wessex, Aethelred took flight to his brother-in-law in Normandy, whither he had already dispatched his wife and the two children she had borne him.

Sweyn king of England, 1013.

Sweyn was acknowledged king of all England; but in the beginning of 1014 he died, leaving his newly acquired kingdom to his eldest son Knut, a youth of nineteen, who had accompanied the expedition. Sweyn had been building up an empire, for he had killed his old ally, Olaf Tryggveson, and made himself king of Norway; but on his death the empire was broken up for the time. Norway revolted, and elected as its king Olaf the Thick, otherwise known as St. Olaf; and the Danes in Denmark elected not Knut but his brother Harald. The Danish host in England elected Knut, but the English witan offered to restore

Aethelred, who came back, with many promises of amendment, and was acknowledged all over the south. The Danelagh stood by Knut; but the young king went off to Denmark to settle matters with his brother, leaving behind the hostages his father had taken, after horribly mutilating them.

Aethelred soon showed that the leopard does not change its spots; but his eldest son Eadmund took matters into his own hands, and won the loyalty of the Danes of North Mercia. When Knut returned in 1015 Eadmund with his Anglo-Danes marched against him, but the desertion of Eadric Streona forced him to retreat again to the north. Aethelred died in 1016, and Eadmund made a desperate and brilliant effort to retrieve the situation in spite of the reluctant desertion of Uhtred of Northumbria. The rapidity and vigour of his movements gathered increasing hosts to his standard, while London again defied Knut. So Eadric changed sides again and came in to King Eadmund. Then a tremendous battle was fought at Assandun, in which Eadmund was defeated through a fresh act of treachery on the part of Eadric. But the stubborn 'Ironside' was not beaten yet. Again he began to collect forces in the western midlands. Negotiations were opened through Eadric, and a compact was framed by which England was to be divided between Eadmund and Knut. In effect Knut was to have the old Danelagh, shorn of East Anglia. Eadmund's valour was not ill-rewarded, but it was in vain. Almost immediately after the treaty he died; a later age not unnaturally attributed his death to foul play. There may have been a pact that the survivor of the two kings was to succeed to the whole inheritance; at any rate, although Eadmund left two infant sons, Knut the Dane was accepted as king of all England.

Eadmund Ironside.

While Knut was fighting for the dominion of England, and even for some months after his accession to the lordship of the entire country, his conduct was very much what would have been expected of the son of the barbarian Sweyn. He found an excuse for putting to death Eadmund's only full brother Eadwig, to whom alone it was possible for adherents of the house of Wessex to turn, since Alfred and Edward,

Knut, 1016-1036.

the sons of Aethelred's second marriage, were boys away in Normandy, and Eadmund's own children were mere babes. Knut shrank from murdering these infants, and sent them to the king of Sweden, who passed them on to the king of Hungary, under whose guardianship they grew up. One of them married his daughter, and in due course became the father of Eadgar the Aetheling and Margaret, the wife of Malcolm Canmore. But after the first beginnings Knut put off the barbarian; only once again in his life did he relapse into a deed of criminal violence. With an extraordinary suddenness, he developed at the age of twenty-two into a most Christian king and a very acute and diplomatic statesman.

In 1017 Knut married the Norman Emma, the widow of Aethelred, who was very much his senior; but the marriage secured friendly relations with the powerful Norman duke. At the same time he not only executed Eadwig, but also made Eadric Streona pay the penalty of his misdeeds. The arch-traitor learnt the old lesson that wise princes distrust the traitors to whom they owe their success. **Knut's policy.**

Knut, by the death of his brother Harald, was already king of Denmark as well as of England; but it is evident that he regarded his island dominion as the most valuable basis of aggrandisement. He intended England to be a powerful state, not a milch cow. He began indeed by extracting a huge ransom from the country, but he did so in order to pay off and dismiss the bulk of his Danish troops. Conscious of the difficulty that the English kings had found in maintaining an effective supremacy over the whole kingdom, he divided it into five great provinces or earldoms. Eadwulf, a brother of Uhtred of Northumbria (whom the Dane had killed before he was king), had Bernicia; Eric the Dane got Deira; East Anglia went to Thorkill the Tall; and Mercia, at first handed over to Eadric Streona, was transferred on Eadric's well-deserved execution to Leofwine, who had been ealdorman of one of the Mercian divisions. Wessex Knut kept for the time in his own hands; a little later he transferred it to the exceedingly able Godwin, son of Wulfnoth, who had won his confidence. Godwin's origin is sur-

rounded by legends. It seems probable on the whole that he was the son of that Sussex thegn of whom mention was made in the year 1008. At any rate Godwin went with Knut to Denmark in 1019, and returned to England and the earldom of Wessex as the husband of Knut's kinswoman Gytha.

The monastic chroniclers abound in praises of Knut's piety; of the honours paid to the English saints martyred by the Danes —Eadmund, king of East Anglia, and St. Alphege of Canterbury; of the gifts bestowed on Glastonbury, where was the sepulchre of his 'brother' Eadmund Ironside. Also, we have all been familiar from our earliest years with the story of Knut and the rising tide, and of his enjoyment of the singing of the monks of Ely. But otherwise the record of the internal administration of England during the twenty years of Knut's peace is singularly scanty. The land was craving for rest and recuperation; Knut gave it immunity from foreign attack and steady government under earls who were firm and just. It might almost be said that the country enjoyed the happiness of the land which has no history.

Nevertheless, one event of first-rate historical importance occurred in 1018, in the second year of this reign. Twelve years before, Uhtred of Northumbria had mightily routed the Scots king. But Uhtred was dead, slain by Knut himself about the time when England was relieved of the redeless king in 1016. His inefficient brother Eadwulf was earl of Northumbria, and Malcolm sought vengeance. He broke into Northumbria, and at the battle of Carham, close to the Tweed, inflicted an overwhelming defeat on the English force. Eadwulf surrendered all Northumbria north of the Tweed to the Scots king, and from that day forward Tweed marked the boundary between England and Scotland. No change was made when, many years later, Knut marched into Scotland, and Malcolm paid him that dubious homage which meant so little to the Scot and so much to English lawyers.

The cession of Lothian, 1018.

Less important to us are the Continental doings of Knut, though the case might have been very different had he been

followed on the throne by a successor of his own type. Knut the Rich, king of England and Denmark, with a claim on the throne of Norway, was one of the great potentates of his day. Two kings of Wessex had gone to Rome in order that they might die there; one, Aethelwulf, had visited the Eternal City, possibly with diplomatic and certainly with pious intentions, taking with him the child Alfred. But no crowned king of all England, save Knut, visited Rome during a period of more than a thousand years. Knut's visit in 1026-7, to attend the coronation of the first Franconian emperor Conrad, was diplomatic as well as pious in its purpose. He got concessions from the Pope and from Rudolf of Burgundy, the great 'middle' kingdom, relaxing for his subjects the burdens laid upon foreigners on entering Burgundian territory, and upon the archbishops who went to Rome to procure the *pallium* from the Pope. Also he betrothed his daughter to Conrad's son. But ultimately little enough came of these successful arrangements. Besides visiting Rome, Knut succeeded in making himself master of Norway on the second attempt in 1028, when he ejected Olaf the Thick, who in conjunction with Olaf, king of Sweden, had successfully defied him three years before. But again England was little affected by the results, because after Knut's death his kingdom was divided.

Knut in Europe.

Danish and Norse monarchs and Norman dukes paid so little respect to the laws of the Church with regard to monogamy that illegitimacy was scarcely a hindrance to the succession, a peculiarity which recurs in the history of Irish chieftains as late as the sixteenth century. Knut left a son, Harthacnut, by his wife Emma of Normandy, and two sons, Sweyn and Harold called Harefoot, by another mother, an Englishwoman, Aelfgifu, whom he may have married and repudiated in order to obtain the hand of Emma. Curiously enough, then, when Knut died in 1036 the English witan elected Harold Harefoot. Sweyn died; but Earl Godwin sided with Knut's widow Emma in claiming the crown for Harthacnut, who duly took possession in Denmark. This opposition, backed up by the dead king's bodyguard, the *huscarles*, was strong

Harold Harefoot, 1036-1040.

enough to force a temporary compromise. Wessex was to go to Harthacnut, represented by Emma, with Godwin as her minister. But Harthacnut was busy in Denmark. There might be danger from Emma's other sons, the Aethelings at the Norman court. The younger prince, Alfred, landed in England with a small following, perhaps in the hope of getting possession of the crown; but one story says that he was enticed over by a forged letter purporting to be from his mother. Godwin received him with apparent friendliness; but in the night Harold's men came down and took Alfred and his party in their beds. They were then murdered or mutilated; Alfred's eyes were put out, and he was handed over to die among the monks of Ely. Although it is possible to make out a case for Godwin's innocence, the presumption certainly is that he had already made up his mind to espouse Harold's cause, and that he betrayed the unfortunate Aetheling. But for the subsequent cruelties no one but Harold himself need be held responsible.

Alfred the Aetheling.

Nevertheless, the magnates were now unanimous in declaring Harold king of the whole land, though Archbishop Aethelnoth stoutly refused to take part in the coronation. Emma had to take flight to Flanders, whence she at last succeeded in stirring up her own son Harthacnut to prepare a great expedition against his half-brother. Before it sailed, however, Harold died in March 1040; whereupon the English magnates offered the crown to Harthacnut, ignoring the claims both of Aethelred's surviving son Edward[1] at Rouen and of Eadmund Ironside's son Edward the exile, who had now grown to man's estate in Hungary.

Harthacnut, 1040-1042.

When Harthacnut arrived in England three months later, the magnates soon had reason to doubt the wisdom of their choice, which had presumably been directed by the expectation that any other course would revive the old struggle with Denmark. The young king gave every promise of proving himself a bloodthirsty tyrant, though it is a little puzzling to find that he brought over his half-brother from Normandy, recognised him

[1] See Genealogies, I., *House of Wessex*.

as heir-presumptive, and apparently associated him in some sort with himself as ruler of the kingdom. But before Harthacnut had been two full years in England he died horribly in his cups at a wedding feast, and Edward the Confessor was proclaimed king by the witan.

VI. The End of the Saxon Kingdom, 1042-1066

The kingdom of Denmark passed to Sweyn Estrithson, the son of Knut's sister Estrith and of jarl Ulf, the brother of Godwin's wife Gytha. Magnus, son of St. Olaf, had recovered possession of Norway, and his wars with Sweyn effectively precluded the latter from putting in a claim for the English crown. England left the Scandinavian powers to fight out their own quarrel, and restored the house of Wessex to her own throne, taking as its representative the man who was on the spot in preference to his elder brother's son, who was in Hungary. The three great earls, Godwin of Wessex, Leofric, son of Leofwine of Mercia, and the Dane, Siward of Northumbria, doubtless directed the national choice.

Edward the Confessor, 1042-1066.

Godwin's position must have been a singularly difficult one. He had at one time committed himself to the cause of Emma, the widow of both Knut and Aethelred, and the mother of both Harthacnut and Edward, but had then deserted her. This would have done him no harm in the eyes of Edward, who in spite of his piety very much resented the utter neglect with which his mother had treated him. It is less easy to understand how, being popularly credited with the responsibility for the maltreatment of the other Aetheling, Alfred, he still managed not only to reconcile himself with Edward, but to procure such an ascendency over him that the king went through the formal ceremony of marriage with the great earl's daughter Eadgyth. In fact, the predominance of the house of Godwin was really overwhelming. Siward, ruling in the remote Northumbria, came very near to being an independent sovereign, and did not greatly trouble himself with affairs south of the

Godwin.

Humber. Leofric, called earl of Mercia, ruled only a division of that province. Godwin himself was earl of Wessex. His eldest son Sweyn had an earldom, which included Somerset with the south-western Mercian shires. His second son Harold was earl of the East Angles, and that earldom included besides East Anglia proper the Mercian shires which bordered upon it, as well as Essex. Godwin's nephew Beorn, the brother of the king of Denmark, had North-Eastern Mercia. In other words, quite three-fourths of England south of the Humber was in the hands of the four earls of the Godwin kin; and it must be observed that Godwin owed his own elevation to a Danish king, that his wife was a Dane, that his nephew was a Dane, and that his two sons were half Danes. It was no part of Godwin's policy, therefore, as has been suggested by some popular writers, to glorify Saxon Wessex as against the Danish elements in the country.

But Godwin himself was a new man, of no ancient and distinguished house. He owed his rise to power to his own remarkable abilities, an absence of nice scrupulosity, and a steady pursuit of his own advantage. His own interests being duly safeguarded, his policy was patriotic; but with him self-interest came before patriotism. He was regarded in consequence with distrust and jealousy. His son Harold was a far finer character, but unhappily Harold was the second son; the elder, Sweyn, was thoroughly ill-conditioned, and the third son, Tostig, was not less so.

The Confessor.

The king whom the witan had raised to the English throne commands the enthusiastic admiration of the ecclesiastical chroniclers on account of his exaggerated piety; the piety which subordinated the responsibilities of the ruler of a great nation to ecclesiastical interests; the piety which has no sense of proportion, which counts it more commendable to endow a minster than to enforce justice, to renounce the world than to do one's duty in the world. Moreover, for five and twenty years he had been brought up amidst the comparative refinement of the Norman court, and under the influence of Norman priests, whose clericalism was of the rigid type which Dunstan had failed to make popular among the English clergy.

Godwin, then, dominated the government, and might have continued to do so unchallenged but for the misconduct of his eldest son Sweyn, who abducted or seduced the fair abbess of Leominster. The young man was outlawed, and went off to his cousin the king of Denmark, but apparently made himself as intolerable there as in England. Presently he came back to Sandwich with a small fleet. His object was to get his outlawry removed and his earldom restored, to which both his brother Harold and his cousin Beorn objected. Apart from other considerations, they saw no reason why they should be asked to surrender portions of his earldom, which had been transferred to them. Sweyn, on the pretext of seeking a reconciliation with Beorn, got him on board his ship and murdered him. Even Sweyn's own retainers were so disgusted that they would not help his flight. However, he escaped to Flanders, which in those days was a general asylum for outlaws and political fugitives; and next year Godwin, impolitic for once, succeeded in procuring his pardon and partial restoration. The whole business was exceedingly damaging to Godwin's influence, which was shown when the witan supported the king in setting aside Godwin's nominee for the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1050 and giving the appointment to the Norman, Robert of Jumièges, a prelate whom Edward had already advanced to the see of London.

Sweyn Godwinson.

Whether Godwin was a genuine patriot or not, he knew that the principal danger to his own supremacy lay in the influence of Norman ideas and Norman clericalism on the mind of the king. His English antagonists, unconscious of any Norman peril, but exceedingly awake to the Godwin peril, were prepared to back the king in any opposition to the earl. The increasing strain soon reached breaking point. Eustace, count of Boulogne, the king's brother-in-law, came to England on a visit. He and his company were billeted at Dover, when the insolence of the Frenchmen brought on a general brawl, in which the count's followers were roughly handled. Eustace clamoured to the king for condign punishment to be inflicted on the men of Dover. The king ordered Godwin to

Godwin's fall.

smite the delinquent town. Godwin took up the cause of the Dover folk, declaring that the fault was not theirs, and carried the war into the enemy's country by bringing charges against the Norman followers of the king's Norman nephew Ralph, Count Eustace's stepson, who had been given the minor earldom of Hereford. Godwin knew that he was challenging a civil war, and called up the levies of his earldom. Sweyn and Harold stood by their father; the rest of the country stood by the king. Neither party was over-anxious to fight, and the whole question was referred to the witan; but by the time it met the Wessex men had lost all zeal for Godwin's cause, and the earl was virtually called upon to surrender at discretion, with his sons. The family held solidly together, resolved to stand or fall in a united group; but in the circumstances discretion was the better part of valour, and they all fled either to Ireland or Flanders. Apparently they had all fallen together. Harold's earldom was bestowed on Leofric's son Aelfgar, and the rest of the Godwin estates were given away.

Godwin's return.

But when Godwin was gone there was an immediate reaction, encouraged by the immediate appointment of another Norman to the bishopric of London. A visit to the king from the young Duke William of Normandy may have increased anti-Norman feeling. In the spring of 1052 Godwin and Harold appeared on the south coast. Ships and men gathered to their support. Evidently public sentiment had veered round in favour of the earl. The king was unwilling to fight, and sent to treat; whereupon there was a rapid exodus of the Norman prelates and others, who saw that their chance was gone.

If Godwin was master of the situation, it was not his cue to vacate the position from which he had derived his strength, the claim that he was an absolutely loyal subject, who had no wish but to deliver the king from malign influences. Sweyn had been judiciously sent off on a pilgrimage to Palestine, in the course of which he conveniently died. Godwin's and Harold's earldoms were restored, but there was no vindictive action taken against any Englishmen. Robert of Jumièges, and most of the

Normans who had fled with him, were outlawed; and the English bishop of Winchester, Stigand, was made archbishop of Canterbury in Robert's room. The appointment was uncanonical, for Pope Leo IX. refused to confirm it. Leo's successor Benedict gave Stigand the pall; but Benedict himself was ejected from the papal office after a year, and the successful papal party refused to recognise his act, so that Stigand's position remained exceedingly dubious—a matter of some little importance when Edward's successor was crowned.

It was perhaps well that Godwin died very soon after his return. The rationalism of history attributes his death to apoplexy or heart disease; Norman ecclesiastical legend, which was unscrupulous in its treatment of the Godwin family, attributed his end to the judgment of God, whom he called to witness to his innocence of the murder of the Aetheling, Alfred. Godwin's place was taken by his son Harold, an able administrator, a brilliant soldier, just and generous, whose supreme aim was to establish harmony through the realm of England; while his worst defect was a misplaced expectation of intelligence and loyalty in men who had proved themselves to be neither intelligent nor loyal. Harold's personal predominance in the kingdom was made the more decisive by the death of Siward of Northumbria in 1055 and of Leofric of Mercia in 1057, whereby he was left with no rival of real weight, force of character, or recognised wisdom. He stood alone with the burden of the kingdom on his shoulders, but he was not a man who would have grudged sharing that burden with loyal and capable chiefs, had such been forthcoming in the hour of England's trial.

Harold, earl of Wessex.

One event external to English history proper must here be chronicled. About the year 1040 Duncan, king of Scotland, the husband of Siward's daughter Sybilla, was slain by Macbeth, who, in accordance with the hitherto prevalent Pictish law of succession, was asserting a claim to the crown of Scotland for his infant stepson, but practically appropriated it for himself. Duncan's young sons, Malcolm and Donalbane, escaped, Malcolm to their grandfather in

Malcolm III. in Scotland.

Northumbria. Fourteen years afterwards, in 1054, Siward resolved to set the young Malcolm on the throne of Scotland. Thither he marched, routed Macbeth at Dunsinane, where his own eldest son was killed with all his wounds in front, and left Malcolm, acknowledged as king in one part of the kingdom, to fight it out with Macbeth. Macbeth was finally overthrown and slain three or four years later at Lumphanan. Such are the foundations of the legend upon which Shakespeare's great tragedy was built. The historical importance of the episode lies in the fact that the restoration of Malcolm III., commonly known as *Ceanmohr*, Canmore—*i.e.* 'Bighead'—permanently established the common law of succession to the crown from father to son in Scotland, instead of the Pictish law of succession through females. A second point to be noted is that whereas the kings of Scots had hitherto been uncompromisingly Celts, Malcolm was half a Dane; he took to wife Margaret, a princess of the house of Wessex; their youngest son, David I., the ancestor of the entire line of Scottish kings afterwards, had to wife Siward's granddaughter; and virtually only an infinitesimal proportion of the blood which ran in the veins of the Scots kings was Celtic. The reign of Malcolm III. in Scotland opens the period when the partly Teutonised lowlands began to become politically the most important part of the Scottish kingdom, and the Scottish polity began to develop on Teutonic instead of on Celtic lines.

A year later Siward died. His heir, Waltheof, was a child too young to succeed him in the earldom; and unhappily for every one concerned, Edward gave Northumbria to his own favourite among the Godwinsons, the ill-conditioned Tostig.

Leofric was still living, but for some apparently inadequate cause, which is unrecorded, his eldest son Aelfgar was outlawed in the year of Siward's death. Harold had characteristically yielded East Anglia back to him on his own accession to the earldom of Wessex. The angry Aelfgar went off to Ireland, raised a force of vikings, attacked the west coast of England, and joined forces with Gryffydd, king of North Wales. The allies ravaged the Welsh

Aelfgar's outlawry, 1056.

marches, sacked Hereford, and routed Earl Ralph, who came against them. Harold marched to the rescue of Hereford, checked the rebels, detached Aelfgar from Gryffydd, and procured his pardon and restoration to his earldom. Gryffydd carried on the war on his own account, and next year inflicted another defeat on a Saxon force, whereby Harold was brought down on him again, accompanied this time by Leofric. Gryffydd then agreed to return to his allegiance, and rendered homage as an under-king, though his fidelity was of the flimsiest character. Next year Leofric died, and Aelfgar succeeded to the earldom of the greater part of Mercia; whereupon East Anglia went back to the Godwinsons, being divided between Harold's younger brothers Gurth and Leofwine.

Edward the Confessor—the title was given to him after his death on account of his piety, not because he suffered for his faith—was childless. His marriage had been a mere formality, since he regarded any deviation from the celibate life as detracting from holiness. But at this stage his nephew Edward 'the exile,' the son of Eadmund Ironside, returned to England accompanied by his Hungarian wife and his three very small children—Margaret, Eadgar, and Christina. Having arrived he died, and Eadgar the Aetheling became the next representative of the house of Cerdic after the reigning king.

Eadgar the Aetheling.

Next year Aelfgar was again in trouble, was ejected from his earldom, and was associated in a fresh revolt with the persistent Gryffydd and also with Norse raiders. He married his beautiful young daughter Aeldgyth to the Welshman. Harold, however, repeated the previous process of reconciliation, and Aelfgar was restored to Mercia, where he seems to have remained peaceably till his death in 1062, when his elder son Eadwin succeeded to the earldom. In 1063, however, renewed aggression on the part of Gryffydd took Harold on a fresh Welsh expedition. The Welshmen seem to have got tired of the king's perpetual wars, while Harold's combination of vigour with conciliation may have fostered a pacific sentiment. At any rate in 1064 Gryffydd's own people slew him and sent

Suppression of Gryffydd.

his head to Harold. Presumably it was with a view to cementing a close alliance with the house of Leofric that Harold presently married Gryffydd's young widow Aeldgyth, the daughter of Aelfgar and sister of Eadwin. This marriage apparently did not take place till late in 1065, when a close union among the great nobles of the land had become a matter of vital importance. King Edward's health had broken down, and it was absolutely certain that his successor on the throne, whoever he might be, would have to fight for it. Sweyn of Denmark always affirmed that Edward had promised the succession to him. William of Normandy made the same claim on his own behalf. Edward may have made some sort of promise to both of them; but he certainly expressed his wish that Harold should be his heir. Eadgar Aetheling had some sort of claim as representing the royal house of Wessex; but legitimism had had little enough to say to the rules of succession during the eleventh century, and the precedents certainly pointed to the witan as having very nearly a free hand in choosing the king. Quite clearly the reigning king had no power whatever to decide the course of succession. None of the claimants was at all likely to give way, and there was every probability that Harald Hardrada, a mighty warrior, who for many years had been king of Norway, might strike in on his own account. If England was not to be brought under the rule of a foreign king, she must be united in the support of an English king, who must be either the experienced warrior and statesman Harold or the boy puppet Eadgar.

The succession.

But the position was further complicated by a promise which the duke of Normandy had extorted from Harold. At some uncertain date, but probably in 1064, some accident had led to Harold being shipwrecked on the territory of Guy of Ponthieu. Guy, after the fashion of the times, held him to ransom, and William for his own purposes procured his liberation, which meant merely his captivity in Normandy instead of at Ponthieu. He treated Harold as a guest, but extorted from him a solemn vow to help him to the crown of England. The Bayeux tapestry says nothing of the Norman

William of Normandy.

story that the oath was taken upon relics of a peculiar sanctity. Whether, in spite of that oath, Harold was warranted in accepting the crown of England for himself is an exceedingly intricate question of casuistry; but it was quite certain that, while William could have no title to the crown except by election of the witan, he would not recognise Harold's election as valid.

The outlook, then, was sufficiently serious already, when in 1065 Northumbria revolted against the rule of Earl Tostig, Harold's brother, to whom the earldom had been given on Siward's death in 1055. Tostig neglected his earldom, but that did not prevent him from oppressing it. In Tostig's absence the Northumbrians rose, outlawed the earl, cut up his household, and elected in his room Morkere, the younger brother of Eadwin of Mercia; and Eadwin himself came to their assistance with the levies of his own earldom and a contingent of allies from Wales. Harold was no more inclined to support Tostig than he had been in the case of Sweyn. His brother's outlawry was confirmed, and the Northumbrian earldom of Aelfgar's second son was confirmed. With the Leofricsons earls of half England, it is not difficult to explain the marriage of Harold to their sister. **Tostig.**

On 5th January 1066 Edward the Confessor died, and the witan immediately elected Harold. Every one ignored the Aetheling. Sweyn of Denmark, a prudent prince, waited upon events. The outlawed Tostig, now fiercely hostile to his own brother, first tried to intrigue with Sweyn, then raided the English coasts, and ultimately betook himself to Harald Hardrada. William of Normandy did not wait upon events, but immediately set himself to the mustering of a great host, partly of his own subjects, partly of adventurers from Flanders and Brittany and from other French provinces, while he appealed to the Pope for the blessing of the Church upon an expedition directed against the perjured blasphemer who called himself king of England. Harold's perjury was made the worse in William's eyes by the marriage with Aeldgyth, since it had been part of Harold's pledge that he was to marry William's own youthful daughter Adela. The papal approval was the more readily obtained because of the inde- **Harold II., 1066.**

pendent attitude of the churchmen in England towards the Holy See, the prevalence of marriage among the English clergy, and the recognition of Stigand as archbishop of Canterbury. The Normans always declared that Harold was crowned by Stigand, though, in fact, the leading part in the ceremony was taken by Aeldred, the archbishop of York.

Harold furnished forth a great fleet and a mighty army in the south of England. But the months rolled by while William was gathering his host together. The strain of long waiting under arms was too great for the English levies. September arrived, and there was still no invasion. Harold was forced to let his troops disband, and the great navy which held the Channel was ruined by a storm. And then suddenly came the news from the north that Harald Hardrada with a mighty fleet, and accompanied by Tostig, was on the Yorkshire coast. The Norsemen sailed into the Humber, landed, and routed the levies of Eadwin and Morkere at Fulford on 20th September, not a fortnight after Harold had disbanded his troops. Yet five days later Harold himself was at York, having dashed north with such of the troops as had not dispersed and every man he could muster on the march. At Stamford Bridge the two armies met, to the startled amazement of the invaders. Tostig refused a tempting invitation to separate himself from his ally. A furious battle raged all day. When it was over Hardrada and Tostig were both dead on the field, and after mighty deeds of valour done on both sides the remnant of the Norsemen were driven to their ships, and departed.

Harald Hardrada.

The great fight was fought on 25th September; but William's opportunity had arrived. The English fleet had vanished, the English army had been carried to the north, a favouring wind enabled the Norman to put to sea, and on 28th September the invading host landed at Pevensey.

CHAPTER IV. THE NORMAN KINGS

I. Survey of Europe

Except for a few years after the Norman Conquest, while aggressive action on the part of the Scandinavian monarchies was still a danger, the direct relations of England with the Continent were for a long time to come virtually confined to two powers, France and the Papacy; but the relations with those powers are not themselves really intelligible without some understanding of the organisation of Europe and of the movements by which Europe was affected. For hitherto England had been almost secluded from Europe, except Scandinavia; whereas the Norman Conquest brought her into touch with the European system, because her rulers, as dukes and counts of great provinces in France, were Continental potentates as well as kings of England. **England and Europe.**

At the close of the eighth century Charlemagne had revived the Western Roman Empire. Of Charlemagne's empire the eastern boundaries were, roughly speaking, the river Elbe and the Adriatic. Between the Baltic and the river Danube were hordes of Slavonic peoples or non-Aryan barbarians. South of the Danube was the Greek or Byzantine Empire, to which Southern Italy was attached. The islands of the Mediterranean and the greater part of Spain were under Mohammedan or 'Saracen' domination. During the ninth century this new Roman Empire broke up into four portions. The Spanish peninsula was detached, and the Christian principalities of its northern part were left to fight out their own battles with the Moors. The rest, if we still keep to the broad lines, was parted into three divisions: the western Frank kingdom, which grew into France; the eastern, which is roughly **The Empire, 800-1056.**

Germany; and the middle kingdom, stretching from the North Sea to the Mediterranean, called Lotharingia, with which Italy was associated. But even these were territorial aggregates rather than solid kingdoms. But again, during the tenth century, the Holy Roman Empire was restored by Otto the Great of Saxony. The Empire may be described as including the East 'German' kingdom, northern Lotharingia or Lorraine, and two-thirds of Italy. Of the middle kingdom there survived Arles or the Arelate, comprising Burgundy and Provence. The west Frankish kingdom of France included approximately the modern Belgium and as much of modern France as lies on the west of the rivers Rhone and Saône. For some time to come the titles of emperor and German king were approximately convertible, though the German king was not invariably crowned emperor. In theory both the imperial and the royal crowns were conferred not by hereditary right but by election; in practice they remained with the successive dynasties commonly called the Saxon (North German), the Franconian (Middle German), and the Swabian or Hohenstaufen (South German). In the middle of the eleventh century the Franconian dynasty was in possession; the greatest of its emperors, Henry III., died in 1056, leaving a regency in charge of his six-year-old successor, Henry IV.

The Norman expansion.

The Saxon and Franconian emperors stemmed the tide of advancing Slavs and Hungarians or Magyars from the east. The Scandinavian expansion had almost come to an end after Danes and Northmen had established themselves in the English Danelagh and the French province of Normandy, although for a time during the eleventh century England formed part of the actual Danish dominion. But in this century there was a new expansion, not from Denmark, but from Normandy itself. In the north the duke of Normandy made himself master of England. In the south the adventurous sons of Tancred de Hauteville carved out for themselves a new dominion on the Mediterranean. Robert, called Guiscard, won Southern Italy, and his younger brother Roger established his power in Sicily. Thus both these regions were drawn into

the area of Western Christendom and of Western Feudalism precisely at the moment when Duke William was putting an end to the comparative isolation of England. And while both William of Normandy and Robert Guiscard were still living, the triumphant progress of the Seljuk Turks in the East was precipitating the long struggle between the Cross and the Crescent in Western Asia which had its counterpart in the Spanish peninsula.

But another struggle was approaching. In the first half of the eleventh century the Papacy fell upon evil days. Within the Church there was a fervent party of reform, which drew its inspiration from the monastery of Clugny; but reform to be effective must begin with the head; the body could not be cured while the head was corrupt. The great Emperor Henry III., alive to the need for reform, deposed three rival popes, and appointed his cousin Bruno pope as Leo IX. When Leo died, after a brief and vigorous papacy, Henry nominated Victor II. Both Victor and his successor, Stephen IX., held but brief rule. With all these three reforming popes great influence had been exercised by Archdeacon Hildebrand. In 1058, when Stephen died, the Emperor Henry IV. was a mere child. The reactionaries forced the election of Benedict X.; Hildebrand succeeded in carrying through the counter-election of Nicholas II. as a reforming pope, and the anti-pope was deposed. In Italy Nicholas greatly strengthened himself by alliance with the Normans, and Robert Guiscard found it in his own interest to hold his dukedom of Apulia as the Pope's 'man' and the Pope's champion, rather than by no other title than that of the sword. The practical effect was to make the Papacy a secular power supported by a very vigorous fleshly arm. The system of papal elections was at the same time reorganised with a view to preventing such scandals as the election of rival popes. When Nicholas died in 1061 another reforming pope, Alexander II., was elected without reference to the young emperor. But this was a cause of great offence to the German clergy, since the new system of election almost amounted to guaranteeing that the Pope should be an Italian. The regular election was ignored,

The Papacy.

and an anti-pope, Honorius II., was chosen by the Germans. Honorius did not succeed in making head effectively against Alexander; but a contest was thus initiated between the Empire and the Roman Papacy.

When Alexander died, Hildebrand was elected with some irregularity at Rome as Gregory VII., to exercise as pope the power which for nearly twenty years he had in effect exercised through five popes in succession. And Hildebrand was not only a determined reformer of morals, but virtually the creator of that conception of the Papacy which claimed that the spiritual power was supreme over the secular; that Christendom is a theocracy, in which the successor of St. Peter, the Vicar of Christ, is at once the servant of the Lord's servants and the king of kings.

Gregory VII.

The Empire was a collection of principalities variously entitled duchies, counties, margravates; as emperor, the German king exercised the supreme secular authority in Italy as well as in Germany, but the submission of a duke of Saxony or Bavaria was measured by the strength of the emperor. The position in France was not very different. Hugh Capet had founded the reigning dynasty in 987, elected to the throne because of the hopeless inefficiency of the last descendants of Charlemagne. The early Capets did not succeed in consolidating the power of the Crown; the king was little more than one noble among several, who in theory recognised him as suzerain. At the time of the Norman Conquest of England King Philip I. was a child, and the regency was in the hands of Baldwin of Flanders, whose daughter was the wife of William of Normandy. Flanders, Normandy, Brittany, Blois, French Burgundy, Anjou, Poitou, Gascony, Champagne, and Toulouse were each of them a match for the Crown estate of Paris and Orleans. The feudatories of each followed the banners of their own duke or count against the king as well as against other dukes or counts. The authority of the French king in France was no greater than that of the German king in Germany. The populations of the kingdom were hardly more homogeneous than their language, scarcely more so than those of the whole

France: the Capets.

island of Great Britain. The half-Scandinavian Norman, the low-German of Flanders, the Celt of Brittany were not very closely akin to each other, and regarded the Frenchman proper as a foreigner; all of Southern France was in some degree hostile to Northern France. It has been necessary to dwell upon the lack of solidarity in the kingdom of England; but it will be readily seen that this lack of solidarity was even more conspicuous in the great states of Europe, each of which was little more than a confederation of nobles technically acknowledging a common suzerain.

During the next two hundred years, then, we shall find three great movements in operation: the assertion of papal authority, the crusades, and the movement towards national consolidation. So long as the duke of Normandy was king of England, as was always the case for a hundred and forty years, except while Normandy was held by William the Conqueror's eldest son, the fact tended to check the consolidation of both England and France. For some two and a half centuries more the king of England retained a hold upon Gascony, and that fact tended still to check the consolidation of France, but not of England.

The coming movements.

Thirty years after the Norman Conquest, Pope Urban II. was urging all Western Christendom upon the first crusade. Crusades on a large scale recurred at intervals of twenty or thirty years. German emperors and French kings went on crusade, but no king of Scotland and no king of England except Richard I., though Edward I. went crusading before he came to the throne. No efforts ever sufficed to make any crusade into a real united movement of Christendom; and England lagged far behind France in crusading ardour. Even in Europe at large the political influence of the crusades was mainly the indirect one that they tended to increase the prestige of the Papacy, because through them the Papacy was able to emphasise its position as the head of a militant Christianity. The crusades developed a certain cosmopolitanism which perhaps hindered rather than helped the growth of nationalism; they brought the West into touch with Islam in its most progressive period; they

The crusades.

31563

certainly developed trade. But they did not unite Christendom, nor did they give to Christendom the victory over Mohammedanism. As to their influence in English history, we have to refer to them chiefly to show that, in spite of their picturesqueness, their practical influence was small.

The third movement was the struggle between the Papacy and the Empire—a struggle which finds its reflection in England during these two hundred years in the controversies between William Rufus, Henry I., and Henry II. on the one side, and on the other Archbishop Anselm and Archbishop Becket; and, at a later stage, in the submission of King John to Innocent III. and the subserviency of Henry III. to a long series of popes. With rare exceptions the popes throughout the period were men who stood out morally and intellectually among their contemporaries. If in their militancy we find an arrogant lust of power, it must not be forgotten that they strove at least to use their power in the interests of righteousness, though they might be too much inclined to identify the interests of righteousness with their own. In the twelfth century they won their battle against the secular power, till there was no king in Europe who was not forced to recognise one mightier than himself in Innocent III. A hundred years later the Papacy wrought its own downfall by the arrogance of its claims; but England was far enough away to be always successful in resisting demands which were excessive, except when she was paralysed by the iniquity of King John and the incompetence of Henry III.

The Empire and the Papacy.

II. William the Conqueror, 1066-1087

The news of William's landing was carried post-haste to the north. A week after he had received it Harold was back in London. Eadwin and Morkere were to follow as promptly as they could; but in fairness to them it must be remembered that their levies had been shattered at Fulford, and it was probably no easy task to gather a fresh force

Harold and William.

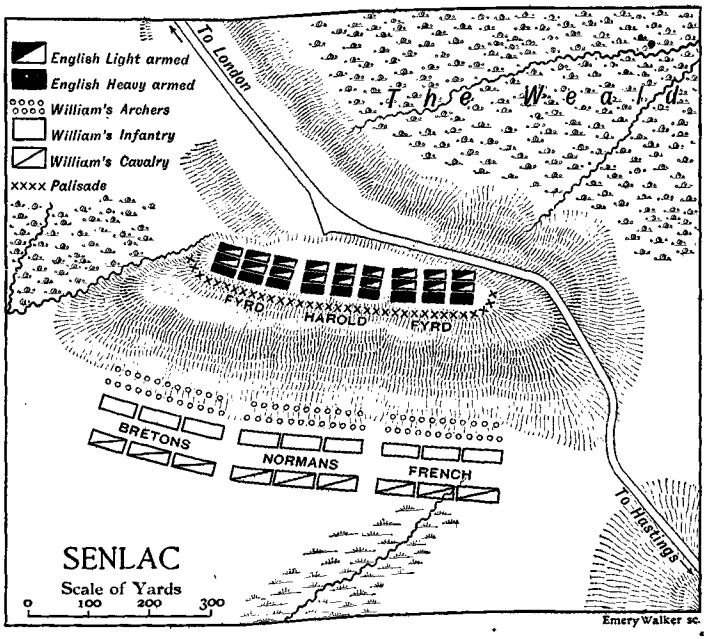
in the north with which to march into the remote south. From the shires which lay upon the Great North Road, Ermine Street, along which Harold sped on his swift southern march, from East Anglia, from Wessex and Kent, the levies came in to fight for the great captain who had just won so striking a victory over his namesake, reputed to be the mightiest warrior of the age. Meanwhile William remained at his base, ravaging the country, but bent on forcing Harold to battle near the coast. Counsel was given to the English king that, instead of giving battle to William, he should waste the land south of London, and so force William to fight at a distance from his base, or else to retreat. But Harold would not waste English land. He would fight the invader, but on ground of his own choosing. He took his forces down to where the open country emerges, on the south of the Andredesweald, and posted them on the ridge of Senlac.

There he entrenched himself, says Henry of Huntingdon; and Wace, whose statement there is no reason to doubt, says that the breastwork was surmounted by a wattled fence. Behind the fence was the shield wall of the heavy-armed Saxon soldiers, who fought on foot with bill and battle-axe and javelin, and with them the light troops, armed with ruder implements of war. About the standard were gathered the host of the huscarles, the trained fighting men who first appeared as the household troops of the Danish kings—a sort of Danish development of the king's gesiths, but forming a very much larger body. There was no archery worth the name. The Normans, on the other hand, fought on a system practically unknown in England, having three arms: a great force of heavy cavalry, a mass of heavy infantry, and troops of archers, though the longbow, which was later to become so famous in the hands of Englishmen, was as yet unknown. Everything was to be staked on the pitched battle, in which the Normans were forced to be the attacking party. As to the relative numbers of the two armies, nothing can be affirmed positively; but Harold had certainly not yet been joined by the levies from the north, or even by the whole of the contingents from Wessex. It is

The armies at Senlac.

doubtful whether more than thirty thousand men could have been massed on the ridge. The lowest of the estimates of the Norman hosts counted them as sixty thousand, but estimates of large numbers appear habitually to have been greatly exaggerated; it would be perhaps fairly safe to say that the fighting line numbered from thirty to forty thousand.

A frontal attack was the only course open to the Norman. The archers were driven back when they came within range



of the English missiles; the infantry when they came to close quarters were hurled back from the stockades; the horsemen swept forward to the charge up the slope, but if they crashed through the wattled fence they could not break through the shield wall. On the Norman left the Bretons broke and fled; the English shire levies burst from their ranks and raced down the hill in pursuit. The Norman centre wheeled and swept down upon them, and the English right wing was thus almost annihilated. But it was only the right that had

The battle.

broken line. The Normans rallied and again hurled themselves against the shield wall; yet, in spite of desperate courage, the horsemen could not force their way in.

Again a great mass of the Norman horsemen broke and fled; but this time the flight was a trap. Into it the shire levies fell, believing that the victory was already won. Masses of them dashed forward down the slope, but when they had been drawn far enough the Norman centre hurled upon their flank. The fugitives re-formed and charged again upon their front. Only the huscarles and the troops which were most thoroughly kept in hand remained to hold the brow of the ridge; yet these maintained their ranks and fought on still. But the conflict had now become too unequal. With every charge increased numbers fell; between the charges the archers poured in flights of arrows which showered down from above. One of them pierced the eye of Harold. At last the horsemen broke through, the huscarles fell fighting to the last around the standards, and only a remnant fled, when night had already fallen, into the impracticable Andredesweald.

The immense importance of the battle, which has taken its popular name from Hastings, the nearest town of importance, has claimed for it an exceptionally full description. The victory ensured the subjection of England to the Norman, and what that meant politically we shall presently see. But apart from its political consequences, Hastings was the typically decisive battle which established for two centuries and a half the military principle that no foot soldiery could stand against the combination of cavalry with archery. The foot soldiers became so far discredited as an arm that it was presently assumed that they could not stand up against cavalry; and wherever mail-clad knights took the field they carried all before them. Later came the time when this illusion was dispersed, and it was proved first that in the plain shock of horse against foot it was possible for the foot to hold their own; and then that the right use of archery, in conjunction whether with horse or with foot, was the decisive factor. In reality it was the right use of archery which gave the Norman horsemen the victory

Features of the battle.

over the English foot at Hastings, coupled with the failure of the English foot to remember that it was their first duty, to preserve their formation. But the conspicuous fact at Hastings was that the magnificent valour of the finest foot soldiers had not availed them. The part played by the archers was not duly appreciated; and it was only when the English developed an immensely superior type of archery, and employed it successfully against mail-clad knights, that the mail-clad knight in his turn became discredited. The crossbow was too slow and the ordinary shortbow was not strong enough to be effective against the heavily mailed horsemen; but the longbow for the man who could use it combined the merits and cancelled the defects of the crossbow and the shortbow. But the longbow certainly did not come into use as an effective English weapon until the reign of Edward I.

The great defeat at Hastings left the English people without a head. Eadwin and Morkere may have dreamed of the crown for Eadwin, or of a partition of the kingdom, which would have left them independent rulers of the north. Patriots may have seen in the proclamation of the Aetheling the only hope of uniting England under one banner against the foreigner. The men of the Danelagh may have hankered for a union with the crown of Denmark. But there was no strong man to take an emphatic lead, and the election of 'Child Eadgar' by the witan was accepted in a very half-hearted fashion. By the Normans it was ignored.

William's advance.

After a few days' delay William moved upon Romsey and Dover, completely securing his communications by sea, and thence upon Canterbury, which immediately submitted. Here his own sickness and that of his army compelled him to delay for a month; but the English made no use of the interval to collect forces or prepare resistance. When at last he moved again, Winchester and some other towns sent to make their submission. London, as in the old days of Danish invasions, was inclined to fight. The Normans dispersed the citizen levies which came out against them, but, instead of attempting to force a passage of the river, William proceeded to the west as

far as Wallingford, where he crossed, presumably with the intention of intercepting any possible forces from Mercia. As he approached London the witan was at last forced to the conclusion that resistance was hopeless. Stigand had already been making overtures, and now the Aetheling himself, together with Ealdred, archbishop of York, some other bishops, and some representatives of London itself, came to William to offer him the crown—an offer which after some deliberation was formally accepted. The formal election was followed by William's coronation on Christmas Day, though there was an ominous interruption of the ceremony, which took place in the Confessor's newly built abbey at Westminster. The shout of applause within the building was misunderstood by the guards outside. Instead of breaking in, as one might have expected, they attacked the neighbouring houses, and there was a very serious tumult.

Election of William.

William intended to reign not by right of conquest, but on the theory that he was the lawful sovereign. His coronation oath promised peace and equal justice to Englishmen and Normans. A charter was issued to the Londoners promising the same rights which they had enjoyed in the days of the Confessor, and the Norman soldiers were ordered to abstain from violence. But William proceeded with the erection of a castle to dominate London, the first outward and visible sign of the systematic establishment of garrisons in impregnable fortresses. For the stone keep of the Normans had probably never been seen before in England. Those who had fought by Harold's side at Hastings were denounced as traitors, on the hypothesis that William had been their lawful king against whom they were in rebellion; and their lands were forfeited and distributed among William's followers. The rest of the English were not dispossessed, but were required to pay a fine as a condition of retaining their lands; either on the theory that they were more or less implicated in the rebellion because they had not taken up arms on William's behalf, or else on the certainly doubtful ground that fines were payable on the succession of a new lord.

First measures.

William extended his clemency to the young earls of the north, Eadwin and Morkere, and also to young Waltheof Siwardson, who held Huntingdon with the title of earl. But these scions of the great houses of Leofric and Siward were kept near the king's person in what was virtually a gilded captivity. The Crown estates, as a matter of course, passed into the king's own hand. Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the king's half-brother, received large estates in Kent with the title of earl; William Fitzosbern, the playmate of his youth, and his stout supporter at all times, got lands in Norfolk and the earldom of Hereford, which had presumably reverted to the Crown since the death of the Confessor's nephew Ralph. Robert of Mortain, who, like Odo, was the son of William's mother, got Cornwall and half Devon and Dorset at a later stage. Systematic confiscation had not yet begun. Apparently there was no likelihood of open defiance of the new authority; and William went off to Normandy, taking with him Eadwin, Morkere, and Waltheof, while he left Odo in charge of the south and Fitzosbern in charge of the Welsh marches and the north.

Distribution of lands.

Whatever William's intentions may have been, the Normans and miscellaneous adventurers who had followed his banner solely for the sake of the spoils at once began to tyrannise over the English; and before long there were sporadic outbreaks in Kent, in Northumbria, and on the Welsh marches, where a thegn called Eadric the Wild bade defiance to the new garrison of Hereford, in alliance with the princes of North Wales who had succeeded Gryffydd.

William returned to England in December to find that Devon and Cornwall, headed by the town of Exeter, one of the largest in the kingdom, were under the impression that they could make special terms for themselves. The citizens declined to swear fealty. Early in 1068 William marched to the west; but though a deputation of citizens came to make submission, bringing hostages, the city of Exeter repudiated their action and closed its gates. For nearly three weeks the place was besieged before the leading citizens succeeded in impressing upon their fellow-townsmen the futility of resistance.

Insurrection in the west.

Nevertheless, William was content with having a castle built; and he then made a progress through Devon and Cornwall, which submitted to him. It was this rebellion which gave him the opportunity of handing over nearly eight hundred manors (which may for the moment be described as the units of lordship) to Robert of Mortain. William then was able to spend his Easter at Winchester, and at Whitsuntide his wife Matilda was crowned.

But the insurrections were breaking out again. The English earls and the Aetheling escaped from the court. Eadgar made for the north, where the Englishman Gospatric, who had bought the earldom of Bernicia from William, declared for him as king. Mercia and Deira rose under Eadwin and Morkere. The sons born to Harold by his first wife had escaped to Ireland, and raided the Bristol Channel. But the west had now resolved to be loyal to the Norman, and the raid came to nothing. The resistance in Mercia promptly collapsed; the Aetheling and Gospatric fled to King Malcolm in Scotland, who saw that he might turn their presence to account; and Northumbria submitted. Leniency was still the Conqueror's policy. Eadwin and Morkere were pardoned. But Norman earls were planted at Leicester and in Yorkshire. Castles were raised there, at Warwick and Nottingham, and at Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Cambridge, on the road from London to York, as William withdrew to the south. Nevertheless, in January 1069 the Northumbrians broke out again, and cut in pieces their new earl, Robert de Commines, and his retinue, at Durham. The Aetheling appeared on the scene, and York was attacked. William with his usual vigour swooped on the north again, scattered the besiegers before the castle of York, and sent Eadgar headlong back to Scotland. Again the king took no vindictive action, but withdrew to the south—leaving, however, a second castle at York.

Insurrection in the north.

But now the slow-moving king of Denmark began to think that he might have something to gain, stirred up perhaps by his aunt Gytha, the widow of Godwin and the mother of Harold. In August a very miscellaneous fleet from the Baltic, under the command of Sweyn's brother Asbiorn,

The Danish invasion.

appeared on the east coast, and after some futile demonstrations at Dover and on the East Anglian coast sailed into the Humber. It was joined by Eadgar, and also by Waltheof, who had hitherto remained quiet, though it is difficult to see how the claims of the Aetheling and the claims of the Danes were going to be reconciled. Whether the Danes of Northumbria thought they were fighting for Sweyn or for the Aetheling is an open question, but they came in very large numbers to make common cause against the Normans. Together they carried the city unopposed. The captain, William Malet, had sent word to the king that the castles could hold out for a year; but in ten days they were taken, and most of the garrisons were either prisoners or dead. Probably by an accident, half the town was burnt down. Waltheof personally is said to have slain an immense number of the Normans, hewing them down at the castle sally-port.

The fall of York set insurrections ablaze all over the country; in Somerset and Dorset, in Devon and Cornwall, on the Welsh marches. This time William flamed out into ungovernable wrath. He flung himself upon the north, leaving the other insurrections to be dealt with later. The Danes fell back into Lindsey, and from Lindsey into Holdernesse in Yorkshire, where William could not reach them without shipping. William drove westward to stamp out another rising in Stafford; the Danes came out and marched upon York to keep their Christmas there. As William swept back the Danes retreated again, though a few of them remained with an English force to hold York itself. Their resistance was stubborn but vain. The castles rose again and were occupied with fresh garrisons; and then William set himself deliberately to make a desert from York to Durham, and something not much better than a desert between Durham and the Tyne, where the folk had time to flee for their lives before the devastator was upon them. Twenty years afterwards, in one district, out of sixty-two villages only sixteen had any inhabitants left.

The harrying of the north.

William left the Danes in Holdernesse and fell upon North-Western Mercia in a winter campaign which taxed the endurance of his troops to the utmost. The punishment inflicted was only

less severe than in Yorkshire. Meanwhile the Danes had come out into the fen country, and having finally made up their minds that the conquest of England was not to be achieved, sacked Peterborough, the 'Golden Borough,' the richest abbey in England, and then quitted the English shores. But though the Danes were gone before the summer of 1070, the fenmen formed a camp of refuge at Ely, whither for some months to come gathered all the broken and desperate men of the north.

Merciless as William was in his campaign, his wrath was tempered by policy. He extended pardon to Gospatric and Waltheof. As yet the Aetheling remained out of his reach with Malcolm of Scotland, who about this time married his sister Margaret. But the camp at Ely threatened to become dangerous, as a magnet for the disaffected and a well-spring of disaffection. Its captain was Hereward the Wake, around whose name there gathered in the course of the seventy years following stories so obviously legendary that it becomes almost impossible to discriminate much definite fact. It is quite possible that he was of the house of Leofric, and equally possible that he was merely a Lincolnshire thegn, like Eadric the Wild in the west. One out of three apparently different writers who are occasionally referred to as 'Richard of Ely' put together the Hereward myth as we have it, working professedly upon an English original, the composition of one of Hereward's clerical companions. This legend is supplemented by a passage in the French Rhyming Chronicle of Gaimar, written about 1140, which departs from the other work, the *Gesta Herwardi*, mainly by adding the story of the hero's death in his last great fight.

Hereward at Ely.

This much at least can be reckoned as historic truth. Hereward established himself in the isle of Ely, and made himself a terror to the Normans over a very considerable area. He was joined by the patriotic Bishop Aethelwin of Durham, and by Morkere after the death of Eadwin. Eadwin, it may be said in passing, in spite of repeated favours shown to him by William, broke from his allegiance, and was making for Scotland when he was slain by his own followers, who carried his head to

William and were hanged for their pains. The camp at Ely, girdled with swamps, defied all ordinary means of attack, and even William's first attempt to carry it met with horrible disaster. Treachery, however, broke it up at last; probably the garrison realised that there was nothing to be gained by continuing the struggle. Only a few of the most stubborn patriots retired with Hereward to the greenwood, and at last Hereward himself came in to the king and was restored to his estates in Lincolnshire. Whether he died fighting against a group of personal enemies or peaceably in his bed remains uncertain. But after the fall of Ely there was practically no more armed resistance on the part of the English to the dominion of William.

William and Malcolm III.

In 1072 William made an expedition to Scotland, when Malcolm renewed the formal submission which he had apparently thought it politic to make in 1069. Also the Scots king would seem to have received some grants of lands in England, for which he did homage, perhaps as the price of dismissing his brother-in-law the Aetheling. But the records of these submissions and homages are always somewhat dubious in character, nor does their value seem to be much affected by the number of occasions on which they took place. It cannot be doubted that Malcolm did more than once pay some sort of homage to William; but William did not wish or attempt to effect a conquest of Scotland. What he did want was to prevent Scotland from being made the basis for insurrectionary movements in England. As for the Scots king, if he could avoid having his lands harried by a promise to be William's man, he would have had no compunction about making it, or about ignoring it whenever the circumstances were encouraging.

The Conquest complete.

In 1072 the Conqueror was complete master of England. The last embers of English rebellion had died out. The Aetheling, never personally dangerous, was a fugitive. There were no Godwinsons who counted; of the Leofricsons, Eadwin was dead, and Morkere after the surrender at Ely was in prison. The only important scion of the great old houses left was Waltheof, who was in the king's peace, had married the king's niece Judith, and was now earl of Northumber-

land, the land between Tyne and Tees. The rebellions had warranted such sweeping territorial confiscations that by this time very much the greater part of the country had been bestowed upon William's followers; practically no large estates remained in English hands. The Norman Conquest was completed, and it was not from English but from Norman barons that any challenge of the power of the Crown might be anticipated.

Such a challenge came in 1075. William Fitzosbern was dead and his son Roger was earl of Hereford; in Norfolk large domains were held by Ralph Guader, the 'Staller,' part Breton and part English by descent—both men of the younger generation. While William was in Normandy, which occupied his personal attention between 1073 and 1075, these two earls were brewing treason. Ralph meant to marry Roger's sister and the king had forbidden the union. They had other grounds of complaint in the monarch's refusal to recognise privileges to which they fancied themselves entitled. The whole story is obscure; but they made up their minds to revolt, and, presumably in the hope of obtaining English support, they sought the alliance of Waltheof. William was to be driven out, and England was to be divided between the three earls. Waltheof appears to have wavered, then to have resolved to stand by his allegiance, and to have made confession of the design to William's great minister Lanfranc, the archbishop of Canterbury. Lanfranc had been more than suspicious for some time past, and his suspicions had been fully confirmed when the marriage was carried out in defiance of the king's orders. Roger rose in arms in the west and Ralph in the east; but Lanfranc was equal to the occasion. The English hated their immediate masters, the Norman barons, much more than they hated the Norman king; the surviving English bishops knew that the power of the Crown was the best existing security against the most brutal oppression. English levies marched against the rebels, and the rebellion collapsed. Ralph Guader escaped to Brittany, but Roger of Hereford was taken, and spent the rest of his life in prison. Waltheof, who had taken no part in the rebellion, went over to Normandy to

Rebellion of Norman earls.

seek the king's pardon for his temporary lapse. The pardon was apparently granted, but on his return to England he was arrested, tried, and executed. Waltheof, whose life had been singularly futile, had nevertheless enjoyed a somewhat inexplicable popularity; when he was dead the monks of Crowland transformed him into a martyr and a miracle-working saint. So perished the last of the old English aristocracy, if we except the Aetheling, who was received by the king into his peace but took no further part in politics.

The end of Waltheof.

The revolt of 1075 was an isolated phenomenon. The greater barons at least were too thoroughly aware of William's strength to venture on challenging him. But there was one whom William began to view with suspicion, his brother Odo, who was a great secular baron as well as a prelate. It can hardly be supposed that Odo meditated anything which could properly be called treason; but he had ambitious designs of his own. In 1082 he gathered an armed force, intended for a foreign expedition, the nature of which is doubtful. Odo was arrested, and when he pleaded immunity as a bishop was told that he was arrested not as bishop but as earl of Kent; and he remained in prison for the rest of the reign.

Odo of Bayeux.

A Scottish raid in 1079 showed how lightly Malcolm's allegiance lay upon him; the only consequence was that the king's eldest son Robert marched into Scotland with an army and, as a matter of course, received Malcolm's submission. William also suppressed disturbances in Wales, where the princes were prompt to take any such opportunity as had been offered to them by Eadric the Wild, to harry the marches. Welsh submissions were only more effective than Scottish submissions because punitive expeditions were more easily dispatched thither. A more formidable danger threatened in 1086, when Sweyn's son and successor Knut revived schemes for the invasion of England. The schemes were dissolved by the murder of Knut; but the threat brought about the great gathering or moot on Salisbury plain, preparatory to a general summons to arms, at which moot all the landholders who were present took the oath of allegiance to the king—an

Scotland and Wales.

Denmark.

event which will be further noticed elsewhere, as will the framing of Domesday Book, the great register which was completed in this same year.

But, in fact, during the last fifteen years of his life William spent much more of his time on the Continent than in England. While Lanfranc was in his new kingdom he could be certain that it was well watched. If he had little real confidence in Odo of Bayeux, he could thoroughly trust the men whom he left in the most responsible positions: Robert of Cornwall; Hugh the Wolf of Chester; Hugh of Grantmesnil in the midlands; and William de Warenne, husband of his stepdaughter, whom he had made earl of Surrey. If any of the other barons thought of making trouble, the English folk could be counted upon to answer a call to arms against them. William's troubles were in France rather than in England. The duke of Normandy had quarrels with other counts and dukes over provinces where he claimed the suzerainty, and quarrels with his own suzerain, the king of France, who fomented the disputes of his great feudatories, and encouraged the duke's eldest son Robert to resist the paternal authority, to take part with his father's enemies, and to endeavour ineffectively to stir up the duke's Norman vassals against him. William despised his son's vacillating will, easy temper, and second-rate talents; but he could not despise him as a stout man of his hands, for Robert is reputed to be the one man who unhorsed his father in the field of battle, and held him at his mercy, all unconscious who it was that he had overthrown. There were temporary reconciliations, and William on his death-bed acknowledged Robert as his successor in Normandy; but he nominated to the throne of England a much stronger and a much worse man, his second son William, called Rufus. William met his death when he was smiting Mantes, a recalcitrant town upon the Norman border. A stumble of his horse threw him against the pommel of his saddle, causing an internal injury, of which he died shortly afterwards.

William in Normandy.

We have described the course of the Conquest. The character of the Conqueror has been described once for all by the English

chronicler, a monk of Peterborough, who has no love for the grim Norman but will not refuse him his meed of admiration. With that portrait we close the division before turning to the political and social reconstruction which the Norman Conquest involved.

The Conqueror's character.

'The king William, about whom we speak, was a very wise man, and very powerful; more dignified and strong than any of his predecessors were. He was mild to the good men who loved God: and over all measure severe to the men who gainsaid his will. He was also of great dignity; thrice every year he bare his crown, as oft as he was in England. At Easter he bare it in Winchester; at Pentecost in Westminster; at Midwinter in Gloucester. And there were with him all the great men over all England: archbishops and suffragan bishops, abbots and earls, thanes and knights. So also was he a very stark and cruel man, so that no one durst do anything against his will. He had earls in his bonds, who had acted against his will; bishops he cast from their bishoprics, and abbots from their abbacies, and thanes into prison; and at last he spared not his own brother named Odo. Among other things is not to be forgotten the good peace that he made in this land; so that a man who had any confidence in himself might go over his realm, with his bosom full of gold unhurt. Nor durst any man slay another man, had he done ever so great evil to the other. In his time men had great hardships and very many injuries. Castles he caused to be made, and poor men to be greatly oppressed. The king was so very stark, and took from his subjects many a mark of gold, and more hundred pounds of silver, which he took, by right and with great unright, from his people for little need. He had fallen into covetousness and altogether loved greediness. He planted a great preserve of deer, and he laid down laws therewith; that whosoever should slay the hart or hind should be blinded. He forbade the harts and also the boars to be killed. As greatly did he love the tall deer as if he were their father. He so ordained concerning the hares, that they should go free. His great men bewailed it, and the poor men murmured thereat; but he was so obdurate that he recked not of the hatred of them all;

but they must wholly follow the king's will, if they would live, or have land or property, or even his peace. Alas! that any man should be so proud, to raise himself up, and account himself above all men. May the Almighty God show mercy to his soul and grant him forgiveness of his sins!'

III. The Conqueror's System

In theory the Norman Conquest merely set a new dynasty upon the throne of England—a dynasty pledged to maintain the laws of the country. In actual fact it wrought a huge revolution, because the administration of the law passed into the hands of an entirely new group of persons, who interpreted it in the light of the institutions to which they themselves were accustomed; sometimes in perfect honesty, sometimes by deliberate chicanery, and sometimes without much pretence that they were doing anything but wresting the law to their own purposes.

The Norman revolution.

William found in existence a system of government in which the central authority was weak, whereas from his point of view the first essential was that the central authority should be very nearly despotic. He found a system under which a few great earls were practically viceroys; and there was no room for viceroys in his conception of a powerful state. In the existing system customs popularly interpreted were supreme, and there was not much work for lawyers; popular interpretation now had to give way to interpretation by the trained men of law and by authorities who cared not at all for popular opinion, while the sanction of physical force, under which they acted, could in no wise be gainsaid. He found the land in possession of free owners, and in occupation mainly by politically free tenants, who owed service or some form of rent to the lord of the soil. He made the lords of the soil his own tenants, and they with the aid of the lawyers transformed the majority of the occupiers into unqualified serfs. These changes are summed up in the general statement that the Norman Conquest introduced Norman Feudalism.

Now an embryo feudalism was undoubtedly making its way in England before the Conquest, and a very complete feudalism had taken possession of the Continent; but the development which took place in England, while it was not a natural evolution along the old lines, departed in essential particulars from European feudalism. Feudalism has two aspects: as a system of government and a system of land tenure. It rests primarily on the doctrine that the whole land belongs to the suzerain of all, the king; every one who holds land holds it from a suzerain as his tenant or vassal, upon condition in the upper ranks of military service, and in the lower of labour service or its equivalent. Every one holds his land from a suzerain or overlord, but the overlord may himself be some one else's vassal. The vassal is the 'man' of the overlord, does him homage, takes the oath of allegiance to him, while the overlord takes the reciprocal oath to be the protector and the good lord of his vassal. In the natural course followed on the Continent the obedience and the protection are immediate—that is to say, the vassal does not necessarily owe obedience to his overlord's overlord; he obeys his immediate overlord in preference to the superior suzerain. In this system it follows that a single great feudatory may be able to bring into the field against his own overlord an immense number of vassals. We had a hint of something analogous to this system, not in theory but in practice, when Godwin as earl of Wessex summoned the fyrd of Wessex to his support when it seemed possible that he might have to measure his strength against that of the king. The English earldoms created by Knut were tending to assume the character of fiefs, although the theory had not developed that the thegn held his land as a grant either from earl or from king.

Feudalism.

But this tendency was checked from the outset in the new Norman feudalism. As it fell out, whether it was of set purpose or otherwise, the new king of England allotted no great province to any one man. It was actually the case that in Normandy itself none of the duke's vassals possessed a dangerously large territory, and the largest were in the hands of members of the reigning house. When Duke

The Norman modification.

William made himself king of England the distribution of territory went on similar lines. Great estates in the aggregate might be granted to one man, but they were scattered, so that in practice it was impossible for the great holders to concentrate the military forces from their lands. Policy probably had something to do with this, but, policy apart, it may be accounted for by the gradual character of the Conquest and the confiscations. The south-east provided the first batch of confiscations, then the south-west and South Mercia, then the rest of Mercia and the north. Robert of Mortain, the king's brother, got something like a principality in the south-west; but his vast estates were scattered all over Wessex and East Anglia. The earldoms bestowed by William were titles of honour, but did not carry with them exclusive administrative control of great provinces like Knut's earldoms, although exceptional powers went with the earldom of Chester and the bishopric of Durham on account of their position on the marches of Wales and Scotland. And this system was regularly maintained. There was no time when any great feudatory could hope to rebel with success against the Crown. The thing was only possible for a league; and the Crown invariably proved stronger than any league, until baronial leagues assumed a national character.

In the second place, while the disintegrating character of Continental Feudalism was thus checked in the English system, the counter-tendencies were intensified. The Conqueror made feudal tenure universal—that is to say, every inch of the soil was either held in the king's own hands or was granted in military tenancy; but although an immense quantity of territory was in this way granted to a comparatively small number of persons, an immense number of small estates were also held directly from the Crown. Every one holding directly from the Crown, whether Saxon or Norman, was a tenant-in-chief; and though a tenant-in-chief might by the practice of commendation bind himself to the service of some greater magnate, who in return gave him protection, such commendation could not override his allegiance to the king; it did not substitute the feudatory for the king as his overlord.

Tenants-in-chief.

And again, though a feudatory might grant a portion of his estates to a tenant, the Crown claimed, as Crowns on the Continent were unable to claim, that every holder of land owed allegiance first to the king, and was in personal rebellion against the king if he followed his lord's banner against the king's. This principle was emphasised at the moot of Salisbury in 1086, when every landholder present was required to take the direct oath of allegiance to the king himself.

Earls and sheriffs.

Again, even before the Conquest a portion of the old local jurisdictions had passed from the hands of the local administrative bodies into those of the great landed proprietors; and, following Norman custom, the extension of the personal jurisdictions was considerably increased after the Conquest. But the old system of local administrations was not abolished, and the control over them of the king's officers was increased. The Norman earl, count, or *comes* gained power in one way by the development of a personal jurisdiction; but, on the other hand, he lost administrative control with the development of the shrievalty, the functions of the shire-reeve or sheriff, the king's officer who acted on behalf of the king. Though the sheriff might be a local magnate, it was not in virtue of that fact that he held office, but solely as a king's officer. The sheriff dominated the local courts; and if the king could call upon the earl to summon his feudal levies to the field, he could call upon the sheriff to call up the fyrd or militia, the armed free men of the shire. Thus it was by means of the shire levies that the insurrection of Roger of Hereford and Ralph Guader was suppressed; and the kings at all times found that this national force could be employed effectively against recalcitrant magnates.

The council.

After the Conquest, as before it, the highest functions of the government were exercised by the king with consent of the witan. The witan, as we have seen, was normally an assembly of the magnates, while on occasion it was reinforced by such free men as were available and chose to attend. This double constitution of the witan seems—though here we must speak with extreme caution—to reappear in the king's council,

which is normally the *magnum concilium* but on occasion the *commune concilium*; the former consisting of magnates, reinforced in the latter by members of the lesser baronage[1]—that is, the minor tenants-in-chief. The vital change which had taken place lay in the fact that practically all the magnates and a very large proportion of the minor tenants-in-chief were Normans, and the native English were virtually unrepresented. It must further be remarked that while in the earlier stages nearly every magnate, lay or ecclesiastical, was a foreigner imbued with foreign ideas, and determined to establish the foreign ascendency, very nearly all the lay magnates were also barons of Normandy, with separate interests in the great duchy, to which their interests in their new territories were often secondary.

William had obtained the papal sanction and blessing for his enterprise at the instance of Hildebrand, the real director of papal policy long before he assumed the papal tiara himself as Gregory VII. in 1073. Hildebrand was a determined reformer, in whose ideals Christendom should be a Theocracy wherein emperors and kings should recognise the voice of the Church as the voice of God, and the authority of the successor of St. Peter as supreme. Unity and discipline within the Church were necessary conditions for the realisation of this ideal; it was essential that the churchmen should recognise the authority of the Papacy and the freedom of the spiritual power from secular control, the unity of the ecclesiastical organisation, and its separation from the world over which it was divinely appointed to rule. Nothing so effectively separated clergy from laity as clerical celibacy; nothing so effectively checked indiscipline as the rigid rules of the monastic orders. Nowhere were discipline and obedience more lax than in England, and Hildebrand counted upon a reformation as the fruit of the Norman Conquest. William was at one with him in desiring a reformation, but he did not intend that reformation to be carried out at the cost of any jot or tittle of the power of the Crown. **The Church.**

William set out by systematically filling ecclesiastical vacancies with foreigners, who would enforce in the abbacies the sterner

[1] See Note v., *Who were Barons?*

discipline to which they had been accustomed; to the great discomfort of the English monks, whose customs, harmless or otherwise, were rudely trampled upon. But the vigorous work of reformation and reorganisation began in 1070, when the camp at Ely was the only remaining centre of armed resistance to the Conqueror. Hitherto, though certain obstinately patriotic bishops had been dispossessed, Stigand had been allowed to retain his archbishopric. Now a council was held, and he was deprived of this and of other preferments which he had retained along with it. Other bishops and abbots were deposed on various grounds. Every vacated bishopric was given to a foreigner, and finally Lanfranc, abbot of Caen, was appointed to Canterbury. Not more than three English bishops were left.

The new discipline.

Lanfranc in his own day was reputed a great theologian, but he was much more remarkable as an ecclesiastical statesman. He worked in perfect harmony with William throughout the rest of the reign, and we have seen him left in practical control of the realm when the king was absent in Normandy. It was no part of his policy as a churchman to invite the hostility of the secular power. He required a free hand for himself in his own particular sphere, the reorganisation of the Church; and he knew that the best way to get it was to enjoy the king's confidence. In spite of opposition from the new Norman archbishop of York he procured the recognition of the supremacy of Canterbury; which was necessary to ecclesiastical unity, and helped to check any tendency to a political separation between south and north. He initiated a series of national synods, summoned by the Crown and attended by lay magnates, but in which for practical purposes the laymen took no active share. In a very short time it was only in form that the synods were not independent legislative gatherings, and their decrees were promulgated as laws of the Church.

Lanfranc.

Further, William and Lanfranc arranged between them the separation of the ecclesiastical and secular jurisdictions. Hitherto ecclesiastical law had been forced upon laymen only in the shire courts, where ealdormen and bishops sat together.

Ecclesiastical courts for the enforcement of ecclesiastical law were now, probably about 1076, entirely separated from the lay courts, and to them alone were clerics amenable. Out of this, stormy controversy was to arise later between Church and State. But while the Church and the Crown were working in harmony, there was no appearance of the Crown's authority being endangered. The danger of a divided sovereignty arises only when the authorities find themselves in direct antagonism.

Separation of jurisdictions.

But if Lanfranc sought and obtained a great measure of independent spiritual authority, he was at one with the king in showing no disposition to permit encroachments on the part of Rome. Papal demands for the recognition of the sovereignty of the Holy See were met with a polite but emphatic negative. The king would pay the same loyal allegiance to Rome as had been paid by his predecessors on the throne—the sainted Edward, and honoured sons of the Church such as Knut. But he would admit no new obligations; and in taking this line William had the whole-hearted support of his archbishop. The legal supremacy of the Crown was affirmed in three principles. First, no pope should be recognised in England, and no papal letters should be received, except with the sanction of the Crown—a by no means extravagant claim in days when the papal throne itself was sometimes in dispute and the authority of one pope was repudiated by another. The second principle required the royal assent to give validity within the realm to the decrees of the national synod; and the third required the royal assent to the excommunication of any of the king's servants.

Crown and Papacy.

Norman bishops were much more active than their Saxon predecessors; more vigorous in the enforcement of discipline, more systematic in their efforts after organisation. They transferred their seats to the most important towns in their dioceses, and gave those towns a new importance. Norman abbots raised the standards of monastic discipline, not without occasional displays of unwarranted severity and superfluous violence. New monasteries sprang up under the stricter Benedictine rules; more serious efforts were made to foster learn-

The monasteries.

ing among their inhabitants; the secular canons of the cathedrals gave way in great part to monastic bodies. It was a time of stress for the churchmen; but the Church was vitalised, and in the black days of the anarchy of Stephen it was the Church alone which maintained some standard of decency, some gleams of idealism when all hell seemed to have been let loose upon the unhappy land.

While as a general principle the Conqueror held to the theory that no revolution was being introduced in the laws and customs of his new kingdom, there were certain respects in which innovation was obvious and undeniable. One law at least made a definite distinction between Norman and Englishman. The Norman lord oppressed the English peasantry, and the peasantry took their revenge by murdering Norman lords and their retainers whenever opportunity offered. They stood by each other, and it was exceedingly difficult to discover the perpetrators of these crimes. Therefore it was ordained that whenever a Norman should be found slain, and the slayer could not be identified, the hundred in which the murder had been committed should be heavily fined. The penalty was not imposed when the person slain was an Englishman. But by the time that a hundred years had passed, English and Normans had become so far intermixed that it was assumed that a murdered person had Norman blood in his veins, and therefore counted as a Norman, unless he was a member of the class which had then fallen into the definitely servile status, the class of villeins. It was assumed with equal confidence that no villein could be of Norman blood. The second innovation was in the Conqueror's forest laws. There were no forest laws in England before the Conquest, in spite of a spurious edict which the Normans attributed to Knut.* The wild beasts and birds were the legitimate prey of the peasant as well as of the thegn or the ealdorman. But William, with that passionate addiction to the chase which was shared by his descendants, appropriated vast tracts of land, notably the New Forest in Hampshire, as royal forests; and within their boundaries the most merciless penalties were attached to the pursuit and

Presentation of Englishry.

Forest laws.

destruction of game of any sort. It was better for a man to slay the king's lieges than the king's deer, although it was absolutely impossible to develop in the Englishman any doubt whatever that he had a moral right to kill as much game as he chose. The forest laws were felt as the most tyrannical incident of the Conquest, and the Norman lords applied corresponding principles in their own demesnes. The sense of the iniquity of the law was not confined to the peasantry. The churchmen bitterly condemned the greed which swept away villages and even churches in order to make the New Forest one vast hunting ground; and although the depopulation and devastation were probably much less than the declamations of the chroniclers would lead us to believe, popular opinion pointed to the misfortunes of the royal family in the New Forest as the direct vengeance of heaven for the Conqueror's crime. For Richard, the most promising of William's sons, was there killed by an accident of the chase, and a like fate befell William Rufus.

IV. The Population

The grand characteristic of the Normans, their distinctive genius among the peoples who have moulded history, lies not in high intellectual qualities but in their appreciation of method, their systematic if rigid and prosaic treatment of the problems of government. The Englishman loved law in the sense that he hated innovations upon time-honoured practice and breaches of the conventions which he recognised; but the Norman was born with the spirit of the lawyer who wishes to reduce everything to rule and to keep the letter of the rule; he was a lover of formulæ, and was dissatisfied without accurate data upon which his formulæ might be based. The Conqueror's rule was harsh and heavy, but he meant it to be even-handed. He wanted to extract wealth from his new dominion, but he wanted to know accurately how much he could extract, what was its real taxable capacity. It was primarily for this purpose that at the end of his reign he instituted that great survey which is recorded

Norman method.

Domesday Book.

in Domesday Book and the supplementary documents. The record is invaluable, but it was not made for the purpose of enlightening posterity; consequently there is much in it which posterity, seeking to interpret it in the light of preconceptions, finds obscure and perhaps misleading.

Setting aside the boroughs for the present, we find that the whole of the country which the survey covered—in effect it hardly touched Northumbria—was divided at the time of the Conquest into estates, which the Normans called manors. Every holding is either itself a manor or forms part of a manor. Of these manors a very large proportion coincide with townships, which in the Norman phraseology have become villas or *vills*; and hence it used to be very generally assumed that the manor and the township were identical. But this identification breaks down. There were manors which included more than one vill, manors which included holdings in several vills, vills with holdings attached to several manors. There were manors which consisted of no more than a normal peasant holding of thirty acres; whereas in the manor of Leominster there were eighty hides, or nearly a thousand acres, and in that of Taunton more than fifty-four hides. The holdings in one manor are held 'of' or 'under' one lord; but it is possible, though unusual, for the holdings in one vill to be held of a dozen different lords. It follows that manor and vill are not to be identified. The vill is a topographical unit, the group of holdings within a defined area; the manor is a unit of a different kind, an estate in which one lord exercises authority. The important point for the compilers of Domesday, whose object was fiscal, was that the manor was a unit for purposes of taxation. The *geld* or tax for the whole of it was collected not from the individual holders, but all together at the manor-house or hall.

The manor.

The occupants of the soil are divided into three main groups: (1) *villani, bordarii*, and *cotarii*; (2) *servi*; (3) *liberi homines* and *soche manni*—the last group evidently standing at the top of the scale and the second at the bottom. The top group are free, the bottom group are serfs, while the first group, though they are clearly not slaves, are not free in the

The groups of cultivators.

same sense as the top group; at a later stage we shall find that they have fallen into a definitely servile position. But when that stage is reached the *servus*, as distinct from the *villanus*, has disappeared. And there is reason to suppose that the distinction drawn in Domesday turns not upon political but upon fiscal freedom. The free group, though they pay their geld through the lord, are personally responsible; but the lord is responsible for his villani as well as for his serfs. It is not difficult to see how this distinction would, under the conditions of the Conquest, lead to the enforcement of claims on the part of the lord against the villanus, for his own security, which it would be extremely difficult for the peasant to resist, and which would rapidly pass into recognised legal rights. Similar claims would not, and could not, be enforced against the man who, being personally responsible to the State authorities for the payment of his geld, would be recognised by them as the proprietor of his land.

Villein and free man.

There is no hard and fast line between the classes as registered in Domesday, corresponding to the conditions upon which individuals held their lands, or to the size of their holdings. Occupiers may have to render service to their lords in the shape of field work or dues in the shape of produce, or to pay a money equivalent for either or both; but the villanus may have no services, and the free man may have services. The villanus may have a whole hide, the free man may have no more than a virgate or quarter hide. The free man may, but need not, have the right of transferring himself from one lord to another, along with his holding. Whether the villanus is bound to the soil, forbidden to leave his holding without his lord's permission, is an open question at this stage; at a later stage there is no doubt that he is bound to the soil, *terrae ascriptus*; but as yet it seems probable that as a rule the *ascriptio* has no technical legal sanction, though it is practically effective, because the villein who threw up his holding would become a landless man. Again it is easy to see how readily the practical would pass into the technical *ascriptio*, which would itself become the technical distinction between bond and free. Thus

the effect of the Norman Conquest was not the immediate translation of an immense number of free men into serfs; but a period of stress and depression under a change of masters would effect the transformation in no very long time. Comparative prosperity might enable the villanus to pass into the distinctively free class, whereas depression would drive members of the free class into the villeinage which was turning into serfdom. And the helplessness of the villein would make it impossible for him to offer effective resistance to the process.

Not invariably, but nearly always, there were in each vill demesne lands in the occupation of the lord, worked partly by his own menials, the landless men of whom he was master, partly by the services of the tenants. The immediate lord might be either the king himself or a tenant-in-chief, or a mesne tenant, a lord who held of a superior lord; though however many or few the steps might be, all the land was held ultimately of the king. The thegn is not to be identified with the tenant-in-chief. Primarily the man who held as much as five hides of land was entitled to thegnhood, and was perhaps obliged to be a thegn. Thegnhood carried with it the obligation to attend the military levy with horse and armour; it descended to the sons, not only to the eldest son, and therefore it did not follow that the thegn actually possessed five hides himself; it would seem that a group of brothers might all be thegns, sharing between them the obligations of thegnhood. But practically the name of thegnhood disappears, and presently we find in rough correspondence with it the knight's fee, the holding which entails upon the owner the duty of taking the field as a knight. Broadly speaking, before the Conquest the lords of the manors were the thegns; but after the Conquest it was rarely that anybody held only one manor; and if the lord of one manor was not actually lord of several, he was often not a tenant-in-chief but a mesne tenant, holding of some one who came between him and the king.

Thegns and mesne tenants.

The picture that we get, then, shows us most of the country after the forfeitures divided among sundry great magnates, among whom are included great monastic establishments, each

of them holding a considerable number of manors, deriving direct revenue from the demesne lands within the manors and from the dues paid by the tenants, as well as an equivalent of revenue in the services which the tenants were bound to render. Of the manors which these magnates owned many were held by their grantees, owing them feudal service and the fees and fines established by feudal law. The rest was held partly by the king himself as estates of the Crown, in which there was no lord but the king, and partly in small estates of one or more manors by lesser tenants-in-chief, who held of the king directly. But very much the greater portion of the soil was in the occupation of the small holders, the great majority of the holdings being in the hands of the 'villein' group, including therein the 'bordars' and 'cottars'—names generally associated with holdings of less than fifteen acres—the name of villanus being both generic and also specifically appropriated to the larger holders among the genus. Over all these the lords exercised an increasing dominion; but they were as yet nominally free men, with the right of attending the folk moots. On the other hand, most of them owed service to their lords, the amount of service varying in proportion to the size of the holding; commonly two days' work in a week or less, besides 'boon work' or special extra work at particular seasons. Besides these there were the admittedly free[1] men, many, if not all, of whom could change their lords at will; in which case the services and rent went to the new lord, and with them the tenant's claim to his protection. The peasant, it would appear, cannot be ousted from his holding unless he fails to render the service and to pay the dues established. He can get very little protection against his own lord's oppression, but the lord in his own interest will protect him against other maltreatment.

Survey.

The villager.

The life of the vast majority of the population is still the life of villagers engaged in agriculture on the open-field system, with the village as their centre of social life. The village is still in the main self-supporting; the smaller holders eke out their subsistence by serving for hire; and among their numbers are

[1] See Note IV., *Freeholders*.

generally to be found the local artisans, smiths, carpenters, tilers, cobblers, and the like. There is little possibility of saving or accumulating, because for the most part all that the villager produces is of a perishable character; and when he produces more of anything than he wants for his own household he barters it, usually for something equally perishable. There is not as yet a circulation of coin sufficient to encourage the attempt to accumulate wealth in that durable form, especially while there is little security against the rapacity of the lord and the lord's underlings. In good seasons the folk are tolerably comfortable, but bad harvests involve scarcity and suffering, perhaps downright famine. There are, if we may so express it, no 'sanitary conditions'; sickness and pestilences are easily generated.

The gentry.

Above the peasantry, the gentry, the owners of substantial manors, live in comparative luxury, with greater abundance but not much greater refinement—shifting probably with the seasons from one manor-house to another as the stores in each become exhausted. Since works of imagination have probably bred in our minds a vague idea that the gentry lived in stone castles, it is as well to realise that the Norman manor-house was really a rather superior farmstead—a large living-room or hall, with sleeping apartments and other offices attached to it—not a fortress at all. The stone 'keep,' constructed for military purposes, was raised only by the king's order or by the king's leave for the purpose of keeping the country under military control, not to enable one baron to wage war against another. Private wars were rigorously repressed; the king's lieges were secured against violence from any but their own lords, except when the king was incompetent like Stephen, or played the tyrant himself like William II.

Markets.

The village, however, was not completely self-sufficing. There were goods of which its members stood in occasional need, and there were goods of which they had superfluity, which they wished to barter for those in which they were lacking. But sale and barter were not legally valid unless they were carried out under legal conditions duly witnessed. Hence had arisen the market town, the centre where markets were held, in which

the conditions of sale and barter could be duly observed. The exaction of market tolls not only paid the necessary expenses, but provided revenue for the lord or lords within whose jurisdiction the market lay. The establishment of a market developed the town, and of itself created resistance to the development of another market which would compete with it. But otherwise the market town was merely an expanded vill or aggregate of vills, a community which was only accidentally and at intervals anything but purely agricultural. Only in the boroughs was town life beginning to develop.

The borough as we find it in Domesday is a unit which has been separated for administrative purposes from the ordinary division of the shire into hundreds; it is treated as a sort of specialised hundred. Broadly speaking, there is in each shire one borough; occasionally there is more than one, here and there there is none, but the exceptions are rare. Practically the borough is the county town, of which it may be said almost with certainty that it acquired its position from being constituted a garrison town or royal fortress during the century after the accession of King Alfred. What led to the selection of these particular sites is another question; in some cases we may guess that strategic considerations predominated; in others that the particular place had already attained a local importance, which caused special measures to be taken for its security. It is common to find several magnates holding houses in one borough; houses which for other purposes are said to 'lie in' manors which are geographically a long way off; houses which were presumably held by those magnates as quarters for their contribution to the garrison. Within the radius of the borough, very precisely measured, the special king's peace was maintained, the regulations which applied to the royal precincts making things which were illegal elsewhere more illegal, liable to more serious penalty; and making illegal things which elsewhere might be permissible. In other words, there was greatly increased security for person and property, not only against extraneous attack, but also against internal disorder. **The borough.**

It was a matter of course that such places should enjoy the

privileges of market towns in an intensified degree, that they should attract to themselves in an intensified degree whatever trade there was, and that trade within them should become more highly organised. Their character as trade centres developed, while their character as military centres faded, as the nation fell away from the militarism which had been forced upon Edward the Elder and his sons. Trade was still an accretion, something added to the normally agricultural character of every community, large or small; but it had ceased to be an insignificant accretion. Urban life and trade organisation had already at the time of the Conquest passed out of the purely embryonic stage. The Danes, a more gain-loving folk than the Angles, and more enterprising, had increased the English commercial activity. The Normans, with more inclusive ideas as to the things necessary to make life tolerable, provided a new market for foreign traders; and the presence of foreign traders gave another stimulus to commerce, although a long time was still to pass before England was to become vigorously commercial and the regulation of trade highly organised.

V. William Rufus, 1087-1100

The succession.

Our detailed accounts of the Conqueror's death-bed are derived from Ordericus Vitalis, who was an English monk in the Norman monastery of St. Evroul, and from William of Jumièges; the latter a contemporary, and the former very nearly so. As they coincide in their main features they are probably substantially correct, if we make some allowance for the ecclesiastical bias of both the monks and for the English predilections of Orderic. William, they declare, repented of the crimes which he had committed, and, not without reluctance, gave order for the pardon and release of sundry political prisoners. It does not appear, however, in spite of some ambiguity in the report, that he doubted the legitimacy of his title to the throne of England, though admitting that it did not come to him by hereditary right. Hereditary right could really hardly be said to come into play. For fifty years before the Conquest, only

one out of five kings had held the throne in right of descent from the house of Cerdic. On his death the country had ignored the claims of the royal house, and had chosen its king on purely personal grounds. If the Aetheling had been chosen in succession to the Confessor, William might have found it difficult to convince himself that he was entitled to challenge the election. When Harold was elected he had no such difficulty; and when he had himself dispossessed the 'perjured usurper' he found it easy to ignore the reversion of the witan to the Aetheling, and to accept the crown of England when it was offered to him by the Aetheling himself. William was undoubtedly conscious that the methods by which he had compassed and secured the crown had been accompanied by violence and injustice, but that would not have involved the admission that his title itself was unsound.

Nor can it be supposed that he would have admitted any doubt that the crown of England now belonged to his own offspring by hereditary right, or that it lay with William II. him to dispose of the English inheritance. He recognised that Normandy must go to Robert, but it is quite clear that he nominated William as his successor in England; in effect referring to Lanfranc and William between them the question how that succession could be best secured. The chosen son left his father's bedside to hurry to England, where Lanfranc at once proceeded to his coronation, assuming that his title was good, and apparently without any formal election. The arrangement was not satisfactory to the Norman baronage. All the bigger men among them had fiefs both in Normandy and in England. Holding of two suzerains whose interests were extremely likely to clash, they were likely to find the position awkward. This gave them a technical warrant for objecting, while a different reason probably counted actually in their minds for more. William was strong, fierce, masterful; Robert was 'tractable'; in other words an overlord whom they could practically ignore: one therefore whom they desired. Some six months after the Conqueror's death three-fourths of the barons were in revolt, headed by the king's uncles, Robert of Cornwall and Odo of

Bayeux, the latter of whom had been set at liberty on the old king's death.

Lanfranc, the clergy, and the royal garrisons in the castled towns stood by the king; but of the barons hardly any save William de Warenne, earl of Surrey, whose wife was the Conqueror's stepdaughter, and Hugh of Chester. Nevertheless, rebellion proved futile. The plan of raising simultaneous insurrections all over the country was useless, when the king was a captain who understood the military wisdom of concentration. The local garrisons could hold out against local insurgents. The king struck in the one really dangerous quarter, Kent, the earldom of Odo, where otherwise Robert might have found a personal footing. The king summoned the fyrds of the shires round London, proclaiming that good laws should be enforced, and the Conqueror's harsh laws repealed or mitigated. The fyrds responded to the summons, Odo was crushed, an expedition from Normandy was beaten off, and the rest of the rebels made haste to return to their allegiance on promise of pardon. When it was all over William entirely declined to carry out his promises; and a few months later, in May 1089, Lanfranc died. There was no one left to act in the public interest or to restrain the king from following his own devices. No man troubled to consider any interests but his own.

Insurrections crushed.

When Lanfranc was gone, Rufus found not a political guide but a financial adviser after his own heart, in the person of Ranulph Flambard, a cleric, whom he made his chaplain and treasurer. Ranulph filled the king's coffers. The Conqueror, by levying heavy danegelds, had chastised the people with whips; Ranulph chastised them with scorpions, extracting a still heavier toll from the tax. But if Rufus ground the faces of the people, his hand fell still more heavily upon the barons and upon the Church. Every feudal claim of the suzerain was strained to the utmost. When a fief fell vacant a huge fine was levied from the successor. The rights of wardship over minors and of control over the marriages of vassals were employed as means of extortion, and the customary

Ranulph Flambard.

limitations upon them were ignored. The Church was treated in the same fashion. The king seized into his own hands the revenues of the archbishop of Canterbury, for years abstaining from the appointment of any successor to Lanfranc; and he dealt in like manner with every bishopric and abbacy, instead of appointing administrators of the revenues to act during the period of vacancy. A mighty man of his hands himself, he gathered to his court every hard fighting adventurer whose deeds of prowess won his admiration. He and his comrades-in-arms tyrannised mercilessly wheresoever they went, so that the approach of the king and his train was a signal for hasty flight; nevertheless, he kept tyranny and law-breaking as the prerogative of himself and his favourites. Other law-breakers were punished with a heavy hand. After 1088 the baronage in England ventured on no other insurrection until 1095, when, to his own destruction and that of his confederates, Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, with other northern barons again attempted to defy the king. On this occasion also William struck hard and struck decisively before any extensive rebellion could make head. An example was made of some of the conspirators, which impressed all men with the danger of challenging the Red King.

Rufus.

If the Norman barons desired for reasons of their own that Normandy and England should be under the suzerainty of one man, their view was shared by William Rufus, but with an important variation in its application. The king of England wanted to control Normandy. There was plenty of excuse. The duke exercised no control at all. If he did go campaigning against the barons who ignored his authority, he inherited enough military talent from his father to be the probable victor; but he turned his victories to no account, and alternated capriciously in his treatment of enemies between a reckless generosity and a somewhat wanton cruelty. The Conqueror's third living son Henry, who alone had been born in England after his father was king, and very soon after his mother's coronation, was playing for his own hand. Had he been a little older, it is quite possible that he would have chal-

Robert and Henry.

lenged William's succession, but at nineteen he could not venture to do so. All that had been left to him by his father was a sum of money, though his mother Matilda left him her English estates.

Henry bought from Robert the richest province of Normandy, the Cotentin; and he leagued himself with a powerful family, the Montgomeries. Roger Montgomery, the father, was at this time earl of the palatine county of Shrewsbury on the Welsh march. One of his sons, Robert of Bellême, held large estates on the borders of Normandy. It would seem that with designs against Duke Robert, Henry and Bellême sought the good-will of Rufus, for which they were attacked by Robert. Rufus, however, contemptuous of the help which he might get from his younger brother, seized his English lands, and then opened an attack upon Robert in the end of 1090 by occupying castles in the north-east of Normandy. Next year, having bought off Philip of France, who was coming to the aid of Robert, he invaded Normandy and made terms with the duke, the pair proceeding to seize and divide the lordships which Robert had ceded to Henry. The three brothers were then formally reconciled.

But meanwhile Malcolm of Scotland began raiding the border. This took William back to England, and his brothers along with him. They marched into Scotland, but Malcolm was always ready to come to terms when the king of England advanced against him in force, and Rufus contented himself with a form of submission by which Malcolm promised the same obedience that he had paid to the Conqueror. In 1092, however, Rufus seized Carlisle, which had been held by the kings of Scots for the last hundred and fifty years. Malcolm's protests were disregarded, and when he again raided the north he was caught in an ambush and killed at Alnwick by the same Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, who two years later revolted against Rufus as already related.

Malcolm Canmore.

Malcolm's death brought trouble in Scotland. He had been a shrewd and capable ruler, and his wife Margaret had not only done much for the Church in Scotland, but had used her very great influence with the king to develop the extension of English ideas and customs in the already

The Scots crown.

partly Anglicised lowlands. But these Anglicising tendencies were resented in the north and the west, which so far as they were not Celtic were Norse. Duncan, Malcolm's one son by a previous marriage, was a hostage in England; so when Margaret died a few days after her husband, the Celtic and Norse influences set aside the five sons of Malcolm and Margaret, and Malcolm's brother Donalbane was made king. Donalbane, as the representative of the Celts, made alliance with Magnus, king of Norway. In view of the possibility that this would mean a revival of the old alliance of Scots and Norsemen against England, Rufus determined to eject Donalbane in favour of Duncan, whom he himself held in the hollow of his hand. The half Norman force which followed Duncan into Scotland had no difficulty in routing Donalbane's forces and making Duncan king. Duncan however was killed, whereupon Donalbane made terms with his eldest nephew Eadmund, and reigned till 1097, when the Anglicising party revolted and set on the throne Eadgar, Malcolm's next son. Donalbane's eyes were put out, and Eadgar, who had been set on the throne by Norman and English help, reigned avowedly as a vassal of England until 1107. The accession of Eadgar[1] permanently established the dynasty of Malcolm Canmore, and secured the political predominance of the Anglicised lowlands in the kingdom of Scotland.

William's intervention in Scottish affairs after 1092 was only indirect. He found for himself full occupation in other matters. Early in 1093 he fell ill. William in health feared not God, neither regarded man—his monstrous blasphemies and profanities were proverbial—but when he was face to face with death he was seized with panic. He would make restitution for his sins and strike a bargain with the Almighty. He was ready to promise anything and everything in the shape of reformation. Above all, he would desist from his robbery of the Church, and would appoint to the archbishopric of Canterbury, vacant now for four years, the holiest of men, Anselm, the abbot of Bec, who happened at the moment to be in England. Consecration was forced upon the reluctant

William and the Church.

[1] See Genealogies, VI., *Scottish Dynasties* (1).

saint, who even then refused to accept office until three conditions had been accepted. He was to be acknowledged as the king's guide and counsellor, all the lands held by Lanfranc as archbishop were to be restored, and he was to remain in obedience to Pope Urban II. For at this moment Christendom was divided. The long struggle between the authority of the Papacy and the authority of the empire, initiated by Pope Gregory VII. and the emperor Henry IV., was in progress. The emperor had nominated a pope of his own, while Urban was the pope of the ecclesiastical party. William's promises satisfied Anselm's scruples, and he became archbishop, though not without grave misgivings.

William's professions of repentance were immediately followed by his recovery, and he shed his repentance from the moment that the fear of imminent death departed from him. By the beginning of 1094 there was a rupture with Robert of Normandy, and the king invaded his brother's territory. To the royal demands for money, Anselm was induced reluctantly to respond by an offer which the king rejected as insufficient; whereupon Anselm distributed the money, and refused to renew the offer when a fresh demand was made. When the archbishop remonstrated at the king's retention of Church revenues, William only scoffed. It was already evident that there was little chance of peace between the two. Anselm, very unlike his politic predecessor, was completely unworldly, with none of the guile of the serpent; but where his conscience was concerned he was the most immovable of men.

Anselm archbishop.

William went off to his Norman war, in the course of which he raised money by an ingenious expedient. He ordered a great levy of ten thousand men to be gathered for service in Normandy, each man bringing ten shillings for expenses. When they were assembled their money was collected and they were dismissed. In the next year William was back in England, and at the latter end of it he dealt with the rebellion of Robert Mowbray. It was perhaps of more importance that this year saw the first positive encounter between the king and the archbishop, and the archbishop had the best of it.

Quarrel of William and Anselm.

Anselm desired to go to Rome to obtain the pallium from the Pope. William replied that no pope was to be recognised without his authority. Anselm refused to admit that there was any open question. The matter was referred to the council of the realm. If the king had fought on the direct issue that the authority which recognised Urban could not override his own authority in his own kingdom, he might have won. But he chose to threaten the archbishop and those who sided with him; whereupon the barons with practical unanimity declared for Anselm. The bishops, for reasons of their own, were on the king's side. But, besides the barons, popular sentiment was wholly in Anselm's favour; evidently in a quarrel with the barons William would not, as in the past, be able to count on the popular levies. So William tried in effect to bribe Pope Urban into deposing Anselm; the reward was to be his recognition in England as Pope. But the diplomatic Italian procured his own recognition first, and then declined to depose the archbishop. Rufus found himself obliged to go through a form of reconciliation.

The council of Clermont.

It was just at this time that a general council of the Church was held at Clermont, when two decrees of first-rate importance were issued. The one dealt with the vexed question of lay investitures. Gregory VII. had asserted the principle that the secular power ought to have neither hand nor voice in nominating and consecrating to ecclesiastical appointments. The emperor had claimed the right of making such appointments at his own will. Gregory had in practice given way so far as the Conqueror was concerned, because he knew that that prince would not abuse his powers. Policy had induced him to yield also in the case of Philip of France, though against the emperor he had fought to the bitter end. But in France and in England in 1095 the attitude of the Crown was not what it had been twenty years earlier. The council of Clermont laid it down that the Crown had no voice in ecclesiastical elections, and no right to fealty in respect of ecclesiastical land, although a cleric might do homage in respect of lands which did not pertain to the Church. The second decree was that

which opened the crusading era, and inaugurated the first crusade.

England was never very deeply influenced by the crusades. Even the crusades of Richard Cœur de Lion and Richard of Cornwall drew off little more than what might be called the superfluous fighting men among the aristocracy. From the beginning there was a fairly constant trickle of fighting pilgrims to the Holy Land. Genuine piety, superstition, or a mere love of military adventure, kept the small stream flowing, but it was never a big stream. Only at two moments was the course of English affairs directly influenced by it—now, when Duke Robert went on crusade, and again nearly a hundred years later in the days of King Richard I. In order to go, Robert pawned his duchy to his brother for ten thousand marks, and before he got back his younger brother Henry had secured the succession. Rufus raised the money for his part in this transaction by imposing a double danegeld and a demand for a feudal aid from the tenants-in-chief at the same time, besides extorting large sums from the clergy. The clergy protested that they could not pay except by crushing the peasants, and were met by the scoffing reply: 'Have you not chests of gold and silver stuffed with the bones of dead men?' Seeing what the words portended, they stripped shrines and crucifixes, and melted down the sacred vessels to fill the royal coffers.

The crusade and the duke.

Very grandiose ideas of foreign conquest are attributed to the Red King, when he had Normandy in his hands, and his brother well out of the way. The establishment of King Eadgar in Scotland satisfied him so far as that country was concerned; but he turned to attempt the subjugation of Wales, and there he found that mountain campaigning was exceedingly unprofitable. Nothing practical was effected, and the irritated king turned upon Anselm with demands for a more efficient contingent of knights than the archbishop had provided for the Welsh war. Anselm ignored the demand, but asked leave to go to Rome. He had in fact come to the conclusion that he was doing no good in

Anselm leaves England.

England. He was powerless to check the king's tyranny, to procure the filling up of ecclesiastical vacancies, or to hold the general synods through which Lanfranc had conducted the regulation of the Church. His demand to leave the country was refused, persistently repeated, and finally granted, with the warning that the lands of Canterbury would be forfeited by feudal law if he went; whereupon, regardless of merely material considerations, the archbishop departed. It can hardly be questioned that the Conqueror in like circumstances would have asserted the royal authority as uncompromisingly as did Rufus himself; but under the Conqueror such a question would never have arisen. Not the legitimate powers of the Crown judiciously and firmly exercised, but the abuse of those powers for evil purposes, was at the bottom of the quarrel.

Rufus was dead before England again saw the face of her archbishop. As acting duke of Normandy he led vigorous campaigns in the border territories of Maine, and the French Vexin; if a longer time had been allowed him he might have subjugated them completely. In 1100 the duke of Aquitaine—the south-western quarter of France—was on the verge of pawning his duchy to him, as Robert had done, in order to go crusading; and if the plan had been carried out William would have been incomparably the greatest potentate in France. But it was not to be. William one August day went out with his train a-hunting in the New Forest. A few hours later he was lying dead on the ground pierced by the arrow, as men said, of Walter Tyrrel, which may or may not have glanced from a tree; and his brother Henry, one of the hunting-party, was riding hard for Winchester to seize the royal treasure and the crown of England.

The end of the Red King.

VI. Henry I., 1100-1135

The chroniclers tell how the Conqueror on his death-bed left to his youngest son no lands but only a sum of money, and a prophecy—that in course of time he would be lord of the lands of both his brothers, and a mightier prince than either of them.

This may have been an imaginative touch added by Orderic after the prophecy had already been fulfilled. But the Conqueror was a keen judge of men; he knew the inefficiency of Robert, he must have known the vices of William; and though Henry was only nineteen at the time his character was already developed. After full allowance has been made for the flattering exaggerations of William of Malmesbury, we can still remain assured that the Conqueror's youngest son had enjoyed an intellectual training quite exceptional in his own day, a training which earned him his nickname of Beauclerc, a training which did in fact give him a touch of that quality which in the Middle Ages we expect to find in clerical, rather than in secular, politicians. No one would suggest that he was a man of high moral ideals, or that he ever dreamed of allowing moral ideals to stand in the way of his own interest. But he never suffered his passions to get the better of his intelligence. He held his temper under complete control. He had no hesitation in breaking faith when it suited him, but he knew the disadvantages of a reputation for breaking faith, and he avoided giving pledges unless he expected at the time to be able to keep them, or foresaw technical excuses for breaking them. Rufus had dominated the barons by sheer brute force and superior soldiership, but they learned to be more afraid of Henry's brains than even of the Red King's rage. He knew that popular loyalty was the strongest safeguard against baronial disloyalty, and that large revenues can only be drawn from a prosperous community; for those reasons he chose to earn his highest title, 'The Lion of Justice.' It may be an error to attribute to him great qualities of constructive statesmanship, but it is hardly possible to doubt that he laid the foundations upon which his grandson and namesake built.

Henry Beauclerc.

When Rufus lay dead in the New Forest, Duke Robert was still dallying in Italy on his way home from Palestine, where he had been offered and had refused the crown of Jerusalem. Henry, according to the ideas of the time, had a distinct claim, though not an indefeasible title, to the English succession in the fact that he was

Henry secures the crown.

'born in the purple'; born, that is, the son of a king. When Robert was born his father was only Duke William of Normandy, with no legal right to the throne of England; when Henry was born his father was actually king. Such title as Robert derived from simple seniority had been rejected by his father, by Lanfranc, and by the popular voice, when the Conqueror died. But these dubious technicalities were of very little account when the one brother was present in person at Winchester, and the other was far away in Apulia. Henry was in actual possession of the keys of the treasury before the treasurer, William of Breteuil, appeared on the scene to assert the duke's rights. And Henry was surrounded by his own partisans. The treasurer had no choice but to give way; the magnates present assumed the character of a witan and elected Henry; and three days after William's death Henry was crowned at Westminster by the bishop of London, since Anselm was still abroad.

The charter and the marriage.

Henry at once confirmed his position by issuing a charter promising to restore the 'good laws of King Edward,' as amended by the Conqueror, and to abolish all those evil customs introduced by William II., under which the Church, the baronage, and the people were groaning. And there were immediate outward and visible signs that the promises were not to be a dead letter. Ranulph Flambard, the instrument of the Red King's extortions, was thrown into prison, and a letter was dispatched to Anselm entreating his immediate return to take his place among the king's counsellors. Nor was this all. Henry, born in England, claimed to be an English king of the English people; and he forthwith strengthened that claim by taking to wife a daughter of the ancient royal house, Edith, the child of Margaret, the queen of Malcolm Canmore. Norman barons might gibe at 'Goderic and Godiva'; if they did he would take order with them when it suited him. But in the meantime the marriage excited the utmost popular enthusiasm. The princess, brought up in England, had made pretence of taking the veil, after a not unusual fashion in those times in mere self-defence; but Anselm himself found no diffi-

culty in accepting her statement that she had never taken or intended to take the conventual vows.

Henry's throne was still not too secure. Though there were powerful barons on whom he could rely, the majority of the magnates hankered for the licence which they would be certain to enjoy with Robert as king. When the duke got back to Normandy, Ranulph Flambard escaped from his prison, fled to Robert, and incited him to claim the English crown. In the following year, 1101, Robert evaded Henry's fleet, which was waiting at Pevensey, and landed at Portsmouth. Henry's main dependence was on the native levies, and the issue of battle would have been doubtful. But there was no fighting. At the treaty of Alton, Robert was bought off with the promise of three thousand marks; and each of the brothers agreed to help the other in punishing traitors, though an amnesty was granted to those who had supported the duke against the king. But it was easy enough to evade the amnesty. One after another of the dangerous barons found himself charged with breaches of the law, and his resources crippled by fines and deprivations. The powerful family of the Montgomeries, headed by Robert de Bellême, who had in effect bought the earldom of Shrewsbury from Rufus, controlled most of the Welsh marches. They saw what was coming, and rapidly organised alliances with the Welsh princes. When Robert's turn came to be summoned before the king on a series of indictments, the brothers rose in open rebellion. But Henry had already paralysed those who would have been readiest to join them; the rest of the baronage were too prudent to take the risks, and the Montgomeries found themselves overpowered. They were allowed to retire to Normandy, deprived of all their English lordships. When Robert de Bellême was gone, Henry could feel himself the complete master of England.

Henry establishes himself.

Still while Duke Robert ruled or was supposed to rule in Normandy, the duchy was certain to remain a hotbed of disaffection towards the king of England. The unfortunate duke was quite unable to control his own vassals, and his failure to do so provided Henry with abundant pretext for declaring that

the treaty of Alton had been broken. In 1105 Henry had sufficient warrant for saying that the limits of endurance had been passed. He fell upon Normandy, and at the battle of Tenchebrai, in 1106, Robert's forces were shattered. He himself was taken prisoner, and remained a captive for the rest of his days. The English levies which had taken the field at Henry's call counted that Hastings had been avenged, that the victory, fought on the anniversary of the Conqueror's landing at Pevensey, was an English victory. If England had not conquered Normandy, the king of England had at least made Normandy his own mainly through the prowess of his English subjects, and he immediately put an end to the Norman anarchy very much as he had stamped out the threatened anarchy in England. The one weak point in his position lay in the fact that he did not detain in custody William Clito, the little son of Robert, so that after a few years the boy began to be made use of as a figurehead for disaffection.

Overthrow of Duke Robert.

To these early years in which Henry was establishing his power belongs the acute controversy between the king and the archbishop. When Anselm returned to England, the king required him in accordance with precedent to do homage for the lands of Canterbury. But during his residence abroad Anselm's attitude had been changed by the decree of the council of Clermont. Obviously, he had no inherent objection to the principle of doing homage for temporalities, but here was an authoritative pronouncement of the Church forbidding it. Both men stood firm; Henry would not resign the claims upon which all kings of England had insisted; the archbishop would not recognise claims which had been denounced by the Pope and the General Council. The question at issue was not one of the abstract competence of the secular authority; it was a direct practical issue between English precedent and the authority of an ecclesiastical law.

The investiture question.

There was no quarrel. Henry began by inviting the Pope, Paschal II., to suspend this new papal law with regard to England as being an innovation, and Anselm was freely allowed to give

effect to disciplinary regulations with regard to celibacy and simony, the purchase of preferments. When Paschal met Henry's suggestion with a negative, Anselm agreed to go on a mission to Rome to explain the situation. He was quite willing that the Pope should be persuaded. But Paschal was not to be persuaded, and the king would not surrender his claim. Anselm would not disobey the Pope, and therefore remained abroad.

The settlement.

The archbishop personally laid no stress upon the principle for which the Pope was fighting, but he held himself bound by the papal injunctions. Those who had not personally received the Pope's injunctions might act as they thought fit, and in the meantime there would be no ill-feeling between himself and the king. The king, on the other hand, while he took no measures against Anselm himself, appropriated the revenues of Canterbury, and at the same time enforced on his own account, and for his own benefit, the archbishop's recent ecclesiastical legislation.

Matters then remained in suspense during the earlier complications with Normandy. But in 1105, when the crisis between Henry and Robert was arriving, Paschal threatened excommunication, and Henry was obliged to reopen negotiations. The result was a compromise which had the merit of being obviously logical. The prelates were to do homage, or perhaps only to swear fealty, for their temporalities; that is, in effect, their lands. But they were not to be invested with the spiritual insignia—the ring and the crosier—by the secular authority. This logical arrangement, however, gave the Crown all that it really cared to claim; for even if it no longer directly nominated the bishops, it was not deprived of its practical power of controlling their election; and for practical purposes the bishops were relieved of none of their feudal obligations. The concordat was finally ratified in 1107, and Anselm returned to England. Two years later he died.

The sharp and continuous struggles of the seven years, at the end of which Henry was master of Normandy, and had effected his compromise with Anselm, had engaged practically the whole of the king's energies. Hitherto he had appeared simply as

the astute and vigorous prince, resolved on the establishment of his own supremacy. But he had established no claims to the gratitude of his people. He had not ground them down with the merciless tyranny of his brother, but he had done little enough towards redeeming the promises of his charter. He had exercised his feudal rights with a heavy hand, and the English chronicler groans over the harshness of his taxation. But all that he did was deliberate, calculated, and methodical, free from capricious and wanton violence; and when once his power was thoroughly secured, he was able to take up what may be called the secondary branch of his business as a king, the improvement of the conditions of the realms over which he ruled—not because he wished to be the father of his people, but because prosperity for the country meant power for himself, and because he had in him the instinct of order and method. But before we turn to this aspect of his long reign we must follow briefly the course of the events which touched the security of his own dominion, and that permanent establishment of his own dynasty which was the main anxiety of his later years.

Henry's success.

The position which the king of England had attained in the eyes of the world was illustrated when in 1109 the German emperor, Henry V., became a suitor for the hand of his eight-year-old daughter Matilda or Maud; obviously with the belief that the marriage would be of material political value to him. But although the marriage took place four years later the alliance seems to have been curiously devoid of practical effect. Of much more material import were the relations between Henry and his French suzerain, Louis VI., who became king of France in 1108. The French monarchy had hitherto been exceedingly weak. The king was, in fact, no more than one among a number of great territorial magnates who was officially the suzerain of the rest. Dukes and counts made war upon each other within the kingdom, much as they chose, paying the minimum of respect to the sovereign's intervention. His own actual domain, centring in Paris, was smaller than that of more than one of his vassals.

Henry I., Henry V., and Louis VI.

But Louis now began the persistent policy on the part of the French kings, directed to diminishing the power of the great feudatories; a policy to which effect was given largely by playing them off against each other, while the Crown appropriated the spoils bit by bit.

It was on these lines that the king, who was an able soldier as well as an astute politician, set to work against the duchy of Normandy in 1109. Louis was soon able to claim that he was acting on behalf of the lawful duke, young William Clito, the son of Robert; and if Henry was supported by his nephew Theobald of Blois, Louis had on his side not only recalcitrant Norman barons like Robert of Bellême, who had retained his estates on the Norman border, but also the counts of Anjou on the south-west of Normandy and of Flanders on the north-east. This war, though somewhat protracted, was never carried on very vigorously; practically it was ended when Fulk of Anjou transferred his alliance to Henry, and betrothed his daughter to Henry's son William, the heir of the English throne. The result was a treaty with the French king, which secured the recognition of Henry's authority in Maine and perhaps in Brittany, as well as in Normandy proper. Incidentally Henry had captured Robert of Bellême, who passed the rest of his life in confinement. Hostilities were renewed in 1116, owing to a collision between Louis and Theobald of Blois, whose suppression Henry could not afford to permit. Fulk of Anjou again changed sides. It was not till 1118 that the successes of the combination began to threaten Henry with serious danger. Next year, however, his diplomacy brought Fulk over again, and a new count of Flanders reverted to the earlier policy of friendship with the duke of Normandy. A victory over the French king's forces at Brémule was decisive. Henry's title to Normandy was recognised, when his son William did homage to Louis for the duchy, whereby the claim of his nephew William Clito was disposed of, and the Norman barons who had been in revolt did homage to Henry's heir.

The mastery of Normandy.

Henry's triumph was short-lived, though it was not destroyed by the hand of man. Very soon after the final completion of

the peace in 1120, the young William was drowned in the wreck of the *White Ship*, which was carrying him back to England. In that terrible disaster there perished not only the heir of England but an extraordinary number of persons of the highest rank; among the ladies on board it was said that no fewer than eighteen were wives or daughters of kings or earls. Though the king made haste to marry again in the hope of providing himself with another heir, this second marriage was childless. Possibly it was with a view to that contingency that an older but illegitimate son, Robert, was made earl of Gloucester; for illegitimacy had never been a bar to the succession, at least in the duchy of Normandy, as evidenced by the Conqueror himself. Robert, one may judge, would have made a good king, for he inherited much of his father's capacity, was an able diplomatist, a capable soldier, and a distinguished patron of learning and letters. But his loyalty was greater than his ambition, and instead of striking for the crown himself in the anarchy that followed Henry's death, he devoted all his talents and energies to the cause of his sister and her son. Yet the mere fact points to a distinct advance in the ethical standards which the Church was able to enforce. In the eleventh century it would probably have been taken for granted on all hands that Robert's claim was good; neither he nor any one else would have seen any disloyalty in his asserting it.

The White Ship.

Robert of Gloucester.

Then in 1125 the emperor Henry V. died. As his wife, no claim of Maud to the throne of England and the duchy of Normandy would have been admitted; but his death changed the situation. The king summoned his daughter back to England, and at the beginning of 1127 obtained from the barons and the higher clergy an oath to recognise her as his heir, to give her their allegiance, if he should die without legitimate male offspring. Among the barons who took the oath was David, king of Scotland, the third of Henry's brothers-in-law to wear the crown of Scotland, who also held fiefs in England; as well as Henry's nephew Stephen of Boulogne, and Robert of Gloucester. Female succession to a barony was recognised both in England and in France, but for female succession to the crown,

Empress Maud.

as it happened, there was no actual precedent; the question had never arisen except on one occasion in Spain.

The danger of female succession was obvious, and it is possible that the oath of the baronage was in the event invalidated by the subsequent marriage of Maud to Geoffrey, son of Fulk of Anjou, without reference to the barons. The oath may have been conditional upon their assent to any marriage which she might contract, as was averred later by Bishop Roger of Salisbury. The object of the marriage was to secure the Angevin alliance in view of reviving dangers from the possible claims of William Clito, whom Louis succeeded in establishing as Count of Flanders. William Clito, however, died soon afterwards, and there were no more serious disturbances in Henry's reign, which was ended suddenly and unexpectedly, as we are told, by a surfeit of eels, while he was in Normandy. For though Henry lived for sixty-seven strenuous years, he was still in full intellectual and bodily vigour when the mortal illness struck him down. Had death been longer in its approach, the king would doubtless have secured the presence in England of the daughter whom again on his death-bed he designated as his successor. As matters stood, her succession depended entirely on the loyalty of the barons to their oath; an oath which had apparently been renewed, according to William of Malmesbury, in 1131.

Henry's death.

It is not easy to gauge with exactness the precise extent of Henry's administrative reforms. The chronicler sums him up tersely in a couple of sentences. When he died 'then there was tribulation soon in the land; for every man that could robbed another. A good man he was, and there was great awe of him; no man durst say to him ought but good.' 'He strove ever,' says Orderic, 'to ensure peace to the people over whom he ruled.' But the accounts of the manner in which he established justice, apart from impressing the barons with the consciousness that he was a person whom it was dangerous to disobey, are not very easy to elucidate, for the records are scanty.

When Henry came to the throne, it is evident that the personal jurisdiction of the lords, which had been coming into being before the Conquest, had since that date to a great extent usurped the

earlier functions of the local courts of the shire and hundred; the hundred courts were almost in abeyance; and in the shire court a sheriff could carry matters very much as he chose. Various changes had taken place in the manner of administering justice and in the penalties attached to crime, and there were still large divergencies between different parts of the kingdom. The king's own court of justice, the *Curia Regis*, the king's inner council of officials, in its judicial aspect dealt with appeals and cases touching the Crown and the king's peace; but it was attached to the king's person. Henry made it his business to aim at the establishment of uniformity, the restriction of personal jurisdictions within safe limits, involving some revival of the functions of the popular courts, and the supervision of the whole system, whereby local aberrations might be restrained, the even-handed distribution of justice be secured, and the law be made convincingly terrible to malefactors.

Courts of justice.

Curia Regis.

The document known as the *Leges Henrici* was compiled about the middle of Henry's reign. It is not in the nature of an ordinance, but was what may be called an expert summary of legal practice in the second decade of the twelfth century. Order had been given for the shire courts and the hundred courts to meet at regular intervals. The feudal lord dispensed justice on his own domain among his own vassals; but the claim which had been asserted, that jurisdiction lay with the lord in every case where one of his vassals was a defendant, was not allowed to stand. Where the suitors were under different lords the case was to go not before one of the lords but before the popular court.

Lords' jurisdiction.

At the same time the nominally popular courts had lost their popular character; they were practically in the hands of the sheriff. The only guarantees of justice lay, on the one hand, in the personal character of the sheriff and, on the other, in the possibilities of appeal to the king's court—a course which at the best involved very serious difficulties. It was to meet these difficulties that the practice was gradually developed of sending out a visiting commission from the Curia Regis, which took over

important cases, exercised a general supervision, and registered its judgment as precedents. These courts uniformly administered the king's law; and since their judgments were finally authoritative, overriding local precedents and customs, they tended to establish a general uniformity. Even more important, however, was the fact that the commissions had no local interests, and made their awards without fear or favour on a definite system, in which there was no room for caprice. The king chose his officials from among clerics and the minor baronage because they were competent, not because they were powerful; they were entirely in his hands, bound to his interests, and had every inducement to enforce the law with an even hand. Before the end of the reign it is certain that the itinerant justices had become an essential feature of the judicial administration, although it is not clear how far their employment had been systematised. It is not surprising to find that after the reign of violence in the days of Rufus the need for the restoration of order led to the introduction of penalties for law-breaking of a more drastic order than had been customary before. The death-penalty, which had almost been abolished by the Conqueror in accordance with Norman practice, was reinvigorated, and the mutilations which had been introduced in its place were extended. The ordeal by battle, the favourite Norman method, had been added to the old Saxon ordeals; and it is interesting to observe that immunity from it was among the privileges enjoyed by London.

Itinerant justices.

As the administration of justice was organised, so also was the Exchequer, the collection of the royal revenue. In this department the immediate credit is attributed to Bishop Roger of Salisbury, among whose kin financial ability appears to have been hereditary. The royal revenues were collected by the sheriffs, who rendered their accounts twice a year. For the rents of the royal estates they paid a fixed sum; but for feudal dues, danegeld, and miscellaneous fines and tolls, they accounted item by item. In the course of the reign it is to be noted that money payments took the place of payments in kind—a proof of the increased circulation

The Exchequer.

of coinage. But the value of coins in circulation, which were issued from a variety of mints, was so uncertain that the coins which the sheriffs paid in were assayed, and the sheriffs had to make good the difference between their face value and the actual weight of silver they contained. As yet there was no gold coinage. The accounts were paid in to the Court of the Exchequer, whose *personnel* was the same as that of the Curia Regis; it was, in fact, simply the Curia Regis acting in a special capacity. To the great towns privileges were also conceded in respect of the Exchequer. Many boroughs were granted the right, ordinarily exercised by the sheriffs, of farming the revenues and paying a fixed sum; while London and Lincoln paid directly in to the Exchequer, with no intervening sheriff. Both the judicial system and the Exchequer system fell completely out of gear in the chaos of Stephen's reign; but the lines had been laid down, and provided the basis for reorganisation under the second Henry.

VII. Stephen, 1135-1154

When Henry died in 1135 he and all the leading lay barons of England were in Normandy. All the magnates were pledged twice over to acknowledge the Empress Maud as queen; nor was there the slightest doubt of the legitimacy of the title of herself and of her two-year-old son Henry. There might very well have been no dispute but for the fact that Maud was the wife of Geoffrey of Anjou, and Norman barons had no inclination at all to allow Normandy to become an appendage of Anjou. Assuming that they were masters of the situation, the magnates took counsel, and proceeded to the election of Theobald[1] of Blois, eldest son of the Conqueror's daughter Adela. But Theobald's younger brother Stephen, with a shrewdness which he displayed at no other period of his career, grasped the fact that the crown of England was to be secured in England itself and not in Normandy. While the barons were deliberating at their leisure he hurried across the

The succession.

[1] See Genealogies, II., *The Norman Line and the Early Plantagenets.*

Channel, secured the support of the citizens of London, and then hastened to Winchester, where the royal treasure lay and his brother Henry was bishop.

Perhaps the bishop may be regarded as the real organiser of the plot which gave the crown to Stephen. The great lay barons were in Normandy, but the ecclesiastics and the administrative officials were in England. The archbishop of Canterbury, the great minister Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and a few barons, were collected; scruples were removed by a false declaration that Henry on his death-bed had released the barons from their oath of allegiance to Matilda, and perhaps that he had nominated Stephen in her place. Stephen, or Bishop Henry on his behalf, made large promises of rendering the Church completely independent of secular control; the churchmen claimed that the right of election lay with them; and before Henry I. had been dead for a month Stephen was crowned at Westminster. The unconscious Theobald was accepting his own election by the Norman barons when the messengers came from England with the tidings that his brother was already king. Theobald, a cautious person, accepted the new situation with alacrity. He withdrew his claims and promised moral support to Stephen.

Stephen captures the crown.

Geoffrey of Anjou began to harry the Norman border by way of asserting his wife's claim, and she herself dispatched an embassy to the Pope to claim the papal denunciation of the perjury which had set Stephen on the throne which was hers of right. But the other side had been no less prompt; they, too, laid their case before Rome; and while the Pope would make no open pronouncement, he gave an unofficial verdict in favour of Stephen. Before many months of 1136 had passed it seemed likely that Stephen's position would be unchallenged. Robert of Gloucester took a qualified oath of allegiance; and David of Scotland allowed his son Henry to do homage for the earldom of Huntingdon and for Carlisle, while extracting for him a promise of the earldom of Northumberland, to which he had a somewhat vague claim through his mother, the daughter of Waltheof. David, it must be remembered,

Stephen established.

had taken the oath for his niece, though it is confusing to have to remember at the same time that Stephen's queen Matilda was also David's niece through another sister. Still this absence of overt opposition might cease at any time; it did not imply any enthusiastic support of the new king, who, doubtless under his brother's guidance, made haste to secure the unanimous support of the churchmen. A document, called the Second Charter of Stephen, conceded in effect everything that the most exacting of the clerical party had ever demanded. The Church was to have exclusive jurisdiction over all ecclesiastical persons and property. Vacancies were to be filled by free election, and until they were filled the revenues were to be administered by churchmen. There was to be no more purchasing of preferments. All of which meant practically that the king gave up all control over appointments, and very nearly all power of taxing Church property.

For two years Stephen's right to reign was undisputed, though Geoffrey of Anjou made futile attacks on the south-west of Normandy. But the king's incapacity was being displayed both in Normandy and in England by the ease with which some of the barons set his authority at defiance. They were not trying to dethrone him; they were merely following the Norman precedents when Robert was duke, treating Stephen as they had treated Robert. And there was a further foreshadowing of the evils to come in Stephen's preference for gathering to his support bodies of mercenaries, thereby at once emphasising his lack of confidence in the barons and increasing an always dangerous military element.

Break-down of authority.

But Robert of Gloucester had evidently never been free from qualms as to his position. He came to the conclusion, after taking counsel with spiritual advisers, that his oath of allegiance to Maud was binding, and that his conditional oath to Stephen was not. By midsummer of 1138 he sent formal notice to Stephen that his fealty was withdrawn. Before this David of Scotland had been threatening active hostilities unless Stephen made haste to deliver over to him the earldom of Northumberland, and he had followed this up by forays into the

Revolt, 1138.

north. The second of these forays was contemporaneous with a revolt on the Welsh marches, which may be regarded as having fired the train of rebellion at large. The south-west generally was soon in a state of insurrection, and the habit of miscellaneous harryings and devastations began. Stephen, marching to the west, was tolerably successful in reducing one after another of the castles which held out against him; but his notions of strategy were confined to striking at the object nearest at hand without regard to its importance or unimportance.

At the end of July King David came over the border with a large miscellaneous force, avowedly in the name of his niece.

The Scots invasion.

David had for years been pursuing a policy of settling Normans in the south of Scotland, so that part of his army was of the normal feudal type, while the hosts from Galloway and the north still fought after the ancestral manner with very little body armour. The old archbishop of York, Thurstan, displayed an admirable spirit, which restored the apparently flagging courage of the minor magnates who were assembled; and the fyrd, with a few feudal levies, marched out to meet the advancing host of Scots, carrying with them the sacred standards which gave to the fight of Northallerton the name of 'the battle of the Standard.'

The English were very considerably outnumbered. Their tactics were curious, as a sort of foreshadowing of those which characterised English armies two centuries later. Although the number of mail-clad knights present was considerable, they were for the most part dismounted, and fought on foot to strengthen the long infantry line, with which clumps of archers were intermixed. The small force of mounted men remained in reserve round the standard. The Scots, in like manner, dismounted their knights, reserving only a small troop of mounted men on one wing under Henry of Huntingdon, King David's son.

Battle of the Standard.

David's plan of battle was to lead the attack with the heavy-armed men on foot; but Galwegian and Highland jealousy of the 'Frenchmen' compelled him to change his plan and allow the Galloway men to lead the attack with target and claymore. They charged with the utmost fury, but

were defenceless against the storm of arrows which poured upon them, and were already broken before they flung themselves in vain against the armoured ranks which faced them. Then Henry of Huntingdon with his few knights headed a fiery charge upon the English wing, cut their way through and dashed forward, believing that the footmen who followed them would complete the work, shatter the English wing, and roll up the centre. But the English had time to reform and beat off the attack. As David advanced in the centre the Highland contingent was seized with panic and fled. All the king could do was to hold the better trained troops together and beat a retreat, on which he was joined by his son Henry and a few knights, who, on finding themselves isolated, had succeeded by a ruse in effecting their escape. There was a great slaughter among the miscellaneous fugitives, and the invasion was very decisively shattered. Nevertheless, when the treaty of peace was signed in the following year the Scots king got most of his demands, since the Northumbrian earldom was bestowed upon Henry, with the exception only of the fortresses of Bamborough and Newcastle.

Stephen and the Church.

The battle of the Standard secured Stephen against his greatest danger, the co-operation of the king of Scots with the rebels in the south; and the rebels themselves were unable to make head against him. But he went on to undermine his own position by alienating the churchmen, in whose support his great strength had lain. He angered his able brother, the bishop of Winchester, by disappointing him of the succession to the see of Canterbury, which was given to Theobald of Bec. Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and his kinsmen held among them three bishoprics, the chancellorship, and the treasurership. Their own arrogance and the jealousy of the barons first caused them to arm in self-defence and then drove the king to order them to disarm. They refused; whereupon they were arrested, with the exception of Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, who escaped to the castle of Devizes, where he was besieged and forced to surrender. Churchmen were scandalised, not at the conduct of the bishops, but because they had been proceeded against as if

they had been laymen. Stephen, to pacify his brother, had procured for him, instead of for the archbishop, a commission as papal legate, as a solatium, which in effect gave him an ecclesiastical authority even superior to that of the archbishop, but did not pacify him in the least. As papal legate he, with the support of Archbishop Theobald, summoned the king to account for his breach of ecclesiastical law before a legatine council. Stephen retorted effectively by an appeal to Rome on his own account, and a warning that any of the churchmen who left England would find it extremely difficult to return. Technically the victory lay with the king, but it was at the cost of the complete alienation of the clergy.

The council was dissolved at the beginning of September; but probably on the last day of the month Robert of Gloucester landed in England with the Empress Maud, and the war of succession opened in earnest. Almost at the outset Stephen provided an astonishing illustration of the eccentricities of chivalry. Robert went off to the west to assume the leadership of the rebellion in that region, leaving the empress at Arundel. Stephen descended upon Arundel, when he might have seized the empress, and so have made himself entirely secure. Instead of doing so he gave her a safe-conduct to join her brother, acting therein upon the exceedingly dubious advice of his brother of Winchester.

The empress in England.

The chaos which now supervened was the wildest and the ugliest in the whole history of England. Every semblance of legitimate authority disappeared. Stephen on one side, and Matilda on the other, lavished lordships and earldoms on their own partisans at the expense of the partisans of the other, especially on the adventurers and mercenaries who were gathered to one or the other. Partisans changed sides or played at neutrality, as suited their own immediate convenience. Every individual baron did his best to strengthen and enrich himself at the expense of any weaker neighbour. The country was filled with castles, and the mercenary soldiery ravaged and pillaged on all sides. The Peterborough chronicler gives a hideous picture, which other records confirm. The miserable peasants were sub-

The anarchy.

jected to barbarous tortures to compel them to surrender their scanty hoard: 'When the wretched men had no more to give, they robbed and burned all the townships, so that thou mightest well go all a day's journey and thou shouldst never find a man sitting in a township or the land tilled. They forbore neither church nor churchyard but took all the property that was therein and then burnt the church altogether. However a man tilled, the earth bare no corn; for the land was all fordone by such deeds; and they said openly that Christ and His saints slept.' Episcopal denunciations and excommunications were of no account in a land where, says William of Malmesbury, 'neither bishop nor monk could pass in safety from one township to another.'

The war itself was hardly more than a welter of miscellaneous fighting, till at the beginning of 1141 Stephen was taken prisoner by Gloucester, after performing prodigies of valour, in a fight before the walls of Lincoln. He was carried off in chains to Bristol, and a few weeks later a council of the clergy, headed by the bishop of Winchester, proclaimed Maud the 'Lady of England.' Stephen's cause appeared to be hopelessly lost.

Maud 'Lady of England.'

Stephen failed through sheer ineptitude; the empress was more definitely active in destroying her own chances. David of Scotland and Robert of Gloucester both urged her to act temperately; she was deaf to their counsels. The citizens of London in the general anarchy had taken order for themselves, and established a sort of commonwealth or commune of their own. The empress demanded a heavy tax or tallage, and accompanied the demand by a refusal to recognise any extension of London's powers of self-government; whereupon the citizens rose, and Maud had to beat a hasty retreat to Oxford. Henry of Winchester repudiated her, and the war blazed up again. Things went badly for the empress; and in the autumn Robert of Gloucester, fighting a rear-guard action to cover her flight, was taken prisoner. Robert's unique loyalty prevented him from accepting attractive offers to change sides; so he was exchanged for the king, and Stephen's release brought fresh adherents

to the royalists. Henry of Winchester was now working vigorously on his behalf, and brought the churchmen over to his side again. In the renewed welter of fighting the balance was for some time in favour of Stephen in England; while Geoffrey of Anjou was annexing Normandy bit by bit, till at last in 1145 the whole duchy was in his hands.

Royalist recovery.

In 1147 Robert of Gloucester died, and not long afterwards Matilda herself retired from the country. In 1149 a new personality appears on the scene in her son Henry, who was now a boy of about sixteen. At a somewhat earlier stage he had passed four years in England. His father Geoffrey had already handed over to him the duchy of Normandy. Young Henry now made lavish promises to David of Scotland; but by this time Stephen's position had become sufficiently strong to prevent him from raising an efficient army. He retired again to Normandy, and in 1151, on his father's death, succeeded to the whole of the Angevin dominion—a dominion which he at once doubled by marrying Eleanor, the heiress of Aquitaine, whose previous marriage with the French king, Louis VII., had been annulled. Consequently he found affairs in France more immediately pressing than in England.

Henry Plantagenet.

It was now Stephen's desire to secure the succession to his own son Eustace by procuring his coronation—a plan which had been adopted by the French kings. But an insuperable bar was found in the flat refusal of the clergy to take part in the ceremony. Stephen had again offended the whole clerical body, especially Archbishop Theobald, and not only the clergy in England but the Pope himself, by forcing his own candidate upon the see of York. The Pope refused to sanction the coronation, and the clergy gave effect to his refusal. This afforded encouragement to Henry to return to England in 1153. Though his force was small he succeeded in creating an immediate conviction of his military abilities, which rapidly rallied a number of barons to his standard. The death of Eustace simplified matters. Stephen had set his heart on his son's succession, and being deprived of that hope, cared little for anything else. All parties were weary of fighting, and

Alienation of the clergy.

Archbishop Theobald succeeded without much difficulty in negotiating the treaty of Wallingford. Stephen was to remain on the throne, but Henry was to be recognised as his heir. Henry and his followers were to do homage to Stephen; Stephen's followers were to do homage to Henry, reserving their allegiance to Stephen. The mercenaries on both sides were to be dismissed, and the 'adulterine' castles—those, that is, which had been raised without licence during the civil wars, to the number, it is said, of more than eleven hundred—were to be done away with. Finally, the king was to consult with Henry during the remainder of his reign. In fact, the reign lasted little more than another year, during which time Henry was for the most part absent. In 1154 the long anarchy was brought to a close by Stephen's death.

Treaty of Wallingford.

CHAPTER V. THE ANGEVIN MONARCHY
1156-1205

I. Henry Plantagenet, 1154-1189

At the age of twenty-one Henry Plantagenet was the direct lord of a vaster dominion than any other potentate in Europe, with the exception of the German emperor. The France which was under the sovereignty of the French king in the twelfth century had for its eastern boundaries the rivers Rhone and Saône, the upper waters of the Meuse, and the Scheldt—that is, it did not include what are now French districts on the east of those rivers, while it did include a considerable portion of modern Belgium. But more than half of France was under the dominion of Henry. Of this French dominion the northern half came to him through either his mother or his father, although he had to dispossess his second brother Geoffrey of a portion of it. The other half was the inheritance of his wife Eleanor of Aquitaine; and besides what indubitably belonged to the duchy of Aquitaine she had claims upon the great county of Toulouse, on the south-east. It is further to be remarked that the peoples embraced in this great dominion were very heterogeneous, those of the south differing in race temperament and traditions from those of the north, while the kingdom of England, held in independent sovereignty, differed entirely from both.

The Angevin dominion.

In Henry's eyes it may be presumed that at the outset at least England presented him with only the minor problem of restoring such order as had subsisted in the days of his grandfather; it was already unified, in spite of the recent chaos, so far that there was no possible prospect

Divided interests.

of it breaking in pieces. But his French dominion had no natural unity; it was simply an aggregation of counties and duchies, in which Henry had vassals who were half independent, and ready to throw off his suzerainty and transfer themselves to the immediate instead of the mediate overlordship of the French king. On the other hand, it was to consolidation and expansion in France that Henry looked as the means to achieving a primacy among the potentates of Europe. In the course of his reign he learnt that the organisation of England itself as a powerful and prosperous state must take precedence of his Continental ambitions, and he achieved this portion of his task with great success; yet Continental ambitions absorbed so much of his time that throughout his reign of thirty-five years he was hardly ever in England for a consecutive period of more than two years.

Henry was in Normandy when Stephen died, and England demanded his immediate attention. The succession was undisputed, and he was crowned before the end of the year. The coronation was accompanied by the issue of a charter, which in effect was an announcement that all things were to be restored as they had been in the days of Henry I. The young king had already given evidence that he was possessed of a fiery temper, startling and untiring energy and activity, a vigorous will and a clear head. In nine months he had cleared the mercenaries out of the country, completed the destruction of the adulterine castles, and selected competent men for the highest offices of the State. Bishop Nigel of Ely, the nephew of Roger of Salisbury, was deputed to the management of the Exchequer; Richard de Lucy and Robert de Beaumont were made justiciars, the official chiefs of the administration in the king's absence; Archbishop Theobald remained the king's principal counsellor; and the chancellorship was placed in the hands of Thomas Becket, the archbishop's nominee, a man who might still be called young, though he was apparently some fifteen years older than the king himself. He was of gentle though not of noble blood, a secular cleric, not a monk, archdeacon of

Restoration of order.

The ministers.

Canterbury, and had for some years been employed in state business by the archbishop. In the first twelve months of the reign Henry held a series of Great Councils, and secured the co-operation of the greater barons in his plans. Only small and abortive attempts were made at resisting the resumption of the royal castles and domains. The reign of Stephen by its sheer excesses had not only created a craving for order among the lesser folk, but had awakened in the magnates themselves a desire for settled government.

It is to be noted that as early as 1155 Henry was contemplating the annexation of Ireland; but with Irish affairs we shall deal separately.

During 1156 and part of 1157 Henry was in France, where he made good his claim to Anjou and Touraine against his brother Geoffrey—a necessary step in order to preserve the continuity of his dominions from north to south. On the other hand, he established his own questionable claims over Brittany, of which he bestowed the overlordship upon Geoffrey by way of compensation. After the settlement of this business the next year was again spent in England. The death of David of Scotland in 1152 placed the crown on the head of his young son Malcolm IV., called the Maiden; and Henry now took advantage of the king's youth to repudiate the promises made to his father, and compel him to give up the earldom of Northumberland and Cumbria. But Malcolm retained the earldom of Huntingdon as a baron of England, and for this he did homage, though there is no clear evidence as to whether the homage was supposed to apply in respect of anything else. North Wales, which had, as a matter of course, discarded obedience in Stephen's time, was again brought to subjection. It is evident that affairs in England were now working smoothly; there was no danger of the royal authority being disputed, and Henry again turned his attention to France. He procured through a diplomatic mission, conducted by Becket, the recognition of his overlordship of Brittany, his brother Geoffrey having died in the interval; and he then made up his mind to assert the claim to the county of Toulouse in right of his wife. But the French

Henry and his neighbours.

king, once the husband of that wife, had taken alarm at the growing power of his great vassal, and Henry found that he would have to make good his claim in defiance of his suzerain. A great campaign in Toulouse was organised for 1159.

The campaign itself produced no important results, since Henry refused to attack Toulouse because his suzerain was there present. Its importance lies in the fact that it was made the occasion for the introduction in a new form of the imposition called scutage. According to feudal law landholders were required to give personal service, and to bring to the field a fully armed knight for every knight's fee in their estate—an obligation which applied equally to ecclesiastical landholders. It had, however, already become customary to permit ecclesiastics to commute this military service for a money payment, which enabled the king to hire a corresponding number of soldiers. This payment was called scutage—that is to say, shield money. But the system of personal service had inconveniences. The feudal levy was only bound to serve for forty days. Personal service might be troublesome, and the perpetual maintenance of the requisite number of armed knights was a troublesome burden on the landholder. Henry, therefore, extended the employment of scutage to lay tenants as well as ecclesiastics. He required or accepted a fixed money payment in lieu of service, and used the funds to hire a soldiery which remained on service as long as the wages were paid, served wherever it was wanted, and had no interest to consider but the king's. The precise amount of the toll appears uncertain. In the *Dialogus de Scaccario* it is put at 'a mark or a pound.' But the exemption from service was worth purchasing, and the money was more useful to the Crown than the knights. We may hesitate, however, to accept our authority's explanation of the royal reasons, that the king preferred exposing mercenaries rather than his own people to the chances of war.

Scutage.

The Chancellor Becket was prominent in the French campaign, where he rode at the head of a body of knights, who were the best appointed and most effective troops in the whole army. He had never advanced to priest's orders; at

Becket.

this stage of his career there was no sign that he had any ambitions which were not wholly political. He was on the most intimate terms with the king, and was apparently as devoted to the king's interest as any layman could be. But a very complete change was at hand.

In April 1161 the old archbishop of Canterbury died. It was not till some months later that Henry announced the intention of appointing his chancellor as Theobald's successor. Becket was returning to England to arrange a ceremonial swearing of fealty to the seven-year-old prince Henry as his father's acknowledged heir on the part of the barons. Becket strove to dissuade the king from making him archbishop, but without success; and in the summer of 1162 he was consecrated to the primacy, after he had been formally released from liability in respect of his conduct as chancellor. Before the end of the year he announced to Henry that it was impossible for him to retain the chancellorship, which bound him to the Crown, along with the archbishopric, which made him the shepherd and guardian of the Church.

Church and Crown.

Now it may be assumed that Henry from a very early stage in his reign had made up his mind that a revision was necessary of the relations between the Crown and the Church, but that he did not care to open the question during the lifetime of the old archbishop. When Theobald died he would have a new archbishop, and would choose one on whom he could rely to help him in establishing his own control of the Church. Apparently he had found precisely the man he wanted in his chancellor—a man who, while his private morals were irreproachable, was still conspicuously a statesman and a man of the world, who had shown no symptoms of desire to magnify the clerical office. But the king had misread the character of his nominee; for which he is hardly to be blamed, since it is impossible to this day to declare with certainty that any specific interpretation of it is the correct one. Becket as chancellor was the champion of the Crown, because as a minister of State it was his business to be the champion of the Crown, and to do the thing thoroughly. Becket as arch-

The new archbishop.

bishop became the champion of the Church, because as primate it was his business to be the champion of the Church, and to do the thing thoroughly. The functions of the two offices, as he conceived them, were likely to prove diametrically antagonistic; if they were held together the functions of neither could be properly discharged; the change from one office to the other involved a complete change of policy, because it involved a complete change of the point of view. By the time that Henry returned to England in 1163 the archbishop had made up his mind to be the uncompromising advocate of the most extreme views of ecclesiastical authority, and he prepared to play his part picturesquely and thoroughly. He had been the most splendid of chancellors, and he would be the most splendid of archbishops; but the recipients of his lavish hospitality should be not the rich and the powerful but the poor and needy. An archbishop ought to qualify for saintship, and personal magnificence gave way to a strict asceticism. The office should lose none of its pomp, but all should be for the glorification not of the man but of the Church. Martyrdom was the supreme reward of faithful service, and to win that reward was perhaps his ultimate ambition.

The chancellor had acquiesced in, if he had not actually suggested, exactions from the Church called *dona*, gifts; demands for additional war supplies for which there was precedent but no actual legal authority. The archbishop was determined that no penny of money and no acre of land should be taken from the Church or held by a layman if any technical claim could secure it for the Church. The barons soon found that they would be called upon to make restitution whenever it appeared to Becket that they were in occupation of lands to which the Church had a title. And it was claimed that wherever ecclesiastical persons or property were concerned the Church courts had exclusive jurisdiction. The Conqueror and Lanfranc had with very good reason separated the secular courts from the ecclesiastical; but their theory was not that the secular authority was thereby diminished, but that the Church thereby acquired an additional and a desirable influence over public

The Church's claims.

morals of a kind which could not be satisfactorily exercised by the ordinary courts.

Increase of clerical authority.

Since the settlement of the dispute between Anselm and Henry I. there had been under that king no quarrels between Church and Crown which it had not been possible to settle without any obvious surrender of claims on either side. But during the reign of Stephen the Church had not hesitated to acquire from the king an extended authority, and to extend that authority still further by usurpations, which in the circumstances were by no means unwarranted. In fact, during that period it was only from the Church that men could look for any serious attempt to mete out justice; and there was a general acquiescence in the development of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But when there came to the throne a strong king who was determined to enforce justice by his own authority, he found the Church claiming as of right a jurisdiction which was not compatible with the supreme authority of the Crown, and might be used very much to the detriment of the king's lieges when ecclesiastical interests were concerned. That the Church should judge between laymen and churchmen on questions affecting Church property was bad enough, since virtually one of the suitors became also the judge. But still more serious was the ecclesiastical claim to criminal jurisdiction where one of the parties concerned was in orders, even in minor orders below that of the deacons. For many criminal offences the ecclesiastical penalties were wholly inadequate; from a lay point of view, the clerical offender was secured a practical immunity. And besides all this, persistent custom had set aside the principle affirmed by the Conqueror, that no appeals might be carried to Rome without the royal assent.

Becket's aggressiveness.

A statesman of the type of Lanfranc would have seen the wisdom of a judicious surrender on points where public opinion would manifestly be on the side of the Crown; but Thomas of Canterbury would surrender nothing. It was in vain that his own friends urged him to assume a less aggressive attitude. He enforced the decrees of

the Church courts by threats of excommunication, again in spite of the Conqueror's principle that none of his lieges was to be excommunicated without the Crown's permission. A churchman was acquitted in a Church court on a charge of homicide. One of the king's justices sought to reopen the case in a lay court, and when his summons was repudiated with contumely, appealed to the king. The king demanded that the man should be tried in the king's court on the charge of homicide, and also for insulting the king's officer. The archbishop replied that the churchman was not amenable to any secular court, but the king could have justice in respect of the insult to his officer from the archbishop's own court; and for that offence the culprit was heavily fined. But, naturally enough, Henry was much more than dissatisfied by the result.

In other matters, too, the archbishop was displaying a bellicose spirit, an evident intention of pressing the antagonism between Church and State. He refused preferment to clerics who were in the service of the State. In a council at Woodstock he was able to paralyse a scheme of taxation proposed by the king, who wished to transfer direct to the treasury an imposition called the sheriff's aid, which had hitherto been paid to the sheriffs themselves. Henry decided that the questions between himself and the archbishop must be brought to a head. Summoning the bishops to a conference at Westminster, he proposed what seemed to him a reasonable compromise in the matter of criminous clerks. The defendant was to be tried in the ecclesiastical court; if found guilty he was to be degraded and handed over to the secular court for punishment. Becket flatly refused, asserting, according to his secretary and biographer, that the clergy are set apart and may not be subjected to lay jurisdiction. In reply Henry asked whether the bishops were willing to act in accordance with the ancient customs of the realm. The bishops did not like the extreme position into which they were being forced by Becket, and even from the Pope, Alexander III., letters were procured counselling moderation. Becket gave way so far as to promise that he would observe the customs of the realm. Henry required that

A crisis at hand.

the promise should be given formally before a council, which should be followed by a recognition or formal statement of the customs in question. In January 1164 the council met at Clarendon. Archbishops and bishops gave the required promise, but when the recognition, known as the Constitutions of Clarendon, was produced, neither archbishops nor bishops signed it.

The Constitutions of Clarendon.

The Constitutions reasserted principles which had without doubt been laid down in the time of the Conqueror and in the time of Henry I., forbidding excommunication and the departure of the higher clergy from the country without the king's permission. The feudal character of the tenure of Church lands was affirmed in accordance with the settlement made between Anselm and Henry I. But on the question of criminous clerks it is more than doubtful whether Henry could claim any authority for what he called the 'ancient customs'—namely, the practice, which he had proposed at Westminster, that the accused should be tried by the ecclesiastical court, and if he were found guilty should be degraded and handed over to the secular court. Becket, however, had technically committed himself to the acceptance of the Constitutions, and that acceptance he was determined to evade. He obtained from the Pope a dispensation releasing him from his promise so far as it contravened the rights of the Church. For some time matters dragged on without an open rupture until one of Becket's tenants appealed to the Curia Regis, charging the archbishop's court with having denied him justice. Becket did not in person answer the summons; whereupon he was cited before a council held at Northampton for what we should call contempt of court, and was fined.

Henry attacks Becket.

But Henry was not satisfied. Apparently he was moved by a sudden furious determination to make Becket feel his power. Without warning, he put forward a series of demands for the restitution of moneys of which no account had been rendered during Becket's chancellorship—in spite of the formal promise of indemnity which had been given at the time of his consecration to the archbishopric. To meet the demand, it would have been necessary to sequestrate the arch-

bishop's revenues for some time to come. Henry may have intended only to force the archbishop to a humiliating submission, but drove him instead to adopt the more congenial rôle of an expectant martyr. Becket played the part with thoroughness, and with a full appreciation of stage effects. The imputation that his death was intended may have been quite sincere, but made it impossible for either the king or the archbishop to recede. If Becket posed as the victim of tyranny, any concession on the part of the king would be an admission that he had been playing the tyrant. Becket's defiance was condemned by the lay barons of the Curia Regis, who doubtless found some satisfaction in denouncing him as a perjured traitor. The archbishop hurled back the charge defiantly; but on the same night he disappeared, and a few days later escaped from the country in disguise.

Nearly six years passed before the exiled archbishop returned to England. Whether from fear or from conviction, the clergy after his departure would not actively take his side. The laity were pronouncedly against him. The Pope, who was himself in exile, could not for political reasons venture to alienate England by taking extreme measures against Henry. In 1166 Becket fulminated excommunications and threats of excommunications from his retreat in Burgundy. By so doing he annoyed both the clergy in England and the Pope. Next year the Pope tried, unsuccessfully, to mediate, and the attempt was twice renewed in 1169, with no better results. In the meantime Becket, instead of seeking reconciliation, had added a number of persons, including a couple of bishops, to the list of those whom he excommunicated. In 1170 Henry proceeded to have his eldest son crowned as his heir, in accordance with French precedent; and in the absence of the archbishop of Canterbury the ceremony was performed by the archbishop of York. Coronation was the prerogative of the primate. The Pope recognised the fact, and threatened to suspend the bishops who had taken part in the ceremony, and to lay Henry's French dominions under an interdict. This was more than Henry would face; he met the archbishop, went through a form of reconciliation, and permitted his return to England,

Becket in exile.

while practically the whole of the questions in dispute were ignored.

On 1st December 1170 Becket landed; the king and his court were in Normandy. But the truce was no peace. The archbishop issued letters to the archbishop of York and the bishops of London, Salisbury, Durham, and Rochester, suspending or excommunicating them for their share in the coronation proceedings. The news was carried to Henry, who burst into a violent rage. Four knights who had a grudge against the archbishop caught at the words uttered by the king in his passion, slipped from the court, hurried down to the sea, and took ship for England. They made straight for Canterbury, and slew the archbishop in his own cathedral. He had won his martyr's crown, and with it the cause for which he had fought. With the guilt of the murder upon his head, Henry was paralysed. For more than three hundred and fifty years the jurisdiction of the Church over the clergy, and all that concerned the clergy, was confirmed.

Murder of Becket.

For the moment at least Henry was helpless before the storm of horrified indignation caused by the murder of the archbishop, who immediately received a popular canonisation, officially ratified three years afterwards. Without delay an embassy of submission was dispatched to the Pope, promising entire obedience to whatever judgment he might pronounce after investigation. It was as impossible to question that the murder had been incited by Henry's words as that he had never contemplated it in intention. It was perhaps with the precise object of postponing to an hour of less excitement the next stage of controversy or reconciliation that Henry in 1171 betook himself to Ireland to claim the suzerainty of the island, which had been brought within his reach by the operations of Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, best known as Strongbow. Hence it was not till 1172 that the king met the papal legates at Avranches, and arranged the terms of the absolution which was granted four months afterwards, in September. For practical purposes Henry surrendered completely on the most conspicuous point which had been in dispute; but it was also the one point

End of the struggle.

on which it was more than doubtful whether his demands were borne out by those 'customs of the realm' upon which he relied. Clerks accused of crime were not to be amenable to the secular courts. Yet only in one other respect did the king give way: he would no longer prohibit appeals to Rome. It was a matter of course that an amnesty was given to Becket's supporters and that the lands of Canterbury were restored. On the other hand, the king retained in effect his power of controlling ecclesiastical appointments; and when a few years later another pope attempted to claim the right of exacting additional tribute, the Crown was able successfully to resist the demand.

Henry had now reached the middle year of his reign—the eighteenth—and he was not yet forty years old. Of his four sons the eldest, Henry, was nineteen, and the youngest, John, was only four. Those sons[1] were to be the bane of the remaining years of his life, stirred up against him perpetually by their vindictive mother Eleanor of Aquitaine, who thus avenged herself for her husband's infidelities. The three elder sons, not widely separated in years, all had certain qualities in common: a showy magnificence, a wild recklessness, a strong personal fascination; all had a brilliancy which appealed vividly to contemporary imagination. None had any conception of moral responsibilities other than those of a knight-errant. If the king had been as wise a man in the treatment of his sons as in the treatment of his baronage and in his administration of England, he would have kept those sons under his own guidance and under very firm control; but his actual conduct towards them is psychologically extremely puzzling. With the apparent intention of preventing later disputes among them, he partitioned his empire between them at a very early stage, before the birth of his youngest son, John. Henry was to have the lion's share—the kingdom of England, and the duchy of Normandy with Anjou. Richard, the second son, was to have the maternal inheritance of Aquitaine and Poitou. The third son, Geoffrey, was to marry Constance, the heiress of the count of Brittany, and was to succeed to the county itself together

The king's sons.

[1] See Genealogies, II., *The Norman Line and the Early Plantagenets.*

with the overlordship. One at least among the king's motives for annexing Ireland was probably the wish to provide a separate inheritance for the son who came into the world after the partition had been made. But while the boys were taught to regard themselves as already lords of these dominions, Henry permitted them no share in the administration; he would allow no fragment of effective control within his empire to pass out of his own hands.

It may well have appeared that the catastrophe of 1170 had shaken King Henry's power to its foundation. In 1172 Prince Henry, incited by his mother, fled to the court of the king of France, whose daughter he had married, and put forward the demand that he should be placed immediately in effective possession either of Normandy or of England. For the moment the prince was induced to return; but the king was negotiating for the betrothal of the child John to the daughter of the count of Maurienne; and to secure this alliance he promised to bestow a portion of Anjou on the boy. Prince Henry again fled to Louis, and refused to be deprived of any portion of what he looked upon as his own actual property. Before the spring of 1173 was well advanced, Geoffrey and Richard had joined their brother, every enemy of Henry was arming, and the flames of insurrection were kindled in every quarter of his dominions. But the fuel was apparently inadequate. The young princes refused the king's offer to invest each of them at once with a large share of his inheritance; but when they invaded Normandy the populace in the towns gave them no assistance; in England the justiciars with the shire levies suppressed the revolt of a few barons with unexpected ease. William the Lion, king of Scotland, who raided into the north as an ally of the princes, fell with a small party of knights into the hands of a greatly superior force—an accident for which a fog was responsible—and was carried off prisoner to King Henry at Falaise. The unlucky king of Scots was obliged to render the one quite indubitable act of complete homage for the Scots kingdom, as a vassal of the king of England, of which there is

Revolt of Henry the younger.

Homage of William the Lion.

record. The Scottish barons also had to swear fealty, but the Scottish bishops in their expressions of obedience to the supremacy of the English Church were extremely ambiguous. Before the autumn of 1175 the whole affair was over. The princes submitted, and were generously treated by their father, though Richard was the only one of them who was allowed to exercise authority in his own duchy. Henry's success had decisively proved the stability of his power, since the combination against him had been in appearance exceedingly formidable. The disintegrating feudalism which had threatened to become established in England during Stephen's reign had been completely curbed, and he found no need for displaying any vindictiveness towards the rebels; even their estates were not forfeited. The demonstration of the king's strength was final and decisive; and it was also held to have proved that the murder of St. Thomas was forgiven, since the final blow struck by Henry had been preceded by a penitential pilgrimage to the martyr's tomb. To the years which follow belong for the most part the measures which completed the king's work as administrator and organiser.

Henry's triumph.

Though England remained undisturbed for the rest of the reign the king's days were not to be passed in peace; and the accession of Philip Augustus to the French throne at the end of 1179 gave to France a king whose reign was of material importance in English history. Philip was very far from being a great man, but he possessed one invaluable quality, he knew what he wanted; and what he wanted he pursued unperturbed by any scruples. No principles either of chivalry or of a higher morality were allowed to stand in his way, and his malign influence was perpetually exerted, without regard to either honour or gratitude, to foment among his neighbours or rivals the discords of which he reaped the profits.

Philip II.

In 1182 Richard was already displaying in Poitou, in the suppression of a revolt, the military talents which he possessed. But his operations led to an angry quarrel with Henry the younger; and by the beginning of 1183 the brothers were at open war, Geoffrey also taking part with

Family dissensions.

Henry. The king, at first disposed to favour his eldest son, presently intervened in order to compose the quarrel; but Henry and Geoffrey turned on him. Then Henry the younger died, and Richard became his father's heir-apparent. In 1186 Geoffrey also died; a posthumous son, Arthur, was born, but the child's claims to the overlordship of Brittany were set aside. The king wished Richard to resign Aquitaine to John, but Richard refused. Thus there was plenty of opening for fierce dissensions. These were for a time held in check by the general anxiety which was being caused by the disasters which were befalling the Christian kingdom of Jerusalem—disasters which culminated in the capture of the holy city by the Sultan Saladin in 1187. Energetic efforts were made to unite Western Christendom in a great crusade. Richard was eager to take the cross; all the potentates of Europe professed their zeal. Yet in 1188 Richard was quarrelling so angrily with Philip of France that they in turn came to open war. Henry intervened on his son's side, but Philip induced Richard to believe that the king intended to supplant him in favour of John. Richard and Philip made common cause; and young John himself was brought into the combination.

The end of Henry II.

For the first time in his life Henry lost his nerve, bewildered apparently by the sheer incredibility of the conspiracy. He could neither fight nor plan. In the summer of 1189, in utterly shattered health, he was fleeing from place to place to escape the victorious arms of his son and the king of France. At last the dying king submitted. He would yield everything which was demanded of him. He would forgive all his enemies, even Richard himself. But there was one more blow still to come. He asked for the list of those who had joined in the conspiracy. The first name on the list that met his eye was that of the favourite child John, for whose sake he had quarrelled with Richard. The shock killed him. Richard in a passion of remorse came with all haste to fling himself by the side of his dead father; blood trickled from the nostrils of the corpse—a sign in the eyes of men of the presence of the murderer.

II. The Annexation of Ireland, 1169-1172

So far we have traced the personal side of the reign of King Henry II., the story of a strong man whose vigour and capacity established his personal supremacy in a country which had been suffering from the wildest anarchy. We have still to examine the really vital characteristic of his reign, the establishment of a systematic centralised government which made law and order permanent, providing a working machinery which remained effective even in the midst of civil broils, and the basis of a political structure of which the development held in check both feudal disintegration and arbitrary despotism. But before we turn to this branch of the subject we have still to narrate an incident which permanently influenced the national history, though its occurrence in Henry's reign was a mere accident.

Ireland to the eleventh century.

Celtic Ireland had always been separate from Britain politically as well as geographically. Scots from Ireland crossed over to Caledonia and gave their name to the kingdom of Scotland. Irish missionaries taught Christianity to the Scots and Picts. But the only invasion of Ireland by the Angles was a great raid by that Northumbrian king Ecgfrith whose power was broken at Nechtansmere. Nowhere in the world was Celticism so unmitigated; for even the Romans had left the land entirely alone. Whatever was not Celtic was pre-Celtic. Even Danes and Norsemen made no organised attempt at conquest. The vikings planted themselves here and there at seaports—Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, and elsewhere—as they planted themselves in the Hebrides and on the inlets of the western Scottish coast; but there was nothing which at all corresponded to the great and prolonged invasion which was only prevented from mastering England by the stubborn stand of Wessex. The 'Ostmen,' whether they were the 'fair strangers' from Norway or the 'dark strangers' from Denmark, never set about a conquest, though once they threatened to make the attempt, when they were triumphantly routed at Clontarf by the great king Brian Boroihme in 1014. Norse Olaf and Danish Sweyn or Knut had other matters to occupy

them than the conquest of Ireland; Brian's great victory was won over the comparatively small forces of Norse and Danish colonists, supported by casual vikings.

Celtic Ireland, then, stood outside the pale of the normal Western civilisation, untouched either by Latinism or by Teutonism. In the eyes of Rome her Church was schismatic; in the eyes of the world her polity was mere barbarism. There has never been a great Celtic state, because the Celt has required to be either Latinised or Teutonised before he attains to the real conception of a body politic. In Ireland that conception never was attained, any more than in the highlands of Scotland. Tribalism is the deadly enemy of unification. The Irish organisation was essentially tribal; the aggregate of septs formed the clan, the aggregate of clans formed the tribe, and the nearest approach to unity lay in the recognition of the chief of one tribe as holding some sort of supremacy over the rest. There was usually a king of Ireland superior to the sub-kings, but the superiority counted for less than that of any English Bretwalda, and for very much less than that of Ecgbert or any of his successors. In fact, no central government existed; the very kingships descended by a much looser law of succession even than that which prevailed in England. Primogeniture, even legitimacy of birth, was scarcely reckoned in fixing the succession, which was continually disputed. There was no codified law, but the customs were preserved in the Brehon Law handed down traditionally by the body of interpreters called Brehons. In the twelfth century, so far as the Irish could be called a nation at all, they were a confederacy of five kingdoms—Ulster, Munster, Leinster, Connaught, and Meath—over which the king of Connaught claimed a general superiority as 'high king'; but, having no common foreign foe, the confederate kings were generally at war with each other.

The Irish polity.

It was said of the Conqueror just before his death that but for that event he would have made himself lord of Ireland 'by his wisdom without war'; but this casual statement of the chronicler is the only evidence we have that he ever contemplated the annexation of Ireland. Rufus,

Projects of annexation.

in one of his moments of megalomania, talked of bridging the Irish Channel with ships and conquering Ireland; but he never made the attempt. Henry I. never wanted to rule over a larger territory than he could see his way to control. When Henry II. came to the throne of England the large ambitions of his youth led him to contemplate the acquisition of Ireland as a possible scheme; and with that end in view he procured from the one English pope, Adrian IV., a bull authorising him to take possession of Ireland and to bring that schismatic country into the fold of the Church. On the general theory that Ireland was *in partibus infidelium*, not a Christian country, it would be regarded as something which lay in the dominion of the Pope; and at any rate there was no harm in seeking a papal authority like that which the Conqueror had sought for his expedition to England. The whole affair, however, had then been allowed to drop. The conquest of Ireland was a merely speculative problem, while the affairs of Aquitaine and the quarrel with Becket were practical and pressing. Left to himself, Henry would very probably have thought no more about Ireland.

But Henry was not left to himself. In the days of King Stephen, Dermot M'Murrough was king of Leinster. Dermot quarrelled with Tiernay O'Rourke; and the quarrel between them raged till 1166, when O'Rourke procured the help of Roderick O'Connor of Connaught, the high king of Ireland. Since the siege of Troy, stories of abduction have been freely resorted to as explanations of great events; and so, truthfully or not, the feud between Dermot and Tiernay is attributed to the abduction by the former of the wife of the latter. Whether or not this legend be true, Tiernay and Roderick overcame Dermot, drove him out of the country, and took possession of Leinster. The angry fugitive, caring only for restoration and revenge, turned to the mighty king of England for aid, and sought to attract him by proffering his own allegiance as the reward of successful intervention. Henry was busy in France at the time, and much more anxious about the Pope's attitude on the Becket controversy than about affairs in Ireland. He dismissed Dermot, but gave him leave to collect volunteers in

The king of Leinster.

England if he could. Seeking then for adventurous allies, Dermot lighted upon Richard de Clare, earl of Pembroke, popularly known as Strongbow, a man who had wasted his patrimony and lost all opportunities of advancement by a persistent adherence to the cause of King Stephen. Strongbow was quite ready to help Dermot back to his kingdom at his own price—the hand of the king's daughter, the reversion of the kingdom, and the reservation of his allegiance to the king of England. But since the bargain was not immediately struck, Dermot collected others of the Marcher barons, notably two half-brothers, Fitzgerald and Fitzstephen, who were less exacting in their demands. In 1169 the pair landed in Ireland with a force of about a hundred knights and three or four times as many Welsh archers armed with the long-bow—the first time that we hear of the weapon which was later to become so effective in the hands of the English yeoman. The troops, though few, were such as the Irishmen had never met before. In the open, or in the storming of a town, the levies of O'Rourke and the high king stood no chance; so in a very short time they had to come to terms with Dermot, and restored him to his kingdom.

The Norman adventurers.

But Dermot was not satisfied; with allies of this type he could make himself master of Ireland. He appealed again to Strongbow. Strongbow appealed to the king to grant him this desperate chance of reinstating his fortunes. Leave was granted, and in August 1170 he landed in Ireland with a force rather more than double that of Fitzgerald. The Ostmen of Waterford and Dublin were no match for Strongbow's soldiery. The adventurer captured Waterford, married Dermot's daughter in accordance with his claim, and then seized Dublin, from which the Ostmen retired to their kinsmen of the Hebrides. But the supply of recruits was cut off by order of King Henry, who had no mind to allow one of his own subjects to make himself king of Ireland. Dermot died, and the clansmen declined to recognise his son-in-law's title. They elected a new king; the high king took heart of grace and came down to their help, and the adventurers found themselves shut up in Dublin, Wexford and Waterford. Strongbow, though he could still rout the enemy, saw

Strongbow in Ireland.

that nothing effective could be accomplished without more help. In September 1171 he went himself to England to seek the king. He found Henry already resolved on making an expedition to Ireland in person. For himself he obtained terms with which he was satisfied. He did homage for an earldom in Leinster, returned to Ireland in company with the king and a large force, and remained there merely in the character of a loyal baron.

If Irish princes had been unable to hold their own, or barely able to hold their own, against the extremely limited forces of the adventurers, they knew that it would be futile for them to challenge the armed strength of the king of England, though the high king Roderick retired to Connaught and refused to make submission. Henry had neither time nor inclination to organise the complete subjection of the country; he was not yet clear of the trouble consequent upon the murder of Becket. He established garrisons in Waterford, Wexford and Dublin, appointed Hugh de Lacey justiciar or governor-general, and gave him the second great earldom, that of Meath, to counterbalance Leinster. He demanded and received the homage of most of the Irish chiefs; and the Irish clergy at the council of Cashel declared their adhesion to the new government. There was among them a strong party of reformers, who wished to establish the Latin system and the Roman obedience in place of the lax and unorthodox ecclesiastical system which prevailed. And they may very well have believed that they were assisting in the inauguration of a government which would establish order and law in the place of something very like anarchy. The establishment of the Roman system, the Roman method, and the Roman obedience was the victory of the reforming party.

Henry II. in Ireland.

Henry had annexed Ireland by accident. To say that the country was in any reasonable sense conquered is absurd, although there is no doubt at all that it might have been conquered. The position was very much as if the Conqueror after Hastings had distributed the forfeited lands in Wessex among his followers, and had then left England never to return to it again. A few Norman barons were established in the eastern counties—'The English Pale'—corresponding

The Pale.

roughly to the modern Leinster; but not half even of Leinster felt the authority of the justiciar at Dublin. Henry saw that he had no reason to fear a dangerous extension of the power of his vassals as a result of the proceedings in Ireland; he was satisfied to leave it to the provisional government, and beyond that he never went. Roderick O'Connor by swearing fealty completed the technical submission of the island. De Lacey as justiciar did what he could to establish authority within the pale by building castles at strategical points, and by conciliating Irish chiefs. But Henry was more inclined to hamper his justiciar than to support him. Matters were not improved when, in 1185, Prince John was sent over to make his first experiment as practical ruler of the land which was intended to be his appanage. He insulted the native chiefs and did not conciliate the Normans. He was promptly recalled, and no serious effort was again made to create a strong government in Ireland.

The annexation was an evil but accurate augury of the future treatment of the country. The dominion of a part of it was won by adventurers. A king of England, their suzerain, declared his sovereignty over the whole island, but took no measures to organise a government strong enough to extend its authority outside a very small area. The adventurers extended their dominions by means either of private wars or marriages, outside the control of the central authority, which had no power to call them to account. They adopted, or adapted themselves to, the Irish customs, and preserved or dropped Norman customs, as seemed good to them. They identified themselves with their new country; the typical 'Irishmen' of a later day were Geraldines and Butlers, Burkes who were De Burghs, M'Mahons who were Fitzurses, no less than O'Neills, O'Connors and O'Briens. But they created a caste which was at once alien to the Irish themselves and hostile to English control, turbulent and reckless. And never a king of England found leisure to give the government of Ireland serious consideration or attention, or supplied his deputies with the means of making the central government a reality.

III. The Organisation of England, 1156-1189

The Norman Conquest, while it did not professedly change the system which it found existing in England, in fact created a dominant class of aliens born and bred under a different system; and therefore it necessitated a complete reorganisation. The first requirement was the establishment of an irresistible central government, and this involved financial reconstruction; the second need was for a reorganisation of the system of administering justice, adapted to the new conditions. The concentration of control in the hands of the Crown was the work of the first two kings; it was the work of the third, Henry I., to lay down the lines upon which financial and judicial reconstruction were to be developed. Precisely how far that reconstruction was carried in the reign of Henry I. we have not sufficient materials to declare with certainty. It is in the reign of Henry II. that it took definite shape, systematising what appears embryonic in the earlier reign, and intensifying the tendencies which were present therein. So far as lay in the power of Henry II. the corruptions and deflections of the intervening reign of Stephen were simply cancelled.

The Conquest.

Under the Conqueror and his sons the government was the expression of the king's will, subject to the assent of the magnates, for the plain reason that the king could not, without very serious risk, quarrel with the body of the magnates, lay and ecclesiastical. Wisdom required him to be assured of a reasonable amount of support in his measures. If it appeared that the Crown was strong enough to get its own way, individual magnates might grumble, but the king could claim that he had received their formal assent to his proposals; whether the assent actually obtained was only that of the permanent inner circle, or that of a formal assembly of the Great Council, or a more universal endorsement procured by summoning minor as well as greater[1] barons. Practical considerations rather than any technical rule decided the character of the council taken into consultation. Practical considerations

The king and the Great Council.

[1] See Note v., *Who were Barons?*

led Henry II. to consult the Great Council with frequency, not by way of extending its right to be consulted, but in order to throw upon it a direct responsibility for the king's acts. He could avoid the appearance of arbitrary action, satisfy the tradition of taking counsel with the wise men of the realm, induce or compel his most powerful subjects to commit themselves in favour of his own plans, without surrendering anything. The summoning of a council did not facilitate opposition in Henry's day as did the summoning of a parliament in the time of the Stuarts; it provided rather a guarantee against opposition. At the worst it enabled the king to measure the strength of the opposition which he was likely to meet. Henry's practice of consulting the council was not in short the recognition of a limitation of arbitrary powers; the councillors were summoned on the hypothesis that the king wished for advice, not that there was an obligation to ask for it. But the precedents could afterwards be treated as implying an obligation on the part of the king, and a right to consultation on the part of the council. The actual limitation to the exercise of arbitrary powers lay in the possibility of armed resistance. When a Great Council was summoned, the king could gauge the risks; he was enabled to make sure of the acquiescence which was necessary to give his methods effect; the prospect of active co-operation was increased, and the danger of effective opposition was minimised. It was not the council which imposed its will upon the king, but the king who impressed upon the council that what he willed was to be done.

Power of the Crown.

It will appear then that while Henry's treatment of the Great Council prepared the way for the later development of its claims to a limiting authority, that was not the light in which Henry regarded it. The object which he pursued with complete success was that of concentrating power in his own hands. Stephen's reign had shown how easily feudal privileges might be translated into a dangerous licence. Henry set himself, as we have already seen, to stay the Church's increasing independence of the royal authority; it was by less obvious methods that, after the first suppression of anarchy, he proceeded to strengthen the royal authority at the expense of the greater

barons. In part this was effected by reforms in judicial and financial procedure, in part by the creation of what may be called a new baronage, the elevation of smaller men to greater rank and wealth. These men, owing their advancement to the royal favour, while it was displeasing to the existing powerful families, could not but be supporters of the Crown until the generation or two had passed which established them among the aristocracy. Scutage tended to bring into the king's hands a paid soldiery in place of feudal levies. It can only have been in the long run that this materially affected the military strength of the greater barons; but an effective move in this direction, the strengthening of the Crown's military resources, was made by the Assize of Arms in 1181. The Norman kings had used the fyrd as a useful weapon against feudal insurrections; but the fyrd had become only a partial levy of free landholders. By the Assize of Arms the system was developed so as to bring in not only all free landholders without exception, but also landless men with an income of ten marks. Every man was obliged to attend the summons appropriately armed; the levy became a still more effective counterpoise than before to the feudal levies of the barons, and one more completely under the control of the king's own officers.

The machinery of Henry I.'s Exchequer had been organised by Roger of Salisbury; Henry II. appointed Roger's nephew, Nigel, bishop of Ely, to re-establish his uncle's system. Nigel ruled at the Exchequer until 1168, when he was succeeded in office by his son Richard FitzNeal, who retained his position till his death at the end of the reign of Richard Cœur de Lion. Thus, except during the gap in Stephen's reign, three generations of one family were at the head of the department for three-quarters of a century, throughout which a single tradition was preserved. The second Henry's operations affected not the methods but the sources of the revenue. When he came to the throne he found that the supplies were altogether inadequate. The Crown lands did not produce what they ought to have produced; the same was the case with the danegeld, the one regular tax. Great sums which

The Exchequer.

ought to have come into the treasury had become the perquisites of the sheriffs. At an early stage Henry sought for a new source of revenue in the extension of scutage to lay as well as to ecclesiastical tenants; but this scutage, a substitute for military service, could only be applied in time of war, and was not resorted to by him with any frequency. Very soon after Becket became archbishop, his action foiled the king's attempt to appropriate the impost called the sheriff's aid, a land-tax which went into the sheriff's pocket. It was not till 1170 that a really important change was made by the commission called the Inquest of Sheriffs—an inquiry into the conduct of those officers which resulted in wholesale dismissals; and their places were taken not, as had been customary, by local magnates, but by men trained in the Curia Regis, who might be called professionals. The new type of sheriff, being actually, as well as nominally, dependent on the king's favour, was zealous in exacting all that could be exacted for the benefit of the royal treasury; the sheriff became, in fact, what he had previously been only in theory, an official whose primary interest was to bring grist to the king's mill, to make sure that nothing that ought to go to the king went to any one else. He was certainly not less exacting than the sheriff of the old type, but what he exacted went to its proper destination. The royal estates were set in order and developed in a businesslike manner, and consequently they also became much more productive.

The sheriffs.

On the other hand the danegeld was practically dropped, since the revenue derived from it had been so diminished by exemptions that it had become insignificant. Nothing is heard in the reign of Henry II. of the later fundamental principle that there is to be no taxation without consent of parliament. The revenue out of which national expenditure had to be paid was the king's revenue. His normal revenue was derived from the produce of the royal demesne and the villeins on the royal manors. There were fees payable by sundry towns in lieu of royal rights which had been commuted. There were the fines and fees of the law courts, of which a proportion went to the royal treasury. There were

Normal sources of revenue.

regular feudal aids: the *relief* payable by the heir to an estate on taking up his inheritance; *wardship*, the enjoyment of the revenues of an estate during the minority of a tenant, whether a boy or a girl; *marriage*, the right of controlling the marriage of a ward who is a minor, which virtually makes such marriages a question of bargain and sale; the fees also which the suzerain may claim from his vassals on knighting his eldest son or marrying his eldest daughter. To these, as affecting revenue, must be added *escheat*, the reversion of an estate to the suzerain on the failure of heirs, as well as the power of forfeiture when the vassal rebelled against his lord. In several of these cases it is obvious that there was no regularity; they were in their nature occasional, and only in some cases had the amount which could be claimed become definitely fixed by custom. It was necessary that these sources of revenue should be supplemented.

Additional sources of revenue.

We have already spoken of scutage, which had been applied to ecclesiastical estates before the time of Henry II., and in his reign was applied when occasion served from 1159 onwards regularly to the towns, and perhaps to mesne tenants, but rarely to tenants-in-chief. The king could also impose a tallage or extra contribution for special purposes on the royal estates; and exemption from tallage was not one of the privileges conveyed to boroughs which had in other respects obtained immunity from royal claims. Here again there was no established limit to the amount of the tallage. And besides these claims the king was in the habit of asking, for war purposes, what was nominally a free gift, *donum*, which could not with propriety be refused if a reasonable need for it could be shown, though such gifts were not legally compulsory. It would seem also that for special purposes it was open to the king, at least when the danegeld had been dropped, to impose, without any authority from the council, *hidage* or *carucage*, a tax on plough lands, very much like the original danegeld. Lastly, a complete innovation was introduced in 1188. Being a complete innovation, the assent of the council was obtained for it. This was a tax of one-tenth upon property generally, movables as well as land, called the Saladin tithe,

The tax on movables.

the purpose of it being to provide funds for what all Christendom was then acknowledging as a common duty—the rescue of Jerusalem out of the hands of the Turk. The only precedent for a tax upon movables was in 1166, when in both England and France a very much smaller contribution was demanded, also with a view to a crusade.

The first explicit sign of the reorganisation of the judicial administration appears with the Assize of Clarendon in 1166.

Judicature: justices in eyre.

We have seen that Henry I. began the practice of occasionally sending from the Curia Regis to the provinces itinerant justices or justices in eyre, partly to supervise the local courts, and partly to meet the difficulties experienced by suitors in presenting themselves before the Curia Regis. In a desultory fashion, the practice survived the reign of Stephen, or was renewed after his death. The Assize of Clarendon regulated it, and appropriated to the justices all the extreme offences against person and property, theft, homicide, robbery and murder. It was not the business of the court to examine evidence; when the offences occurred, it was the business of the hundred to fix upon the guilty person, and to present him as guilty before the justices. It was still open to him to clear himself by ordeal, but in no other way; and if he failed, the justices passed sentence. The general effect was a much more rigorous enforcement of the law, and incidentally a large increase in the fines which went to the treasury. From 1169 onwards a series of 'assizes,' notably the Grand Assize, secured the right of an appeal to the itinerant justices or to the Curia Regis in cases relating to real property. The meaning of the change was that the sheriff was deprived of a jurisdiction which in his hands was liable to outrageous abuse, to which the king's justices had no inducement. Also the ordeal disappeared in civil suits, and in criminal cases became only a means by which a person who had been found guilty might have the chance of clearing himself.

Hitherto we have had no sign of trial by jury, unless it is to be suspected as a possibility through trials taking place before a committee of the shire court, instead of the whole body of the

suitors. But the jury, the group of 'sworn men,' had been called in for a different purpose. The commissioners who compiled Domesday Book obtained their detailed infor- **The jury.** mation from a local 'jury' of free men, who would know the facts and were sworn to state them truthfully. It would appear that this employment of juries was already practised among the Normans. Now we find its application developed. When an accused person was brought before the itinerant justices he was presented by a jury of the hundred which had pronounced him guilty. This jury was a panel of 'lawful men' selected by the sheriff, who combined the functions of witnesses and judges; and in a similar manner a jury of lawful men of the neighbourhood, who were presumed to know the facts, decided upon the issue in the questions relating to real property, which were then presented to the itinerant justices for judgment. The method was indeed still primitive, but it was the beginning of the principle that questions of fact should be judged by twelve 'good men and true,' representing the neighbourhood, by whatever means they may be selected. The judgment was the judgment of a popular court; but it had become the business of the king's justices to see that full effect was given to the verdict.

Henry's jury is more obviously the parent of the Grand Jury than of the Petty Jury; but it contains the jury system in embryo. On another side, organisation under Henry is advancing by differentiation of function. The Curia Regis was the inner circle of the king's councillors, which included **Division of courts.** the great officers of State—the justiciar and chancellor, the treasurer and chamberlain, the two chief military officers, the constable and marshal, and sundry other officials. It sat for the administration of justice, and in its financial capacity became the Court of Exchequer. In 1178 Henry recognised the advisability of restricting its main judicial functions to a select body of five justices—two clerics and three laymen—headed by the great lawyer, Ranulf Glanville, who two years later became justiciar. This court could deal with the great majority of cases much more rapidly and efficiently, and after its institution only special cases were referred by it to the king. This

judicial committee was known as the *Curia Regis in Banco*, the origin of the title of the Court of King's Bench. This was a further step in distinguishing and separating the group of functions, administrative and judicial, hitherto discharged by a single body.

IV. Richard I., 1189-1199

Of the ten years of the reign of Richard I. only some six months were spent by him in England, where very little of his earlier life, **Cœur de Lion.** had been passed. He had been brought up on the hypothesis that his father's great dominion was to be divided, and that he himself was to be lord of Aquitaine and Poitou. Only since the death of Henry the younger had there been any idea that Richard was to be king of England. Richard's father had begun by regarding England as an appanage of his French dominions, but he had learnt before very long to give his kingdom the first place. In Richard's ambitions England never occupied the first place. His great and ennobling enthusiasm was the crusader's passion. When he was not absorbed by that emotion he was taken up with his Continental, not with English, policy. He did not rule England; he remitted its rule to men who were happily for the most part able and anxious to govern on the old king's lines; but his own projects were costly, and he demanded of his justiciars the imposition of heavy taxation. England was heavily taxed, but she was not ill-governed; the machinery of government was preserved, and in some respects improved, and while the king himself was not less emphatically a foreigner than any of his predecessors, the baronage became rapidly and increasingly national.

Early impressions, derived perhaps from *Ivanhoe*, have fixed in the minds of most Englishmen the belief that the Norman **The baronage Anglicised.** and the English races were still somewhat violently differentiated; but while the greater barons, who may be called the aristocracy, were still almost exclusively of Norman race, and the tillers of the soil were exclusively English, the distinction of Saxon and Norman in the great intermediate mass of minor barons and free landholders had already to a great

extent disappeared. And the Norman aristocracy itself had learnt to identify its interests with the interests of England rather than of Normandy, through the persistence of the policy which separated the Norman from the English estates in the families which held land both in England and in Normandy. The practice of primogeniture, which passes on the whole of a man's landed estate to his eldest son, was not established; the estates were parted among the sons; and thus it befell constantly that a family became divided into the English branch or branches holding estates in England, and a Norman branch or branches holding estates in Normandy. This process had already been carried very far a hundred years after the Conquest, so that before the end of the twelfth century the interests of practically the whole of the baronage were entirely centred in England.

Richard succeeded without opposition to his father's dominions. With an admirable personal generosity and freedom from spitefulness, and with a sound political instinct, Richard took no vengeance on the men who had been loyal to his father, however vigorously they had opposed the rebellious sons. Almost without exception they retained his confidence and trust. The men who had hoped to make their profit by worshipping the rising sun were disappointed. To John no political power was entrusted, but he was liberally endowed with lordships both in England and in Normandy, and he was married to Isobel, the heiress of the great earldom of Gloucester, in spite of the protest of the archbishop of Canterbury, entered upon the score of consanguinity. The betrothal in the year 1173 to the heiress of the count of Maurienne had come to nothing, owing to the death of the prospective bride. The old queen Eleanor, who had stirred up the sons against their father, and had for a long time past been kept in custody by King Henry, was released; and for the remainder of her days, when she was no longer actuated by vindictive motives, she played a very active and useful part in checking the malign activities of Prince John.

The king and the nobles.

But all Richard's energies were concentrated on the crusade. His first step in 1189, before he came to England at all, was to

make terms with Philip Augustus so that the two kings might start for Palestine in the spring of 1190. In August he came to England, where he remained for four months. The time was chiefly occupied in raising funds, wherein Richard showed himself perfectly unscrupulous. Offices were sold right and left; even permissions to resign office were sold. Richard meant the justiciarship to go to his low-born Norman chancellor and secretary, William Longchamp, upon whom he could count as his own trustworthy agent. But Longchamp had to pay heavily, and the justiciarship was divided between him and the bishop of Durham, who also had to pay still more heavily. Something like a clean sweep was made of the sheriffships, which were sold for cash. For cash also Richard released William the Lion of Scotland from all the obligations imposed by the treaty of Falaise in 1175, and restored, without otherwise defining, the relations between the two Crowns which had subsisted before the king of Scots was made captive by the king of England. The archbishopric of York was bestowed, in accordance with the wish of the late king, upon his illegitimate son Geoffrey. By way of preventing disturbance, a promise was exacted from both John and Geoffrey that neither of them should go to England during Richard's absence on crusade; but in John's case the prohibition was shortly afterwards withdrawn at the request of the queen mother. In December, after a magnificent coronation, Richard left England to complete his preparations for the crusade, on which he was accompanied by the old archbishop of Canterbury, as well as by Ranulf Glanville. A legatine commission, procured from the Pope, made the chancellor Longchamp virtually supreme both in Church and State. From December 1189 to March 1194 Richard did not again set foot in his kingdom.

Financing the crusade.

This great crusade is pre-eminently picturesque; to the biographer of Richard I. it is of fundamental importance, but not to the historian of England. It did not carry off to Palestine even any very large proportion of the English chivalry, and therefore the story of it can here be told only very briefly. The preparations both of Richard and Philip took

The crusade.

longer than had been expected. It was not till the end of June that the two kings met to make their final arrangements. Three months later they were both in Sicily and had begun to quarrel. Part of the original compact between them was that Richard was to marry Philip's sister Alais. Richard now refused to marry Alais, on the ground of evil stories concerning her relations with his own father; but the quarrel was patched up by the payment of ten thousand marks as compensation. Richard married instead, a short time afterwards, Berengaria, the daughter of the king of Navarre. He quarrelled also with the German king Henry VI., the successor of Frederick Barbarossa, who had recently lost his life while leading a great force overland on the crusade. Henry claimed for himself the succession to the kingdom of Sicily, which Richard on the other hand secured to another claimant, Tancred. Richard did not leave Sicily till April 1191, and even then he tarried to conquer Cyprus before he reached Palestine in June. The conquest of Cyprus was of more than temporary importance, since it was retained as a Christian outpost for some four centuries.

Richard was the last of the important arrivals. The Christian hosts were besieging Acre, the port which was regarded as the gate of the Holy Land. A contest was raging among them because the crown of the kingdom of Jerusalem was claimed by Guy of Lusignan and by Conrad of Montferrat. Philip of France supported Conrad, Richard supported Guy, and the dissensions did not grow less. A few weeks later Acre fell. Philip was growing increasingly jealous of Richard, whose military skill and personal prowess were incomparably superior to those of any of the other princes. Richard's violence added Leopold, the duke of Austria, to the list of his personal enemies. By the end of July the French king found excuses for returning to France; and even before he got back to France he was intriguing to take advantage of Richard's absence for his destruction.

Richard in Palestine.

After Philip's withdrawal Richard was recognised as commander-in-chief of the crusading forces. At the end of August he led his army by an extraordinarily difficult march to Jaffa,

inflicting a tremendous defeat by the way upon Saladin at Arsuf. As winter came on Richard moved upon Jerusalem. As he neared the holy city he realised the futility of endeavouring to capture it. To preserve the communications between the army and the sea was impossible, since it was not feasible to detach any portion of the army itself, which was barely sufficient to invest Jerusalem. Even if Jerusalem were taken, so large a proportion of the host meant to return home that no garrison adequate for its security could have been left. The crusaders fell back upon Askalon. Negotiations were opened with Saladin. Affairs in England were calling urgently for Richard's return. In April the election of a king who should take the command on Richard's retirement was carried through; but the choice of the crusaders fell not upon Guy of Lusignan but upon Conrad of Montferrat. A few days later Conrad was assassinated by a member of the sect of the Assassins, whose chief was known as the Old Man of the Mountain. The motive of the murder was almost certainly personal; but there were not wanting persons who ascribed it either to Saladin or to Richard. Evidently crusaders in general believed neither one charge nor the other. A new king was elected, Henry, count of Champagne, who was a nephew both of Richard and of Philip. Richard consented once more to lead the host against Jerusalem; but zealous though he was, he was too good a soldier not to realise that the enterprise was hopeless. At the last moment he declared that he would not be responsible for leading the army to certain destruction, though he was ready to serve under any one who was willing to take the responsibility. No one was willing. The army again fell back to Acre.

Richard's campaigns.

From July to September negotiations were again carried on which ended in September with a three years' truce. During that time Acre and Tyre, with five other fortresses, were to remain in the hands of the Christians. In the next year the great Sultan died, but the crusading army had already dispersed. Richard had left by this time, immediately after the signing of the treaty. No other crusade of the same magnitude was ever again organised. Richard sailed for Europe,

Truce with Saladin.

but, in order to avoid passing through the hostile territory of Toulouse, he went up the Adriatic and found himself obliged to pass through the equally hostile territory of Austria. His presence was detected; he was taken prisoner by his enemy Leopold, and then Leopold found himself compelled to hand him over to the German emperor Henry VI., who held him a captive till his release in February 1194. Such is the bald account of the great crusade in which Richard proved himself a great captain, an incomparable warrior in the field, but far too fiery and arrogant to conciliate hostility or to control a confederate force which was perpetually sundered by personal dissensions.

Richard in captivity.

The four years of Richard's absence from England were not without their troubles. Richard was hardly out of the country before a duel began between the two justiciars in which Longchamp came off the victor, and became practically the king's representative. Longchamp, though not without abilities, had all the most offensive characteristics of the upstart. Richard in Sicily was pursued by complaints and demands for the removal of the chancellor, and before he left the island for the Holy Land, he gave a commission to Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen, associating him with Longchamp in the regency, but also giving him power to supersede Longchamp altogether if he should find it necessary to do so. Even before the archbishop's arrival John had returned to England, and began to make trouble as the figurehead of a popular party in opposition to Longchamp. The archbishop succeeded in mediating between the prince and the chancellor, who were on the verge of open war, and effected a formal reconciliation. Then Geoffrey, archbishop of York, chose to return to England, declaring that he had been released from his promise to stay away. Geoffrey was arrested at Dover, and dragged from sanctuary by Longchamp's partisans. The general indignation caused Longchamp to deny that the arrest had been accomplished by his order. The Great Council was summoned, and Longchamp was called upon to explain his action. He took alarm, and did not present himself. He took refuge in London—

Longchamp in England.

where the council was again to meet—hoping to obtain the support of the city; but the Londoners got their own terms from the council, the promise of a 'Commune'; in other words, recognition as an independent self-governing community, with apparently a very oligarchical constitution, though its details are more than obscure. London withdrew its protection from Longchamp, who was deposed; Walter of Coutances produced his commission and became justiciar about the end of 1191.

John had not strengthened his position by the substitution of Walter of Coutances for Longchamp at the head of the government, and the baronage had no quarrel with the new chief justiciar. John was reduced to private intriguing with Philip Augustus, who had just got back from Palestine, and was already busy laying snares for Richard's destruction. Philip began by offering John investiture with the French fiefs and the hand of Alais, the rejected of Richard. Neither Philip nor John was disturbed by the fact that the latter had a wife; but this particular design was discovered and stopped by the old queen Eleanor. Philip's feudatories flatly refused to help him in another scheme for taking forcible possession of Richard's territories; a crusader's lands were immune during his absence. But at the end of 1192 Philip learnt the news, which took a little longer in reaching England, that Richard had fallen into the hands of Leopold. The government at once dispatched commissioners to discover the whereabouts of the captive, while John and Philip struck a bargain, and John proclaimed in England that Richard was dead. The lie met with no credence, and was soon disproved by the return of the commissioners with a letter from Richard himself.

Plots against Richard.

The emperor demanded a ransom of a hundred thousand marks, which a little later was raised to a hundred and fifty thousand. But the king was not to be set free till two-thirds of the money was actually in hand, and it was not made known that one of the conditions of release was his doing homage for England as a fief of the empire. Philip and John made desperate efforts to persuade Henry to keep the king a prisoner for another year or hand him over to them; but the

Richard's release.

ransom was raised, and Henry did not care to accept their bribe. The baronage in England remained loyal to Richard, and their position was strengthened by the appointment to the now vacant archbishopric of Canterbury—Baldwin had died on the crusade—of Hubert Walter, bishop of Salisbury, who had also been with Richard in Palestine, and was very shortly afterwards made justiciar. The sum was enormous, but it was raised without opposition, though the taxation necessitated was unprecedentedly heavy.

Richard in England, 1194.

In February Richard was set free; and in the middle of March he arrived in London to find the justiciar already proceeding against John, with full justification, as a rebel, seizing his castles, and taking possession of his fiefs. It was quite evident that as concerned England Richard had nothing to fear. He stayed in the country for only a couple of months, long enough for him to convince the Great Council that Philip's actions had made imperatively necessary a French war which required renewed taxation; long enough also to repeat his old method of raising money by the sale of sheriffdoms and other offices, and the resumption of estates which had been sold four years before. The king's generosity was confined to those who did not deserve it. John was pardoned, and most of his fiefs were given back to him.

Richard and Philip.

The five years of life which remained to Richard were spent by him in France. On his return to Normandy he at once set about the attempt to recover the districts which John had ceded to Philip; but though his superiority in the field was manifest, all his territories had suffered too severely from taxation for the financing of his wars. At the end of the year a truce was made, very much to the advantage of Philip. In the next year Henry of Germany was encouraging him to attack France by promises of support; Philip declared the truce at an end, but Henry's promises were illusory. The mediation of the Pope stopped open hostilities, and at the beginning of 1196 an actual treaty of peace was made, somewhat more favourable to Richard than the previous truce, sundry castles being restored to him. Richard, however, broke the

terms by building the impregnable Château Gaillard at Les Andelys on the Seine, which commanded the entry into Normandy. Philip protested, as he had every right to do, and Richard set about forming a great coalition of the French king's feudatories. He gained an accession of strength more apparent than real when, on the death of the Emperor Henry, his own nephew, Otto of Saxony, was elected as the successor to the Imperial Crown.

The end of Richard.

It may be that in course of time Richard would have been able to draw the bonds of the coalition tighter, in which case he would probably have been able to force Philip to his knees. But in the time which remained there was nothing but desultory fighting. At the beginning of 1199 Richard marched against one of his own feudatories, the viscount of Limoges, who refused to hand over to him an ancient and valuable golden ornament which one of his peasants had lighted upon when ploughing. While Richard was besieging one of the viscount's castles at Chaluz, he was wounded by a bolt from a crossbow; the wound mortified, and in a few days the king was dead, leaving no child.

The rule of Hubert Walter.

During these years the government of England was in the hands of Hubert Walter, the archbishop of Canterbury, who had been appointed chief justiciar at the time of Richard's release. Hubert was the nephew of the great justiciar of Henry II., Ranulf Glanville; he was also an experienced soldier, having accompanied Richard to Palestine in a military as well as an ecclesiastical capacity. Richard was justified in assuming that, with his exceptional birth and training, he might be counted upon to prove an efficient administrator, especially as he combined the highest ecclesiastical authority with his powers as justiciar. A capable administrator who would keep order and raise money was what Richard wanted. Hubert kept order, and succeeded in raising more money than Richard had any right to expect, after the immense burdens which had been laid upon the nation, and borne with a quite remarkable equanimity.

What is even more remarkable is the development under the

justiciar of a system of representation which, when applied to the Great Council as a national assembly, was to form the basis of English parliamentary institutions. We have seen that the system already existed by which local juries presented for trial the persons whom they had adjudged guilty of crime, laid before the king's court their awards on questions of property, and gave to the financial officers sworn information for the purposes of taxation, assessing the value both of land and of movables in the district. But these juries had hitherto been selected by the sheriff. Hubert Walter in 1194 instructed the itinerant justices to arrange in each shire for the election by the shire court of four 'coroners,' who were to decide what cases should be brought before the justices. Further instructions were given in 1194, 1195 and 1196, which placed the selection of juries in the hands of a committee of four knights, who were to be elected by the shire court. This machinery for the election of 'knights of the shire' afterwards became the machinery for sending knights representing the shire to the National Assembly. It was this which ultimately gave reality to the National Assembly, for until the introduction of representation, a national assembly was scarcely distinguishable from a council of magnates; only under very exceptional circumstances, as at the Moot of Salisbury in 1036, could any large body of the king's lieges be assembled for consultative purposes. Even if the right of attendance existed, it was exercised in a wholly ineffective manner. But when the shire courts had become accustomed to the process of election, it became easy to make elected knights representative of the shire in a national assembly; though it is exceedingly improbable that Hubert Walter had any idea of such an application of the principle of election which he inaugurated.

Representation.

Immediately, however, the effect was to give to the knights of the shire a voice not in the central government, but in local administration. In the nature of things there was no class more interested in the preservation of law and order. Their interest became practical as well as abstract, when powers which had belonged to the sheriff were transferred

Knights of the shire.

to a committee elected virtually by their own body. Their active share in the administration was materially increased by the ordinance of 1195, which required the appointment of knights in every hundred to act as custodians of the peace and to control the 'hue and cry,' the local machinery for the capture of criminals. By being invested with responsibilities for local government, the knights were educated to take their part in the central government also.

The same principle of election began to be applied to the towns. In 1194 the charter of Lincoln gave the borough the right of electing its own magistrate, a privilege which thenceforth habitually appears in the town charters. London retained its right of electing its mayor, granted to it when it was permitted to establish a commune at the time of Longchamp's dismissal. Otherwise the privileges then conceded would seem to have been in great part withdrawn, without detriment to the privileges which it previously possessed. It was again made liable for tallage, the arbitrary demands of the Crown as opposed to fixed liabilities. It is in this connection that we hear of what may be called the first democratic attack upon the oligarchical government of the city. A lawyer, William Fitzosbert, charged the civic authorities with assessing the charges for tallages unfairly, so as to favour the wealthy and oppress the poor. He was accused of stirring the mob to violence by inflammatory harangues. An appeal to Hubert brought in the soldiery to arrest the orator; he took sanctuary, but the church was fired over him. He was dragged from it, underwent a form of trial, and was then hanged. Respectable citizens applauded the action of the justiciar, but the Churchmen turned upon him for the violation of sanctuary. The story was carried to the Pope, Innocent III., who invited King Richard to relieve the archbishop of his inappropriate secular duties.

The towns.

Meanwhile, however, Hubert had displeased both the baronage and the king. In answer to Richard's demand, the justiciar in 1197 asked for a force of three hundred knights to serve in Normandy. Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, at the Great Council, replied that there was no claim for service

Resistance to taxation.

overseas. The pretension was supported by the bishop of Salisbury and sundry lay members of the council, though all precedent seems to have been on Walter's side. The justiciar had to give way and to seek compensation by imposing a heavy tax, duly authorised by the council, called *carucage*, on all land under the plough, every plough team of eight oxen paying five shillings. But this tax too was resolutely resisted or evaded, and the amount raised was insignificant in comparison with Richard's expectations.

Hence Richard gave a not unwilling ear to Pope Innocent's demand in 1198; and the archbishop surrendered the justiciarship, which was given to Geoffrey Fitzpeter, earl of Essex. Walter's retirement, however, was only for a brief season; he did not resume the functions of justiciar, but he was very soon acting again virtually as the justiciar's colleague.

V. John; the Loss of Normandy, 1199-1205

Richard was a brilliant soldier who lived up to the moral code of his time; that is to say, his misdeeds and vices were such as to permit of his being regarded as an ideal to be imitated by all chivalrous knights. But his conception of the duties of a king were elementary. His absenteeism—he spent barely six months in England altogether in his whole reign of very nearly ten years—left the government in the hands of justiciars and of the Great Council, many of whom had learnt to feel a sense of public responsibility in the days of Richard's father. Left to themselves, their sense of responsibility increased, and apart from the weight of taxation it may be said that England was governed conscientiously. But Richard was succeeded by a brother who stands unrivalled as the most depraved prince who ever sat on the English throne, unless Aethelred the Redeless may claim to challenge that odious pre-eminence. John possessed a fair share of the abilities of his house; on occasion he proved himself a brilliant strategist. But his actual talents were made useless, because he had no control whatever over his

Richard.

John.

passions, no appreciation of moral considerations as factors in the actions of his neighbours, and no virtues of his own. At an earlier stage a tyrant of his type would have reduced the country to anarchy as certainly as a merely inefficient king like Stephen; an anarchy worse than that of Rufus, because Rufus could control others, even if he did not choose to control himself. But after the reign of Henry II. the baronage themselves were too deeply imbued with a respect for the principles of orderly government; and however much personal selfishness may have directed their action, they became the champions, not of their own class, but of law against tyranny.

John and Arthur.

The succession to Richard's dominions was disputable. John was his youngest brother, but an heir to the intervening brother, Geoffrey of Brittany, had been born, and, according at least to modern ideas, had a stronger claim than his uncle. Nevertheless, both the barons of Normandy and the barons of England, although not without some hesitation, gave their adhesion to John, although most of them must have had a fairly sound appreciation of his character. The argument by which William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, justified the preference for John will reappear later with the question of the inheritance of the crown of Scotland. John, as the brother, was declared to be nearer akin to Richard than a brother's son. But while England and Normandy declared for John, and the astonishingly vigorous old queen Eleanor, who was not far short of eighty, held Aquitaine for her son, Brittany, Anjou, and Maine declared for the young Arthur. The boy, with his mother Constance, hastened to seek the support of the suzerain, Philip of France, who was glad enough of the opportunity of splitting up the Angevin inheritance. Philip received his homage as lord of the three provinces. Probably he meant to leave both Normandy and Aquitaine to John if John would confirm the cessions of the treaty of 1196.

John in the old days was ready enough to cede territory to Philip in exchange for his help in stealing the crown of England from Richard. But he was in no hurry to surrender territory now. Richard's coalition was in his favour, and the emperor

Otto was more likely to render efficient help than had been possible at an earlier date. Arthur's party soon realised that Philip was considering no interests but his own; no one was in the least inclined to help the unlucky boy merely on principle. Within the year Philip perceived his own advantage in acknowledging John as the successor to virtually the whole of Richard's possessions, including the overlordship of Brittany, of which Arthur was undeniably the Count.

But John flung away the prize. He chose to desire the hand of Isobel, the still very young daughter of the count of Angoulême. There were two objections to the match. John had been married for ten years to Isobel of Gloucester; Isobel of Angoulême was betrothed to Hugh of Lusignan. Isobel of Gloucester was divorced, or rather the marriage with her was declared null, on the old plea of consanguinity, and half the baronage of England were enraged at what they regarded as an insult to their order. John married Isobel of Angoulême, and half Poitou sided with the insulted Lusignans. Meanwhile Otto was again involved in troubles of his own, while the count of Flanders and others had thrown up the coalition in disgust at what they regarded as John's perfidy. John was in effect isolated. Philip took his opportunity, and summoned him as duke of Aquitaine to Paris to answer charges which had been brought against him by the Lusignans. John refused to appear; Philip pronounced him recalcitrant, declared war upon him, and made a treaty with Arthur of Brittany. Arthur was to have the whole Angevin inheritance except Normandy; and of Normandy Philip was to retain what he held and as much more as he could get.

John's marriage.

This was towards the midsummer of 1202. Before the end of July Arthur was sent to attempt to capture the old queen Eleanor. He was on the point of carrying the castle of Mirebeau, where she had shut herself up, when the news reached John at Le Mans, eighty miles away. By a feat of marching almost without parallel, John reached Mirebeau in forty-eight hours; the besiegers were completely taken by surprise, and Arthur himself, half the leaders of the Poitevin revolt,

The war with Arthur.

and some two hundred knights, were taken prisoner. But again John's misuse of his victory was turned to his own ruin. He kept Arthur a prisoner, though he had pledged himself to his own barons to set him at liberty. Numbers of the prisoners were treated with a brutality which disgusted every one. Among the barons of Normandy the tide set against him. In the next few months defections multiplied; and then an ominous rumour spread that Arthur had been murdered. No one believed the story which was presently put forth by King John that he had been killed by a fall from the battlements in attempting to escape from his prison. The actual truth was never definitely ascertained, but the world at large believed that John had murdered his nephew with his own hands.

The barons from England insisted on going home; the barons of Normandy went over to Philip or remained inert. Fortress after fortress fell into the hands of the French king, and before the end of the year John himself retreated to England, leaving Normandy to its fate. By the midsummer of 1204, even Rouen, the town most stubbornly loyal to the English connection, had been forced to capitulate. Normandy, Brittany, Maine, and Anjou were irrevocably lost. For a time it appeared not improbable that Aquitaine would follow suit. But, in spite of the death of old Queen Eleanor, Guienne and Gascony, with part of Poitou, held to the English connection. In fact the feudatories of south-western France, who enjoyed a large degree of independence, preferred for their suzerain the remote king of England, who could only reach them by sea, to the king of France, who could reach them much more easily; and the great towns such as Bordeaux and Bayonne flourished greatly by reason of the trade with England.

Loss of Normandy.

The retention of the curtailed Aquitaine was of value in the expansion of English trade, and provided a military base in the later French wars. But it did not touch the vital change wrought by the loss of the northern half of the Angevin dominion of France. The baronage of England, closely connected with the baronage of Normandy, had no personal associations with Aquitaine. The Norman connection

Effect on England.

had counteracted the development among them of English nationalism, the Aquitanian connection did not. The loss of Normandy, practically completed in 1204, made the provinces in France appendages of the kingdom of England; whereas hitherto there had always been at least a possibility of England being secondary to the French dominions of Norman and Angevin kings.

CHAPTER VI. THE CROWN AND THE BARONS 1205-1272

I. King John, the Pope, and the Charter, 1205-1216

While King John was engaged in losing Normandy, affairs in England went on very much on the same lines as during the last five years of King Richard's reign. Geoffrey Fitzpeter remained the justiciar; Hubert Walter, who was made chancellor by John, worked in harmony with Fitzpeter, whose policy accorded with his own. With them was associated William Marshal, who had become earl of Pembroke by marrying the heiress of the De Clares. He had been conspicuously loyal to the old king Henry, but had not thereby forfeited the favour of Richard; and now, though he was a person of courageous independence, he remained unshaken in his loyalty to the Crown. To these three men England owed it that she enjoyed a government tolerably firm and strong, and not without liberal elements, in spite of the inevitably heavy taxation while the king was out of the country. Charters conferring large powers of self-government were bestowed on several of the towns; trade was encouraged; and, on the other hand, the growing resentment of the baronage and the clergy at the heavy demands made on their purses, was mollified by the recognition of privileges which they claimed to have enjoyed in the past, but which now seemed in danger of disappearing.

England in John's absence.

Nevertheless, resentment continued to grow at the king's demands for supplies and military services in Normandy. Richard's exactions had been resisted, though some warrant for them had been recognised in the king's prowess; but no one believed in John's prowess, and men were neither ready to fight under his leadership nor to drain their purses

Uneasiness.

when they believed that their contributions to the war were being thrown away. A very heavy scutage was paid in 1199; but two years later a demand for military service was met by a demand for the remedying of grievances. The barons, however, gave way, and again paid the scutage; but in 1203, those who were on service in Normandy left the king in the lurch. The king left Normandy to be overrun by Philip, and in 1205 a levy for the avowed purpose of resisting a threatened invasion was duly answered. But when it was found that the army thus collected was intended for service overseas, the baronage flatly declined to have anything to do with it, their opposition being led by the archbishop and William Marshal. They had made up their minds that the recovery of Normandy was hopeless.

Immediately after this fiasco the primacy was vacated by Hubert Walter's death. The king nominated his own confidant John de Grey, bishop of Norwich, for the archbishopric. Theoretically the right of election lay with the chapter, the monks of Christchurch, Canterbury; in practice the bishops of the province exercised a voice; but the real choice lay with the king. The chapter usually resented this usurpation of their legal rights; and on this occasion a band of them met secretly, elected their own subprior, and hurried him off to Rome to procure the pallium. The circumstances leaked out. The more prudent members of the chapter upset the first election, and in conjunction with the bishops, elected De Grey, who also went off to get the pallium from the Pope. Having before him two claimants, both apparently irregularly appointed, Innocent III. invited John to send a commission on the part of the chapter with full powers to make a fresh election at Rome, and a commission representing the Crown and the bishops with full powers to confirm the election. John took for granted in the circumstances that De Grey would be duly chosen; but when the commissioners arrived, Innocent recommended them to set aside both the previous candidates and to elect Cardinal Stephen Langton, a distinguished Englishman who had resided but little in England. The choice, made in accordance

The vacant archbishopric, 1205.

Breach between John and Innocent III.

with the papal recommendation, was in itself quite admirable; but the conditions under which it had been made were entirely unconstitutional. John foamed with rage, and threatened Innocent with the loss of the papal revenues from England if the election were not cancelled. Innocent took the high hand, and commanded John to earn the favour of heaven and the Holy See by yielding to the papal authority. John seized the estates of Canterbury, and quartered mercenaries upon the monastery. Innocent threatened an interdict. John, alarmed, offered submission, with a saving clause. The Pope would have no saving clause. John declared that he would forfeit the lands of any churchman who obeyed the interdict if it should be issued. In March 1207, fifteen months after Langton's election, the interdict was issued.

The interdict.

The interdict did not deprive the people of the sacraments, but they were administered only under trying conditions, and the churches were closed. The king seized the clerical revenues at large, and it was very soon understood that the law had virtually withdrawn its protection from clerics of every kind. The clergy starved, and the bishops took flight from the country. The populace in general would appear to have treated the whole affair with stolid apathy. Nevertheless, the moral effect of such a contest between the spiritual power and the Crown was serious. Even a king so strong as Henry II. had been prepared to go great lengths to escape an interdict; and still more recently the weapon had been successfully employed against Philip of France. And now behind the interdict lay the threat of excommunication, which would give spiritual sanction to a repudiation of allegiance by the discontented baronage. At the end of 1209 the excommunication was pronounced. Nevertheless, the rebellion of an aggrieved baron, William de Braose, on the Welsh marches, received no support in England, though when De Braose took flight to his estates in Ireland he was well received in that country even by William Marshal. At this period of his career John showed so much vigour that threatened risings in Wales and a threatened incursion from

John's apparent strength.

Scotland only prepared the way for complete submission on the part of the Welsh princes and the acceptance of a somewhat humiliating treaty by William the Lion. Even Ireland was temporarily reduced to something like order by an expedition thither, conducted by the king in person.

For more than two years after the excommunication it appeared that John was growing stronger and stronger; but the ground was really crumbling away beneath his feet. The general repulsion caused by the murder of his nephew early in his reign was renewed by the savage vindictiveness which deliberately starved to death the captured wife and son of De Braose. Year after year crushing scutages embittered the baronage; for it suited John much better to assemble large bands of mercenaries than to gather feudal levies for Welsh or Irish or Scottish expeditions. But John was unconscious of the gathering storm. His apparent strength was bringing a revival of foreign alliances. In the summer of 1212 John was preparing to strike another blow for Normandy, when warning came to him that the Pope was about to follow up the excommunication by a formal bull of deposition, and that none of the English baronage could be depended upon to stand by him. There was a general insurrection in Wales which demanded prompt suppression, but John dared not trust the levies he had raised. He disbanded them and sent abroad for more mercenaries. King and people alike were filled with superstitious excitement by the prophecy of a crazy hermit that before twelve months were over John would lose his crown. The king's panic increased when Innocent invited Philip of France to give effect to the bull of deposition, and Philip collected an army which was to take possession of the English crown on behalf of his son and heir Louis. In April 1213 John had large forces gathered to repel the projected invasion; the fleets of the Channel ports, always his most loyal subjects, since the fostering of the English marine was one of his very few creditable characteristics, dealt destructive blows at the French shipping. But again John dared not trust his levies; he made up his mind to save himself by complete submission to the Pope.

John takes alarm.

Innocent had long been prepared to receive the submission and to act upon it at a moment's notice. On 15th May the transaction between the Pope and the king was completed. Stephen Langton was to be received in full favour as archbishop. All the fugitive prelates and monks were to be restored. Compensation was to be given for what the Church had been robbed of. Finally, John became the Pope's man, receiving the crown of England as his vassal, and pledging himself to the payment of an annual rent or tribute of a thousand marks. It may be observed that no less than five European sovereigns had already received their crowns from the Pope as his vassals. The Pope, on the other hand, at once prohibited Philip's proposed invasion, since England was now a papal fief. Another destructive attack upon French shipping by an English fleet diminished the importance of the French king's declaration that he would not abandon an expedition which he had undertaken at Innocent's own request.

Submission of John to the Pope.

John meant to turn the tables on King Philip through the alliance with the Emperor Otto and the count of Flanders. The barons of England believed as little as ever in the possibility or the advantage of recovering Normandy. First, they refused to move until the king had been formally released from his excommunication. In July Stephen Langton absolved John as soon as he had repeated his promises to the Church, and the coronation pledges of just government. With a view to the removal of the interdict, steps were taken to ascertain the amount of compensation due to the churchmen, which it was necessary to make good from the royal domain. To that end a local jury, the reeve and four lawful men, was summoned from each of the royal townships to attend the council and give information; but this seems to be merely a variant on the ordinary practice of taking the information in a similar manner on the spot. Then John again called upon the barons to take part in an expedition to Poitou. They again refused, this time on the ground that they were not bound to serve beyond the four seas. John tried to shame them into following him by setting sail without them. They remained unmoved,

John and the barons.

and he returned to march to the north, intent on punishing the recalcitrants, who were most conspicuous in that part of the country. But the barons and the clergy, headed by Langton, were all of opinion that it was the king's business to set his own house in order before indulging in military expeditions. Langton told John that he would be breaking his recently taken oath if he attempted to punish the barons without first bringing them to trial, and John had to yield to the archbishop's threat of renewing his excommunication.

In October the old justiciar Geoffrey Fitzpeter died. Hitherto he, like his former colleague Hubert Walter, had stood between the Crown and the barons, restraining John and pacifying the magnates, pressing reforms to the best of his power, but upholding the authority of the Crown. Yet with a curious blindness John hailed the news of his death with glee, as he had formerly hailed the news of the death of Hubert Walter. He felt only that he had been released from an irksome restraint; he was soon to feel that he had lost much more than he had gained. The Poitevin Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, one of the two prelates who had held by John throughout, took Fitzpeter's place as justiciar. The new justiciar was emphatically a king's man; the most respected of the barons, William Marshal, was in effect the king's man; but the moral force of the reform movement was concentrated in the person of Stephen Langton, and Langton was neither king's man nor baron, but an incarnation of the principles of law and justice; as resolute as Anselm himself in following the path of duty, but with a conception of duty more statesmanlike and not less sincere.

Death of Fitzpeter.

By the beginning of 1214 John had satisfied the Pope of the adequacy of his repentance. He had not satisfied the barons, but he was in a position to control a large force of mercenaries, which suited him much better than the levies of feudatories, on whom he could place no dependence. In February his plans were completed for the great stroke at Philip of France, and he sailed for Poitou. Philip was to be attacked on both sides: on the west by John and on the north-east by the emperor

Bouvines.

and the count of Flanders, with whom a second more or less English force under John's half-brother William Longsword, earl of Salisbury, was to co-operate. It seemed at first that all Poitou and Anjou as well would be recovered; but the emperor dallied. It was not till July that the movement on the north-east began which ought to have crushed the king of France, who was fighting single-handed. Philip was obliged to leave his son Louis to hold John in check while he himself marched against the emperor. But Philip was not crushed; on the contrary, at Bouvines the allied army was shattered, Salisbury and the count of Flanders were taken prisoner, Otto was put to flight, the coalition against Philip was broken to pieces, and John was left in isolation. The battle was a singularly decisive one. In effect it restored the ascendency of the Hohenstaufen in Germany and it made Philip master of France. For England it set the seal on the loss of Normandy and brought on the great crisis which gave her Magna Carta.

Philip was ready to make a peace which left John in possession of Gascony and Guienne. John returned to England in October, smarting with defeat and vengeful. His first step was to demand a heavy scutage. The northern barons took the lead in rejecting the claim, though their attitude seems to have been warranted by no precedent earlier than that set by St. Hugh of Lincoln not twenty years before. In effect they meant to have grievances dealt with before they would admit any liability for supplies which it was in any way possible to question. They had taken up the idea, which was almost certainly due to Stephen Langton, of resting their demands upon the charter of Henry I. and claiming a new charter based upon it. In the beginning of January 1215 they appeared in arms before the king and demanded the confirmation of Henry's Charter. John was given time till Easter for considering the demand. During the interval the negotiations were conducted through the archbishop, who acted rather in the character of an arbitrator or moderator than as a representative of either party. John made vain efforts to detach both the clergy and the populace from the baronage by specious promises. But

Charter of Henry I. demanded.

the strength of the baronial position lay in the fact that they had not taken their stand upon questions of their own privileges but upon the lawful rights of the whole community. John's efforts to collect mercenaries were sufficient proof that he meant to resist the demand by force. Before the end of April the barons collected a great army in the north and marched towards London. John retreated to Oxford. Langton on his behalf procured from the leaders a fresh schedule of grievances, on the presentation of which the king burst into a frenzy of rage, declaring that they might as well ask for his kingdom. He would have nothing to say to it. The barons formally renounced the allegiance which the suzerain had forfeited by breaking his part of the feudal contract. London admitted them cheerfully. John saw that his cause was hopeless, submitted, and set the seal to the Great Charter on 15th June 1215.

The barons in arms.

The importance of the Charter does not lie in its specific contents. It was not, and it was not intended to be, revolutionary. It did not set out to curtail the rights of the Crown or to claim new privileges for the barons, the Church, or the people. Almost from beginning to end it was a statement of what those who drew it up believed to be the law of the realm; but essentially it was a declaration that the king was bound by that law, and that his subjects were entitled to compel him by force to observe it. The king was required to give his formal assent to the proposition that the will of the king cannot override the law of the land. It asserted recognised general principles: that no man shall be punished without fair trial, that punishments must be proportionate to the offence, that justice shall not be denied nor delayed nor sold to any man. Specifically, the Church claimed its own recognised privileges, including the right of free election. The barons in greater detail claimed only privileges which they had always claimed; they asserted for their own tenants against themselves, as well as for themselves against the king, immunity from arbitrary aids and fines as distinct from the universally recognised aids, though they introduced no new forms of defence for villeins against arbitrary

Magna Carta.

treatment by their lords, or for the towns against arbitrary treatment by the king, these being powers which had never been called in question. The Charter did nothing in the way of creating parliamentary institutions. It claimed only that abnormal taxation should not be imposed except by consent of the Great Council, and it laid down, what does not appear to have been a new rule, that when a Great Council was to be held the greater barons should be summoned personally and the lesser barons by writs from the sheriff. This control of taxation by the Great Council has, comparatively speaking, the air of an innovation, since the clause was dropped in subsequent issues of the Charter, and we have no direct proof that the right had been previously recognised. Otherwise the one innovation is the construction of machinery by which the Charter is to be enforced; or, in other words, the Crown is to be coerced. It creates a committee of twenty-four lay barons, with the mayor of London, to review complaints against the Crown, and the committee have power to levy arms against the king. Here is to be found the precedent for the baronial committees which were created from time to time during subsequent reigns; and this is the one clause which points to the presence among the barons of a section which was aiming at an oligarchy. Apart from it the Charter is essentially conservative; it is directed to the interests of the general public; and its one innovation is also the one feature which was not, and probably was not intended to be, permanent.

The only innovation.

For some weeks John made a show of intending to carry out the stipulations of the Charter. But within a couple of months he was hard at work collecting mercenaries, bribing allies, and urging Innocent to cancel the Charter. On the other hand, the Charter had not gone far enough for the northern barons, some of whom refused to accept it as a settlement. The Pope pronounced sentence of excommunication against the disturbers of the kingdom; Langton declined to enforce the sentence. Innocent issued a bull annulling the Charter, and his legate in England, Pandulph, with Peter des Roches, suspended the archbishop. On the hypothesis that

The Pope intervenes.

England was a fief of Rome, Innocent was no doubt acting within his powers.

The barons saw nothing for it but the deposition of John, though there was a strong party among them who refused to go so far. If John was to be deposed there was something to be said for the French prince Louis as his successor, since Louis's wife, Blanche of Castile, was the granddaughter of Henry II. Rebellious barons entered upon negotiations with Louis. The attitude of Innocent severed the clergy from the barons; even Langton was silenced, and the party of resistance to the king became a party of extremists.

A civil war began openly in October, and in January 1216 a French force arrived in the country to assist the barons. Philip of France, threatened by the Pope, denied all re- **Civil war.** sponsibility for his son's proceedings, though he was palpably encouraging them. But Louis was not ready to move himself till May, and in the meanwhile the king and his mercenaries were ravaging the lands of the barons who were in rebellion. In May, however, Louis sailed with a large army. Hitherto John had relied upon the activity of his fleets to prevent an invasion, and he had been justified. But at the critical moment the English fleet was dispersed by a storm, and Louis succeeded in reaching Thanet, where he disembarked. His arrival was the signal for the defection of a large number of the barons from John, who was left with very few supporters except his mercenaries, Ranulf earl of Chester, and the ever loyal but octogenarian William Marshal.

There is no doubt now that the military predominance lay with the rebels and the French pretender; nevertheless, many of the barons were at best half-hearted in rebellion, and discords and dissatisfaction developed as Louis showed a dangerous disposition to act as a French conqueror instead of as the champion of English liberties. The king, who had fallen back to the Welsh marches, struck against the north and east in **Death of John.** September while Louis was engaged in a vain effort to reduce Dover, which held out valiantly under Hubert de Burgh. John's unrivalled strategy threatened to turn the scale completely. But

his end was at hand. On 19th October he died of dysentery contracted a few days earlier and aggravated by unbridled gluttony. In his rare fits of spasmodic energy he had proved himself capable of feats which would have done credit to the soldiership of his brother Richard. When he allowed his intelligence a brief control over his animal appetites and his evil passions he showed himself possessed of talents of a high order. But these intermittent flashes weigh little against his habitual recklessness and folly, and his recklessness and folly were merely pallid defects in comparison with the moral depravity which would have wrecked even a genius of the first order. Not one redeeming feature, not one redeeming act, is to be found in his whole career; but the very enormity of his vices was the salvation of England, since they made his tyranny futile and forced on the reign of law, besides delivering England from the disintegrating influence of the Norman connection.

II. Henry III. (first period), 1216-1248

Henry III. crowned.

The royalists very promptly proclaimed, and crowned as king, John's nine-year-old son Henry. The party unanimously pressed upon William Marshal the office of regent. With the baronial council was the papal legate Gualo; there was no change in the attitude of the Papacy, though the death of Innocent during the summer had made Honorius III. pope in his place. The legate held no official post, and the personal guardianship of the boy was given to the bishop of Winchester. The whole party recognised William Marshal virtually as dictator; while the second official position was held by the justiciar Hubert de Burgh. It was the marshal's business to recover for the young king the loyalty which had been destroyed by his father's sinister personality. An amnesty was promised to all who would come in. The Charter was reissued, though the taxation clause was omitted. There was a general pause in the war, though there was no strong movement of reaction to the royalist side. Many of the barons, however, were hesitating. At the beginning of the year Louis himself

went to France, after arranging a truce for two months. In his absence the estrangement between his French followers and the English barons increased, and the tide of defection set in. Hostilities were renewed with his return at the end of April. In May the royalists won the decisive battle known as the Fair of Lincoln, fought in the streets of that city. Though there was no great loss of life, a substantial number of barons and knights were taken prisoners. Louis's prospects became exceedingly unpromising; they were practically ruined when a French fleet, sailing from Calais, was annihilated off Sandwich by Hubert de Burgh with the ships from the Cinque Ports on 17th August. Within a month peace was signed. Under pressure from Gualo, Louis was obliged to appear publicly as a penitent, and the clergy who had taken his side in defiance of the Papacy were excluded from the amnesty, which was otherwise almost universal. The French were hurried out of the country, the prince being presented with a substantial sum to hasten his departure. Once again the Charter was issued, this time with some modifications in the interest not of the State in general but of the barons in particular; but a Forest Charter attracted more popular favour, since it restored what had been appropriated for royal forests since the time of Henry II., and relaxed the stringency of penalties for breach of the forest laws.

Withdrawal of Louis.

William Marshal continued to rule the country, in spite of his great age, for eighteen months after the departure of the French. How far the victory of the royalists can be attributed to anything in the nature of patriotic sentiment, as we should understand the term, it is difficult to say. Essentially there was no particular reason why either the people or the baronage of England should dislike a French dynasty more than a Norman or an Angevin dynasty. Both parties in the struggle had relied upon foreign assistance; if the barons had called in the French prince, the king had called in foreign mercenaries, very much to the detriment of the public weal. In the mind of the barons the question was not one of subjecting England to France, but of substituting a French dynasty and

Nationalism ensured.

a French suzerain for an Angevin dynasty and an Angevin suzerain. Angevin kings had perpetually called upon England to support them in their Aquitanian and Norman wars; a French king would hardly make more troublesome demands. A French king was perhaps less likely than an Angevin to interfere with the English liberties, and he was hardly more likely than such a ruler as John to thrust outsiders into office. In actual fact, it never was possible after Bouvines for the king of England to act primarily as a Continental potentate; though until Bouvines English kings had habitually done so, and Henry III. himself was to make futile efforts to do likewise. But it would have required a very remarkable political insight on the part of the barons to make them appreciate the truth that English nationalism was at stake in 1217. For nearly forty years to come, the intrusion of foreigners was the strongest motive for unity among the barons; it was a danger which was only removed when the dynasty had become thoroughly Anglicised; and in the struggle with John the royalists had no more claim than the rebels to profess that they were fighting for the principle of England for the English, although in the long run the victory of the royalists secured English nationalism. It would not have secured English nationalism if the Norman dukedom had not been already separated from the English crown.

The last year of the Marshal's life was spent in restoring order and suppressing the captains of John's mercenaries, the men **The Minority.** by whose aid the royalists had won. The legate Gualo had been displaced by another legate, Pandulph; and when the old regent died, though no successor to his office was appointed, Pandulph was disposed to act as if he was in possession of the supreme authority. The justiciar, Hubert de Burgh, and the bishop of Winchester, Peter des Roches, the young king's guardian, both of whom had owed their advancement to John, held the highest official authority; and Stephen Langton showed no anxiety to take the leading political position. Matters, however, became a little less complicated when the archbishop procured from the Pope a promise that no other legate should be appointed during Langton's life, and Pandulph was withdrawn.

Hubert de Burgh carried on the work of re-establishing the central authority, resuming control of the royal castles in the occupation of mercenaries or of turbulent barons, and generally restoring the machinery of government. An outbreak in London was suppressed, and its leader, Constantine Fitzatholf, was summarily hanged without trial, though the responsibility for this rested more upon Falkes de Bréauté, the principal mercenary captain, than upon the justiciar. Stephen Langton resumed much of his political activity, and worked in alliance with the justiciar; while Peter des Roches, Falkes de Bréauté, and not a few of the barons, sought to undermine Hubert de Burgh's authority. It was not till 1225 that De Bréauté was finally crushed and expelled from the country; and with him disappeared that element of mercenary soldiery which had been the most serious obstacle to the re-establishment of order. The reissue of the Charter in this year (still with the taxation clauses omitted) gave it its permanent form as a statute. Hubert's authority was completely established two years later when the young king was declared of age, made Hubert earl of Kent, and dismissed Peter des Roches; who went off on crusade, disgusted at the failure of his hopes of obtaining the supreme influence over Henry.

Though Hubert was freed from rivals for the time being, Henry himself was to prove as troublesome as any rival. Henry was the most impracticable of men. The son of John and Isobel of Angoulême was free from animal vices, and was genuinely pious, as the age understood piety. His education had given him an unusual degree of culture; in private life he behaved like a gentleman, and on the battlefield he showed no lack of courage. But he had an overweening belief in his own talents, and grandiose ambitions, which he imagined himself capable of attaining without providing any means to that end; he was exceedingly obstinate, but very easily managed by any unscrupulous favourite; and he had no idea of keeping faith. From the moment when it was recognised that he was of age he tried to go his own way—and his own way was invariably wrong.

King Henry.

In 1223 the astute and successful Philip Augustus died. Two years later his successor, Louis VIII., followed him to the grave,

leaving his widow, Blanche of Castile, as guardian and regent for the child, Louis IX., who later was to be numbered among the noblest of European monarchs. But a regency, especially when the regent is a woman, always offers inducements to the activity of turbulent and disaffected elements in the State.

A French expedition. Henry of England had very soon deluded himself into a belief that he could frighten the regency into conceding the most preposterous demands, which he formulated in 1228. When they were rejected he insisted upon going to war. Hubert was a good soldier, but as organiser of a military expedition he was a failure. The expedition did not start till 1230, and after a few months Henry, who took the command, came back without having effected anything. This was bad enough both for Hubert, who looked upon the war as folly, and for the king, whose ambitions were disappointed. And meanwhile a new pope, Gregory IX., was for purposes of his own demanding heavy contributions from the English clergy and filling up English incumbencies with absentee Italians—proceedings in which the pious Henry cheerfully acquiesced. There was no strong prelate to take the place of Langton, who had just died, no one to control and direct the malcontents. Papal officers were treated with violence, and the justiciar took no measures to protect them. Peter des Roches reappeared in England, and saw his way to attacking Hubert, who had certainly been unbusinesslike in his management of finances.

In July 1232 the justiciar was dismissed, and a series of charges were brought against him, some of which were absurd, while others were very possibly true so far as they implied incompetent financial management. He fled to sanctuary, but was dragged out and brought to London ignominiously, with his feet tied under his horse's belly. But the old earl was popular with the lower classes outside of London, and even the men who had kicked against his rule recognised his sterling merits and pleaded on his behalf. Popular sentiment was expressed by the blacksmith who refused to forge fetters for the man who had won 'England for the English' by destroying the French fleet at Sandwich. Hubert was deprived of his offices

Fall of Hubert.

and of all political power, but was allowed to retain the enjoyment of substantial estates. At last, however, Peter des Roches had achieved the position he desired, of the king's most influential counsellor. After the fall of De Burgh the office of justiciar entirely lost its political importance.

Des Roches, himself a Poitevin, surrounded the king with Poitevin creatures of his own, and indignation was soon seething among the barons of England. The lead was taken by Richard Marshal, now earl of Pembroke, the second son of old William Marshal, who bore a reputation for noble knightly qualities not inferior to that of his father. Marshal demanded the dismissal of the Poitevins, and set about forming a league to resist not the king but the foreigners and their influence. Learning of a plot for his arrest he fled to his territories on the Welsh marches. He and his supporters offered to stand trial before their peers; the king required them to appear before his own justices. The earl was forced into open war, joining with the Welsh prince Llewelyn ap Jorwerth. It seemed unlikely that the king would be able to crush him; but Peter des Roches organised an attack upon his Irish estates, and Richard, hurrying thither, was treacherously trapped into a battle which cost him his life. But a new archbishop, Edmund Rich, had just been enthroned at Canterbury, and the new primate's first act was to threaten Henry with excommunication unless he dismissed the Poitevins. This was too much for Henry, who submitted, pardoned all Richard Marshal's associates, and dismissed Peter des Roches and the whole horde of Poitevins. **Richard Marshal.**

After Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches, Henry resolved that he would have no more dominating ministers; he would rule himself through men who were merely his clerks. But this did not deliver him from the control of favourites, while it scarcely seemed an improvement for the barons of England, who thought themselves entitled to an effective voice in the royal counsels and to high administrative office. The Poitevins were gone, but they were very soon succeeded by a new swarm of foreigners. At the beginning of 1236 Henry married Eleanor of Provence, whose mother was one of the sisters of the count

of Savoy; and the count had seven brothers who were inadequately provided for. The marriage of their niece was a godsend. Savoyards and Provençals gathered to the English court, and after them flocked other adventurers, who were soon reaping a comfortable harvest. The trouble was not so much that the men were bad as that they were foreigners; that the king relied not upon his own people but upon outsiders. When at Henry's request the Pope sent Cardinal Otho to England as legate, he too was included in the general ban; and Otho's unpopularity was the greater because the main object of his mission was to extract money from English churchmen for the Pope in his struggle with the Emperor Frederick II. Henry was always a devoted servant of the Pope, and the favour he showed to Otho and to Otho's demands did him no good with the English barons, the English clergy, or the English people.

The Savoyards.

Otho left England at the beginning of 1241. Some months earlier the saintly Edmund Rich, archbishop of Canterbury, died on his way to Rome to enter a protest against Otho's tremendous exactions. The archbishopric was given to Boniface of Savoy, one of the queen's uncles, who played his part with commendable moderation and honesty, but without distinction. The real leadership of the English clergy passed to Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln, an encyclopædic scholar zealous in the encouragement of every kind of learning, a theologian of high repute, a great organiser, and an absolutely fearless champion of justice. Among the lay baronage two figures call for special remark. The first was Richard of Cornwall, the king's brother, who after the death of Richard Marshal, his wife's uncle, for some time strove to head what might be called a constitutional opposition among the barons to the foreign influences about the king. The second was Simon de Montfort, the second son of Simon de Montfort of Toulouse, the hammer of the Albigensian heretics. Simon the Elder had a claim upon the earldom of Leicester, which claim was transferred to his second son. Simon the Younger came to England, where he was looked upon merely as another of the objectionable foreigners. Still he found favour with the king, and even with Earl Ranulf

Grosseteste.

Richard of Cornwall and Simon de Montfort.

of Chester—who for a long time past had regarded the Leicester earldom as his own property—sufficient to procure the restitution of the earldom without serious friction. But when he obtained the hand of the king's widowed sister Eleanor in 1238, Richard of Cornwall took the affair exceedingly ill. Still Richard, who was fair-minded and conscientious, supported the earl in a quarrel with the king in the next year; but the time had not yet come for one who was looked upon as an alien to head baronial nationalism, while Richard's own position was necessarily ambiguous. His wife's death weakened his connection with the baronial party. Both Richard and Simon went off on crusade, and Richard on his return in 1242 married as his second wife the younger sister of Henry's queen, whereby he was attached still more closely to the court party. Thus, while there was a general sense of hostility to the aliens and of opposition to the arbitrary character of the king's rule, there was nobody to take a definite lead and formulate a positive policy. Grosseteste inevitably was engaged primarily in resisting papal rather than royal exactions, in defence of the clergy rather than of the laity; and, zealous reformer though he was, he was a strong supporter of ecclesiastical privileges, and was convinced of the duty of obeying the papal authority, however strenuously he might urge the Pope to modify or change his policy.

The general friction was aggravated when Henry insisted on conducting a perfectly futile campaign in Poitou in 1242. Henry still claimed Poitou, of which Richard of Cornwall bore the empty title of count; but the French Crown not only claimed the county but held it, and in 1241 Louis IX. bestowed it on his brother Alphonse. Hugh of Lusignan, count of Le Mans, the second husband of John's widow Isobel of Angoulême, saw his virtual independence in danger, and declared for Richard as count; hence Henry, and Richard on his return from crusade, imagined that Poitou might be effectively recovered. The barons, however, refused aid, on the ground that Henry had committed himself to the war without consulting them. Henry was able to collect only a very inefficient force, and proved himself a totally inefficient commander.

Campaign in Poitou.

When he took the field he was ignominiously driven from pillar to post, till he was back at Bordeaux; and the practical effect of the whole business was to reduce the Aquitanian dominion to nothing more than a portion of Guienne and Gascony.

The war had brought Henry deeply into debt, therefore in 1244 he invited a Great Council to grant him supplies. On this occasion we find the clergy, the earls, and the barons conferring separately but acting together. They complained of misgovernment and misuse of moneys previously exacted; and they demanded the appointment of a justiciar, a chancellor, and a treasurer, who were not to be aliens. A committee of the three groups, among whom were Richard of Cornwall, Montfort, and the Archbishop Boniface of Savoy, propounded a sort of constitution, under which the great officers were to be nominated by the Great Council; and among the great officers was to be a council of four, specially charged with the maintenance of the charters, and having power to summon the Great Council at their own will. But the constitution came to nothing; and in the end the council, while they rejected Henry's extravagant demands for money, granted an aid for the marriage of the king's eldest daughter to the son of the Emperor Frederick II. When a new papal envoy, Master Martin, arrived to demand fresh exactions from the Church, he found it expedient to make a hurried departure from the country.

A Great Council, 1244.

Matters then went on very much as before. There was no new constitution; if the king could not get the money he wanted, the baronage could not get the control they wanted; and with the death of Isobel of Angoulême in 1247 there came a fresh Poitevin invasion of the Lusignan kinsfolk. The collapse of the Lusignans after Henry's Poitevin campaign caused them to seek compensation for their losses at the English court of Isobel's son, whom it suited them to encourage in his effort after absolutism. In 1248 Earl Simon was sent to Gascony as seneschal or governor in order to restore authority in that very disordered province. In Gascony the earl learnt the rôle of a very efficient but very high-handed dictator; and his experiences there and the treatment he received from Henry finally

The Lusignans.

transformed him into the dictatorial leader of the baronial opposition.

III. Simon de Montfort and the Lord Edward, 1248-1272

From 1248 to 1252 the earl of Leicester was seneschal of Gascony, where he made himself extremely unpopular by the rigour of his methods; while, on the other hand, he was deeply offended by the king's want of confidence and by the inadequate support received from him. During most of the time he was acting on behalf of the Lord Edward, the king's eldest son, who was nominally invested with Gascony in 1249, when he was ten years old. The young heir to the throne began to learn the practice of authority at a very early age, but he was still too young to be entrusted with the effective control of his province. After Montfort's resignation in 1252 Henry himself went to Gascony. The most important result of his visit was the marriage of the Lord Edward in 1254 to Eleanor, sister of the king of Castile; an arrangement which converted that monarch, Alfonso the Wise, into a supporter of the Plantagenet authority in Aquitaine, to which he had some pretensions of his own. Edward was now invested with all the king's dominions overseas, including Ireland, and also with the earldom of Chester and the royal domains in Wales, whereby he became the greatest of the marcher lords.

The Lord Edward.

In 1255 Richard of Cornwall was temporarily withdrawn from English politics by his election as 'King of the Romans,' a title borne as preliminary to that of emperor, the German electors having resolved to go outside the line of the German houses of Hohenstaufen and Guelph to provide a head for the Empire. The title proved to be an empty one as far as Richard was concerned, since he was never able to exercise any practical authority. More serious consequences attended the nomination of Henry's second son Edmund to the kingdom of Sicily. The death of the Emperor Frederick II. in 1250 had vacated at once the Imperial throne and the throne of

The Empire and Sicily.

Sicily; the succession to both was contested at the sword's point between the Hohenstaufen and their rivals. Edmund was the nominee of the Papacy, which headed the antagonism to the Hohenstaufen. It was the Pope's idea that England was to do the work of establishing the new king as a vassal of the Papacy, and was to pay the expenses and a good deal besides. The whole thing ultimately fell through because Henry was quite unable to carry out his promises; but the heavy demands which he made upon his subjects hastened the crisis in the relations between the Crown and the baronage; and the support given by the king to the continued papal exactions from the English clergy forced the clergy themselves into a no less determined opposition. And meanwhile the Lusignans had to some extent ousted the Savoyards, and by reason of their jealousies the antagonism between the Savoyards and the English baronage had almost disappeared. The Poitevin group had become the 'aliens' *par excellence*.

So in 1258 matters came to a head. The Treasury was empty, and the king was driven to summoning the Great Council. The council, a council of magnates, demanded reform as a preliminary to anything else. Henry yielded the claim that a commission should table a programme; and on 11th June the so-called Mad Parliament assembled at Oxford and adopted the proposals of the commission. A new commission of twenty-four, twelve nominated by the king and twelve by the Great Council, was to draw up a new constitution, which was then embodied in the Provisions of Oxford. The new constitution was complicated and oligarchical. A council of fifteen was to control the administration. Another council of twelve was to supervise the council of fifteen, taking the place of the Great Council. All aliens were to be ejected from office and from the royal castles. No one but the greater barons was to take part in either of the councils. The Lusignans tried to fight, but were very promptly driven into exile; and in the new councils there was an overwhelming preponderance of what was still the baronial party.

The Provisions of Oxford.

During the next two years that party was broken up. For one

section reform meant merely the increase of their own powers; for another, inspired by Montfort, it meant serious efforts to improve administration for the public good. For the time the young Lord Edward—the title 'prince' had not yet come into use—identified himself with the second party; while Montfort himself was chiefly engaged abroad in negotiating what was intended to be a final settlement with the king of France. The treaty which resulted was not a permanent settlement, but for the time being it was effective. In England the conjunction of Edward with Montfort procured the acceptance of the Provisions of Westminster (1259), which were directed to the protection of tenants against the abuse of jurisdiction by their lords.

The Provisions of Westminster.

Henry saw his opportunity in the dissensions among the barons. He procured a dispensation from the Pope absolving him from his oath, and announced in 1261 that the Provisions of Oxford were cancelled. This again united Montfort and Gloucester, the head of the feudalist faction of the barons. Acting by the authority of the Provisions they called a council, to which they summoned three knights from every shire—an application of the principle of representation which does not seem to have been employed since the time of King John. But no leader and no section was as yet strong enough to act decisively. The death of Gloucester removed Montfort's most dangerous rival, but, on the other hand, it tended to fuse Gloucester's following with the royalists. It strengthened the king and the Lord Edward more than it strengthened Montfort; and in particular it carried over to the royalist side the strength of the barons of the Welsh marches, who at an earlier stage had been most active in their opposition to the king. In 1263, the country was on the verge of civil war; but it was deferred by an agreement that Louis IX. should be invited to arbitrate on the questions at issue.

Baronial Divisions.

Louis's award, called the Mise of Amiens, issued in January 1264, was entirely in favour of the king; it was a matter of course that it should be repudiated by Montfort's party, just as an award in the contrary sense would certainly have been repudiated by Henry. London took the lead: Montfort proclaimed that

even though none should stand by him but his own four sons, he would fight to the last for the cause to which he had pledged himself—the cause of the Church and the Realm. Matters were brought to an issue at the battle of Lewes, in May. This was not a war of the barons against the king; the bulk of the barons who had at first been the king's enemies were on the king's side. Montfort had become definitely the champion of popular justice against the feudalists as much as against absolutism. But Montfort's men were fighting for a cause. There were with him younger members of the baronage who were inspired with his own enthusiasm, and his soldiership was far superior to that of the royalists. When the battle was joined, the charge of Lord Edward upon the Londoners on Montfort's left swept all before it. The Londoners broke and fled, and Edward, who had a special grudge against them, pursued and slaughtered them for many miles. But when he returned to the field, the royalists had already lost the battle. Henry and his brother Richard were prisoners, and the royalist army was totally shattered.

War: the Battle of Lewes.

Next day the agreement called the Mise of Lewes was issued. Edward and his cousin Henry of Almaine, the son of Richard of Cornwall, were surrendered to Montfort as hostages for the good behaviour of the marchers. A council was to be formed from which aliens were to be excluded; it was to control the king's expenses and the choice of ministers; and it was itself to be selected by a board of five arbitrators. But before the board could meet, Montfort found that the fifth member who was to be the referee, the papal legate, who was on his way to England, was bound by his instructions to the king's side. Thus the proposal became a farce, and before long Montfort in effect threw up the agreement and put in operation a plan of his own. It was submitted to a Great Council held in June, though from this time onward the term parliament may be applied to these assemblies, as it had begun to come into general use. On this occasion four knights were called from each shire. Montfort, it may be assumed, relied upon the support of the gentry, though he could by no means count upon the greater

The Mise of Lewes.

barons. In the scheme three 'electors' were named: Montfort, his warm adherent the young earl of Gloucester, and the bishop of Chichester. These three were to elect a council of nine. A two-thirds majority of the council could act without the king, but the king could not act without the council; while disputes in the council might be referred to the three electors. On the other hand the electors were responsible to the Great Council, and might be deposed by them. Like so many emergency governments, however, the scheme for practical purposes meant a dictatorship, and the dictator was Simon de Montfort.

If Montfort was dictator his authority was in dispute. The legate, who had not been allowed to enter England, returned to Rome to become Pope himself. The marchers and the northern barons, back in their own country, were not ready to bow to the new government. The queen was in France collecting an army for the liberation of the king. The men of the Cinque Ports, however, were on Earl Simon's side, and held complete command of the Channel, while the militia of the coast counties responded to the call for defence. The imminent danger of invasion disappeared, and the earl was able to force a pacification upon the marchers. At the end of the year Henry, who as matters stood was obliged to obey Simon, summoned the famous parliament of 1265. Conspicuously, it was a packed assembly, for of the earls and greater barons those only were summoned who were on Montfort's side. As before, Simon summoned representative knights from the shires; but the new feature of the assembly was the summoning of representative burgesses from cities and boroughs, obviously with a view to strengthening Simon's hands. The only precedents were to be found in the reign of John, when jurors had been called up from the boroughs to attend the council for the purpose of giving information.

Montfort's parliament, 1265.

At this stage a pact was made, under which Edward, who had remained captive as a hostage, was to buy his liberty by the transfer to Earl Simon of his dominions in Wales and of the earldom of Chester, which would give the earl a preponderant power on the Welsh marches. But Montfort's unstable strength

was already tottering. Misconduct and abuse by his sons of the authority entrusted to them were producing acute irritation; moreover young Gilbert of Gloucester saw them appropriating extensive spoils, while no spoils fell to his own share. A quarrel began, which the Lord Edward, who had not yet been released, saw a prospect of turning to his own account. The quarrel became acute, and Gloucester found excuse for withdrawing to his estates in the west. There could be no doubt that he intended to concert action with the marchers. In April Montfort moved in arms upon the west, and established himself at Hereford, taking with him both Henry and Edward. There had been so far no open rebellion, and public protestations were made that the rumours of a breach between the two earls were gross fabrications. But the truth could no longer be concealed when Edward made his escape by a ruse which would have tricked no careful guardian, and joined Roger Mortimer of Wigmore, one of the principal marcher barons. A fortnight earlier Warenne, who had always been a king's man, and William of Valence, one of the Lusignans, who had been made earl of Pembroke, had landed in South Wales. They and Gloucester joined Mortimer and Edward, who was prompt to resume his earlier rôle of a popular champion, though this time it was not against the king but against the dictator.

Simon, Edward, and Gloucester.

Montfort's force was too small to deal with so extensive a combination. In a few days the royalists had secured the whole line of the Severn, and had cut off all prospect of reinforcements from England for Simon. An alliance with the Welsh prince Llewelyn was purchased by Montfort by his recognition as prince of all Wales; but Llewelyn did nothing to help him beyond allowing his forces, hard pressed by overwhelming numbers, to retire upon the Welsh mountains. Montfort's one chance was to give the marchers the slip, pass the Severn, and effect a junction with the forces which Simon the Younger was bringing from the east. The movement was all but accomplished. On 1st August young Simon had reached Kenilworth; on 2nd August Montfort had crossed the Severn below Worcester; on 3rd August he was at Evesham, expecting to join hands with

Civil War.

his son the next day. He did not know that on the night of the 1st, Edward had made a night march upon Kenilworth from Worcester, fallen upon the force before they were out of their beds, taken most of them prisoners, and scattered the rest, except Simon and a few others who escaped into Kenilworth Castle.

On the morning of the 4th, the earl found the passage of the Avon blocked by troops under Roger Mortimer. As he faced north, the earl saw two forces approaching, one that of Gloucester, the other carrying the banners of the expected aids from Kenilworth. Too late the earl discovered that they were the troops not of the younger Simon but of the Lord Edward. Hope there was none: Simon could see that the foe, which vastly outnumbered his own force, were marshalled with a generalship learnt from himself: Edward was not the man to forget the lesson taught him at Lewes. There was nothing to be done but to die fighting, like Harold and his huscarles at Senlac. Montfort's men fought round his standard till they dropped, the earl himself being one of the last to fall. There perished many knights and squires, and a crowd of nameless folk; but there were no barons at the side of the hero of what is called the Barons' War. **Evesham.**

Montfort fought and fell for a cause: it was not the cause of the barons, but the cause, as he conceived it, of God and the realm of England. The barons had supported him while they thought that cause was their own. Gilbert of Gloucester would perhaps have continued to support him but for his dictatorial methods; but it was Montfort's weakness that he would have no rival and no colleague, but only subordinates who would carry out his own bidding. Montfort was not a democrat in the sense that he intended to establish government by the popular will; but he intended to establish government for the good of the people, and the only way to do so in his view was to establish his own personal supremacy. The accomplishment of his work was left to another, the Lord Edward, who was equally convinced that it must be effected by his own personal supremacy; but at the back of his personal supremacy he had the whole prestige and power of the Crown. The conqueror, who pursued Montfort himself with vindictive **Earl Simon the Righteous.**

bitterness after the heroic spirit had fled, was the man who gave practical effect to Montfort's aims. The political heir of earl Simon the Righteous was the king who chose for his motto *pactum serva*, 'keep troth.'

The victors showed no disposition to spare the vanquished. Roger Mortimer sent his wife the dead earl's head, as a pleasing present. The lands of every one who had fought for the earl at Evesham or Kenilworth were forfeited. Edward took back the earldom of Chester and the Welsh land which he had surrendered earlier in the year; the earldom of Leicester went to his young brother Edmund, who not long afterwards was made earl of Lancaster, from which his house thereafter took its title. Mortimer did not acquire an earldom, but his estates were so extended that he was on a virtual equality with the great earls. But the Montfort party still held out at Kenilworth, in the Cinque Ports, and elsewhere. Gilbert of Gloucester, however erratic his conduct had been, had always regarded himself as the champion of fair play and moderation; also he was offended at the influence exercised by Mortimer. He now began to urge counsels of conciliation; and Edward, whose vindictiveness was by this time satisfied, took the same side.

After Evesham.

Terms were offered to the insurgents in the *Dictum de Kenilworth* in October, and were accepted in December; the forfeitures in general were to be remitted on the payment of a very heavy fine. But at the same time Edward's policy was foreshadowed by a confirmation of the charters; and in 1267 the Statute of Marlborough ratified the Provisions of Westminster, for which Edward himself had been responsible in 1259. Llewelyn, prince of Wales, though he had done little enough to help Montfort, remained in arms until a peace was concluded in September 1267, which practically confirmed him in the possessions and honours conceded to him by Montfort in 1265. Even London after a period of depression was pardoned, and its forfeited charters were renewed. The pacification was completed in 1268; and it was so thorough that in 1270 Edward, who had in effect been exercising the royal authority ever since 1265, departed from the country on the last important crusade.

Pacification.

confident that the peace would not be broken in his absence. The murder of his cousin Henry of Almaine by the Montforts in Italy was the one ugly incident born of the survival of the bitter feelings and feuds engendered by the Barons' War. In England there was no recrudescence of disturbance. When Henry the inefficient died in peace in 1272, King Edward I. was able to conduct a most leisurely return from Palestine, and did not reappear in England until August 1274.

CHAPTER VII. TWO CENTURIES 1066-1272

I. England

THE Norman Conquest was a cataclysm by which the natural course of English development was arrested and changed. All over the country aliens were planted as lords of the soil: for a long time to come they used their position to tyrannise over the natives, who were powerless to resist an oppression carried on under cover of law administered by the oppressors who interpreted it in their own interests. Sheer anarchy was restrained by the strong hand of the first three Norman kings, who enforced obedience to the Crown and prohibited private wars, the most chaotic product of feudalism. Then the rule of an incompetent king showed how much worse the conditions might have been, and created among the dominant class itself a desire for the reign of law. The desire was satisfied by the first Plantagenet, whose highly centralised government carried its effective control much further than that of the strongest of the Normans. That control was prevented from being converted into a new tyranny of the Crown, because Church and barons had learnt the fundamental lesson that law must be upheld, and instead of seeking for themselves immunities from the law, compelled the Crown itself to obey the law. With this resistance to the Crown there arose a new danger; not the old danger of anarchic individualism, in which, as in the days of Stephen, each magnate played for his own hand, but the danger of an oligarchical tyranny, the tyranny of a group which would subordinate all other interests to its own. From being an opponent of absolutism Simon de Montfort was transformed into an opponent of the oligarchy, and while his defence of popular

Constitutional summary.

rights alienated the baronage, it marked out for Edward the path which he was to follow. But it was the accession of Henry II. which definitely inaugurated the reign of law; and from that moment the prosperity of England progressed continuously.

Socially the period from the Conquest to the death of Stephen was one not of progress but of retrogression. In the days of Henry I. there was promise of better things, but it was killed again by Stephen. The Conqueror, says the Chronicle, 'gave good peace through the land'; crime was repressed with a stern hand, and malefactors trembled. But there was probably little enough justice done as between the lords of the soil and its downtrodden occupants. Turbulent great men felt the weight of the hand of Rufus, but the smaller men got little protection against them. Hence all evidence points to the fact that during the century after the Conquest the position of the tiller of the soil became definitely worse. At the time of the Conquest he looked upon himself as a free man. The customary services which he owed to some overlord did not detract from his free status, however irksome they might be. His weregeld was the same, whether the Norman lawyers classified him as *villanus* or *liber homo*. But when we have clear light in the reign of Henry II., the bulk of the tillers of the soil are still called villeins, and every villein is in the eye of the law a serf. The meaning of the name had changed. The conclusion we have stated was that the Domesday villein was the man whose lord was responsible for his geld. The Plantagenet villein is the tenant who is bound to the soil. The test seems to lie in the peasant's liability to particular obligations. A lord claims that a man is his villein bound to the soil; the man proves that he had never been under an obligation to obtain his lord's leave for a daughter's marriage, or for the sale of an ox or a horse; it is held therefore that he is not a villein, not bound to the soil. Neither labour service nor rent involved villeinage in themselves; but the great bulk of the occupants of the soil were subject to the obligations which were regarded as the mark of villeinage; the villein was regarded as a serf and an inferior by the peasant who might owe practically the same

The rural population.

Villeinage under the Plantagenets.

services but was not under the objectionable obligations. He was a free man, the villein was not.

A second point is to be observed as to the change in the meaning of the term villein. The general rule holds that a man who pays rent but not service is not a villein. The great majority of the peasantry in Kent were not villeins, although in Domesday Book they had been classified as *villani*. That does not mean that the men whose forebears had been serfs had themselves ceased to be serfs; but that the meaning of the name villein had come to be restricted to those who were now serfs. But while before the Conquest, and during the Plantagenet period, the tendency was always for labour service to be superseded by payment, during the century of depression the tendency was for labour services to supersede payment, and the specifically servile obligations tended to be developed in association with labour services. The result was that at the end of the period of depression the majority of the peasants were villeins, bound to the soil, bound to render agricultural service to the lord, serfs who might not marry a daughter or sell a horse without their lord's permission, and whose sons under the Constitutions of Clarendon might not enter Orders without their lord's permission. The permission was usually purchasable, but in practice such shameful conditions as that called *merchet* were occasionally attached.

Development of serfdom.

The villein was a serf, but he was not a slave; that is he had legal rights, he was not merely a chattel. He could not be turned out of his plot so long as he discharged his liabilities; and his plot was heritable, though not saleable. According to the lawyers, his goods were his lord's property; in practice he could accumulate property and purchase emancipation, the legal technicality being evaded by the intervention of a third person who was nominally the purchaser of his freedom. The villeins of the township had rights of common in the waste-lands, which the lord of the manor could not take up to his own use without their assent. The lord of the manor could not demand from the villeins anything beyond the customary services; if he wanted more he had to pay for it. Again, if the

Villeins' rights.

villein's rights as against his lord were limited in the eyes of the law, public opinion and the voice of the Church condemned personal violence—at least of an extreme character, such as injury to life or limb. Finally, the rights of the villein as against other persons than his lord were the same as those of the free man, and in those rights his lord was bound to uphold him.

The term villein covers all the occupiers of the soil who were in a state of serfdom; but there might also be within the bounds of the manor freeholders [1] or tenants who were not in a state of serfdom. Also there was growing up an increasing class of labourers who worked for wages, men who either had holdings too small to give them complete occupation, or who were landless; the class to which the local artificers belonged, the men who became the lord's menials, the men who also recruited the lower ranks of the clergy. Chaucer's parish priest three hundred years after the Conquest was the brother of a ploughman.

In the rural district there was very little in the nature of trade. The needs of the community were elementary; the materials for most of the necessaries were produced on or from the soil, and the somewhat rudimentary manufacture, the working-up of the materials, was carried on locally. With the Normans came an increasing demand for luxuries which were brought by foreign traders to the ports. Queen Matilda and Henry I. imported some Flemings; but commercial intercourse with the Continent was extremely limited. But with Plantagenet rule came the development of the towns. Even the largest towns, the boroughs, at the beginning of the Plantagenet period were still in the main agricultural communities; but the mere fact of aggregration tended to differentiation and specialisation in other employments. The making of a particular article ceased to be a by-employment, and became the staple business of the individual, or of many individuals. At first the workman's stock-in-trade consisted of little more than his tools; he worked up the materials which were provided for him by his customer; he did not manufacture in the anticipation of finding a purchaser for his goods. The boroughs, as we have seen, had

Town development.

[1] See Note IV., *Freeholders.*

already become units of self-government, more akin to the hundred than to the township. The free men of the borough, who in the ordinary township would have been 'townsmen,' *villani*, had better opportunities of combined action, and did not fall into the servile condition of their rural brethren: they remained free landholders, burgesses, and it was their great desire to follow the example of London, and to escape from extraneous jurisdictions whether of the lords of the manors in which they were situated or of the sheriffs. Beside this was the equally important demand for legal authority to control trade.

The boroughs then wanted immunities from the rights of the lords of the manor and from royal rights. These they began to procure by purchasing from the lords for some sort of consideration releases in the form of charters, and by obtaining charters from the Crown. By the time of Edward I. a large number of boroughs had in this way practically freed themselves from the manorial jurisdictions, and had obtained from the Crown very large powers of self-government. The process of procuring royal charters began early—the Conqueror granted a charter to London—but it did not become active until the Plantagenet period. During the reign of Richard, John went so far as to grant London a commune, virtually a completely independent government, though this was afterwards cancelled, or at least modified. The principle, however, found special favour with Hubert Walter and his disciple Geoffrey Fitzpeter. Possibly the archbishop was actuated by a desire to develop local self-government; possibly, however, a more urgent motive with him was the financial one—the boroughs were prepared to make a substantial return for the immunities and privileges they desired.

Town charters.

Now although the charters varied considerably in detail, there were two features common to them. The first was the recognition of a corporation, a ruling body not imposed from without, but appointed by the free burgesses. The second was the recognition of a gild merchant, with authority to regulate trade. We must dismiss the idea conveyed by the modern use of the term 'merchant,' and realise that the mediæval

The Gild Merchant.

merchant meant every kind of trader. The modern division into manufacturers, distributors, and artisans, with its further subdivision of distributors into wholesalers and retailers, had not come into existence; all those functions were combined in a single individual. The man who sold goods or manufactured goods was the man who made them with his own hands, though it might be with the assistance of paid labour. In relation to the particular article which he was in the habit of making and selling he was a craftsman; but whatever his craft or mistery (*ministerium* not 'mystery') every man who sold goods was a merchant. The gild merchant was the association of all the traders in the borough. Primarily the gild merchant was the organisation of all the free burgesses for the regulation of trade, as the corporation was the organisation of all the free burgesses for local administration. Every burgess had the right of enrolment in the gild merchant, and every free landholder in the borough was a burgess. Whether it was possible to be a burgess without being a free landholder is a question not at present decisively settled.

The gild merchant regulated trade; all its members were entitled to trade; persons who were not members could only trade by its permission; but it is probable that admission into its own ranks and permission to trade were conceded to non-burgesses on the payment of fees. Every trader was technically a master, though he might have no employees. If he had employees they were either journeymen or apprentices, paid workmen or lads who were learning the craft under his direction, and whose services were given in exchange for their education. Every journeyman and every apprentice expected in course of time to become a master himself, when he should have put by enough to pay the fees for enrolment in the gild merchant, or possibly for a licence to trade without enrolment, since practically he would require no capital except his tools. The modern antagonism between labour and capital, between the interests of an employing class and those of an employed class, had not come into existence, because the men who were in the employed class were not permanently employees, but were individually masters in the making.

Masters, journeymen, and apprentices.

The regulation of trade was carried into minute detail, and it had three leading objects: the profit of the producer, the security of the consumer, and the exclusion of outside competitors. Whatever a man's own craft might be—and his trading business might be merely the sale of agricultural produce—he was in relation to all the other crafts not a producer but a consumer; and therefore to the gild merchant at large the interests of the consumer in the regulation of trade generally were quite as important as the interests of the producer; hence regulations were primarily directed to ensuring quality in goods and in workmanship. The ethical doctrine of the time was that no one had a right to make a profit to his neighbour's detriment, or a profit which was more than a fair return for his own work and expenses; and it was within the province of authority to impose regulations upon this basis. Thus night work was prohibited, and the number of apprentices was restricted, not for the protection of journeymen, but because night work and apprentice work meant inefficient work, and the master had no right to turn out inefficient work.

Trade regulation.

At the same time the separate crafts had their voluntary associations or craft gilds; not combinations of operatives, of journeymen as opposed to masters, but associations to push the interest of a specific trade or craft. These were combinations of producers; and when at a later stage the powerful craft gilds dominated or displaced the general gild merchant, the interests of the specific crafts outweighed with them the interests of the consumer.

Craft gilds.

The third object we noted was the exclusion of the outside competitor, the 'foreigner,' not the alien from overseas in particular, but any one from any outside locality. Even here, however, the object was the protection of the consumer as much as of the producer. The outsider would not be permitted to sell his goods unless the purchaser had a security equivalent to that given by the gild regulations over production. The gild could not regulate the production of the outsider, therefore it would only allow him to sell under severe conditions of inspection, and after the payment of fees by which the borough in general pro-

fited, while they were a guarantee that the foreigner who was ready to pay them had something worth selling. The discouragement of the foreigner, that is, was not actuated wholly either by jealousy or by the protectionism of the producer. But the spirit of particularism, the spirit of actual antagonism to the foreigner as such, was still exceedingly strong; the idea that a profit could be made by commerce with the outsider, that production was fostered by the opportunity of exchanging produce for goods which were not easily produced locally, had made little way. Community of interest between producers at different centres and between consumers at different centres was only beginning to be recognised. It was not till the close of the thirteenth century that nationalist conceptions were superseding localism.

If every locality was jealous of 'foreigners,' very much stronger was the dislike and distrust of men of alien race. The alien trader was admitted to the country only under stringent conditions. Room was found for alien communities, who were masters of special trades, such as weavers and fullers, trades which were becoming necessary, but were not yet taken up by the conservative Englishmen. But even these found themselves subjected to the animosity of the gilds merchant, and carried on their occupations under difficulties. Of all aliens the most detestable to the Englishman was the Jew. The Jews were not traders; they were financiers whose business it was to accumulate money, and to turn their possession of money to account. The Jews were brought into England and protected in the interests of the Crown because the Crown was constantly in need of ready cash, which the Jews could provide—on reasonable terms, since their safety depended upon the easily withdrawn protection of the Crown. Mediæval ethics forbade the Christian to lend money at interest; while there could obviously be no inducement except friendship to lend money without interest. But the Jew had no such scruples; consequently if the Christian wanted to borrow he borrowed from the Jew, and cursed the Jew for the exorbitant interest he demanded. In the eyes of the populace, the Jews were an accursed race, suspected of hideous

The alien.

The Jews.

crimes; but they were generally protected from serious outrage by the favour of the Crown, which could not afford to dispense with their services. It was only upon occasion that there were savage outbreaks against them, as instanced by a massacre of the Jews at York when Richard was starting on his crusade.

There was little contact, however, between the Hebrew and the general population. The system of conducting business upon borrowed capital had not been invented; and money itself, the commodity in which the Jews dealt, was not coming into general popular use until the thirteenth century. That is to say, trade was still largely a matter of direct barter: services were paid for by maintenance, not in coin, and the tenant for the most part paid his dues to his lord in kind not in cash. The Crown wanted silver—gold was hardly to be had—and as early as the reign of Henry I. the Crown began to insist upon having its dues paid in money, whereby a demand for coin was created; but it was not till a good deal later that money was fairly becoming the established medium of exchange. The scarcity of the precious metals made silver worth more, its purchasing power greater, than that of gold in modern times.

Money.

Economic progress is mainly apparent in the development of town life and the specialisation of trades; perhaps also in the gradual development of a money economy, and in the probably growing tendency for payment to displace personal service; exemplified at the top of the feudal scale by scutage, and at the bottom on the one hand by the payment of rent in place of agricultural service, and on the other by the corresponding employment of hired instead of obligatory labour. This, however, is a matter of inference rather than of direct evidence. As yet, English handicrafts had developed little, and English manufactured products were of a rough and homely kind. It was evident, however, that the thirteenth century saw also some improvement in agricultural methods, if only because the subject was receiving a more careful attention. For the first time there appeared treatises upon the management of estates, one by no less a person than Bishop Grosseteste, and another, *Le Dite de Hosebondrie*, by Walter of Henley, in 1250, which was

Industrial methods.

accounted a standard work for a couple of centuries. Nevertheless, movement was not rapid, and this may be accounted for by a single reason; the idea of carrying on agriculture for the purpose of profit had not developed. For the most part it had not occurred to any one that anything more was to be aimed at than subsistence, the production of an abundant supply for home consumption.

Intellectually and morally the Norman period in England was one of stagnation or retrogression. But the reaction against the wild anarchy of the civil wars was in itself partly the outcome of awakening conscience and awakening idealism, for which the Church and the crusades may claim a large share of the credit. The Papacy, taking its impulse from Hildebrand, engaged in a prolonged struggle with the secular power, assuming therein an attitude which can hardly be called apostolic. It culminated in the triumphant ascendency of Innocent III., who was conspicuously the greatest potentate in Europe. But if very unspiritual ambitions were included in the papal aims, nearly every pope for two centuries was actuated by the honest belief that the cause of the Papacy was the cause of God, that the Church was the champion of the right, and that the triumph of the Church meant the triumph of idealism over materialism. The Church and the crusades taught men to fight and strive and sacrifice themselves for a cause which they accounted holy, however much other motives might be intermingled; they taught the knight to seek for something more than a reputation for mere valour and skill in arms; they taught the priest that he must justify his claim to authority by his character as well as by his office. They emphasised the side of chivalry which required the knight to be the champion of the oppressed; and their teaching bore fruit in two of the most characteristic personalities of the thirteenth century—Earl Simon the Righteous and St. Louis of France.

Influence of the Church.

Under the Normans the clergy and the monasteries maintained standards which were at least relatively high. The Norman discipline was rigorous and it was not tactful, as witnessed by the serious disturbances at Glastonbury under

The Clergy.

Abbot Thurstan. There was an ample share of superstition in the religion of the day, which attributed most misfortunes to the direct judgment of Heaven for misdoings, and especially for such ecclesiastical improprieties as the appointment of objectionable pluralists to high preferments. The bishops, like the family of Roger of Salisbury, were more apt to be shrewd and worldly men of business than genuine saints like Anselm or theatrical saints like Becket, in whose case it is difficult to disentangle what was sincere from what was histrionic; but the clerical body displayed a respectable courage, though without much success, in its endeavours to mitigate the brutalities of the anarchy. The great multiplication of monasteries under more rigid rules was the outcome of an honest desire to make the religious life a reality, and the fervency of St. Bernard of Clairvaux was reflected among the English clergy, though it was accompanied by the reflection of his arrogance.

With the accession of Henry II. and the development of a new standard of public spirit among the laity, the clergy ceased to be conspicuously the upholders of the light in dark places. England indeed owes much to Hubert Walter and to Stephen Langton, but little to the churchmanship of the former. In the thirteenth century a new moral influence came from the Church, but it had its source neither in the magnates, nor in the great monastic establishments. In 1221 the friars of the new Dominican order made their first appearance in England, and were followed three years later by the Franciscans.

The friars.

The essential feature of monasticism was the separation of the religious life from the world. The essential feature of the movement set on foot by St. Francis of Assisi was apostolic, the living of the religious life in the midst of the world, the living of a life approximating as nearly as possible to that of Christ and His apostles. The service of God was to be essentially the service of man. The vow of poverty in the case of the monastic orders was personal: it did not forbid the accumulation of estates and wealth by the monastic community. In the case of the friars the vow extended to the community itself, which was forbidden to acquire property, so that the members could obtain a liveli-

hood only by working for it, or by alms. Their primary aim was the salvation of souls, but with that was coupled the care of the body and of the mind. They devoted themselves especially to the care of the poor and of the sick; but their intellectual activity was no less remarkable. From the order of St. Francis came Roger Bacon and Duns Scotus, the pioneer of science and the pioneer of rationalism. They threw themselves into the educational movement, and raised the university of Oxford almost, if not quite, to an equality with the university of Paris, a work in which vigorous part was taken by Bishop Grosseteste. For until almost the middle of the thirteenth century, the Englishmen who took an active and leading part in the intellectual controversies of the day had acquired the best of their training in Paris.

The intellectual movement.

But though in the thirteenth century the intellectual movement was exceedingly striking, it did not yet produce a literature. The language of learning was Latin, the language of culture was French. Historians indeed of a commendable quality were produced successively in the so-called Benedict of Peterborough, who quite certainly was not the abbot Benedict in actual fact, in Roger of Hoveden, Roger of Wendover, and Matthew Paris, whose work as contemporary chroniclers extends from 1170 to 1259; and with them may be named the decidedly untrustworthy Giraldus Cambrensis, who wrote surveys of Wales and Ireland and of the conquest of Ireland in the reign of Henry II. The law book called by the name of Ranulf Glanville, and Richard Fitzneal's *Dialogus de Scaccario*, or Account of the Exchequer, are invaluable expositions, and the latter at least has literary qualities apart from its precision and lucidity. But there is much more of a literary flavour in the irresponsible romance which their predecessor, Geoffrey of Monmouth, was pleased to call British history, and the miscellaneous *Nugae*, 'Trifles,' of his contemporary Walter Map, as well as in the Arthurian legends which the same Walter composed. All these works were written in Latin. That the English language was not dead was shown at the outset of the thirteenth century by the *Brut* of Layamon; but this was itself a very free translation

Literature.

or adaptation from the French, of legendary British history. Otherwise the survival of English as a written language is discoverable only in some works of a devotional character. The people had no literature except the songs of the countryside, of which occasional fragments have come down to us, such as the well-known 'cuckoo song.' Art was confined almost entirely to manuscript illuminations and ecclesiastical decoration, and to the beautiful development of the ecclesiastical architecture, of which, perhaps, the most exquisite example is to be found in the cathedral of Salisbury, which belongs to the reign of Henry III.

II. Scotland and Wales

Scotland in the eleventh century.

The direct relations between the Crowns of England and Scotland, the various occasions when homage was rendered or said to have been rendered by the northern kings, have already been duly noted; but a further examination of Scottish history during the two hundred years which followed the accession of Malcolm Canmore is necessary to an adequate understanding of subsequent history. With Malcolm the dynasty was established whose representative to-day wears the crown of the United Kingdom. But in the eleventh century Scotland itself was very far from being a consolidated kingdom. The whole dominion was divided from England by Solway and Tweed; but it was still uncertain whether Scotland was destined to extend further south to the Tees, or whether England would recover the Anglicised Bernicia, the eastern lowlands up to the Forth. This district, otherwise called Lothian, was the only region where the Anglo-Danish element predominated over the Celtic, unless we should add to it the coastal districts up to Aberdeen. Galloway was Celtic, and the rest of Strathclyde was more Celtic than Saxon. The highlands north of Clyde mouth and Forth were Celtic and thoroughly tribal in their organisation, except that in the far north and all through the islands it was difficult to say whether the population was more Celtic or Norse.

Malcolm, half Dane by birth and Northumbrian by breeding,

married English Margaret, the sister of Eadgar Aetheling; and Malcolm and Margaret Anglicised the lowlands. Not one of their sons had a distinctively Scottish name. Anglicising in their time did not mean Normanising; the Normanising of the lowlands was the work of the half century after Malcolm's death, during the reigns of his three sons, Eadgar, Alexander I., and David I. Most notably Margaret was responsible for bringing the Scottish Church under the Roman rule, after the English analogy, in place of the still largely prevalent Celtic system.

Dominant races.

Now after the fall of Donalbane and the establishment of Eadgar on the throne of Scotland by the help of Norman allies from England, the hope of a Celtic supremacy centred chiefly in the MacHeths, the descendants of Lady Macbeth, in whose name Macbeth had ejected Duncan in accordance with the Pictish law of succession. But the Anglicising influences did not penetrate into the Highlands; and during Eadgar's reign Caithness and Sutherland, and the whole of the islands from the Orkneys to the Isle of Man were acknowledged by treaty to belong to Norway. The northern and southern islands were known respectively as the Norderies and the Suderies, which is the explanation of the title of the bishop of 'Sodor and Man.' For a century and a half the overlord of the islands was not the king of Scots but the king of Norway.

The sons of Malcolm Canmore inherited their mother's piety and much of their father's shrewdness and force. Also they bore a particularly high reputation for moral character. They were unfortunate in their lack of offspring, but the brothers always worked harmoniously. When Eadgar died and was succeeded by Alexander I., it still seemed exceedingly probable that Scotland would split into two kingdoms apart from the Norse fringe—the Celtic north and the now mainly Anglicised south, where Eadgar had already introduced some of his Norman friends. Alexander under pressure complied with the wishes of his brother Eadgar, and allowed practically the whole of the south to be assigned to David with the title of earl. All the English fiefs held by Malcolm were now held not by the

Malcolm's sons.

king of Scots but by his brother Earl David, who extended his own southern connection by marrying Waltheof's daughter, and thus acquiring a claim to English Northumbria and Cumbria, as well as to the earldom of Huntingdon. Henry I., the brother-in-law of the Scots kings, never appears to have made any claim for homage from Alexander, which points to the view that he did not claim the vassalage of the Scottish Crown. Alexander continued his mother's policy of fostering the Anglicised Church; and not without considerable difficulty he succeeded in evading the rival efforts of York and Canterbury to claim supremacy over the Church in Scotland.

When in 1124 Alexander died, childless like his brother Eadgar, he was succeeded by Earl David, the great organiser of the Scottish kingdom. As earl and in effect sub-king, it had been comparatively easy for David to carry on the organisation of the south upon Norman lines. Precisely by what process Norman barons became great territorial lords it is not easy to say; but in the course of the reign Balliols, Bruces, and Fitzalans, the progenitors of the house of Stewart, the family who became High Stewards of Scotland, became magnates with large possessions, as well as several other Norman families; many of these barons, like David himself, holding also possessions in England. This new Norman element placed in David's control a military force which enabled him to act with greatly increased effect against the Celtic earls of the north when they attempted to challenge the royal power and to assert privileges which they claimed as ancestral. The Norman feudatories were closely bound to the Crown by their interests; and the result was that the king was able to exercise an unprecedented authority, although it was still impossible to impose southern institutions upon the north. And if for the time being the new baronage was closely linked to the Crown, its association with the Church was still closer. More remote from Rome than the English Church, there was less temptation to Scottish ecclesiastics to admit papal pretensions, or to press ecclesiastical claims against the interests of the king by whose bounty they flourished. It was in the interest of the

A new Norman baronage.

The Scots clergy.

Scottish clergy to strengthen the king who was their patron, and to resist English pretensions which would threaten their independence of Canterbury. The vast donations of Crown lands which David made to the Church caused one of his descendants, nearly three hundred years afterwards, to call him a 'sore saint to the Crown'; but the Crown got value from the clergy for its liberality to them.

David turned his niece's contest with Stephen to some account, and while Stephen was still king he got from young Henry Plantagenet the promise which, if it had been fulfilled, would have considerably extended the borders of Scotland. But David died in 1153, and unhappily his son Henry of Huntingdon died a year earlier. The crown of Scotland passed to a boy, Malcolm IV. 'the Maiden,' instead of to the prince who was reputed to have all the qualities which go to the making of the ideal monarch; and Henry II. of England found it easy to repudiate to the grandson the promises which he had made in his own youth to David.

Scotland under David presents a marked contrast to England under Stephen. The king of Scots had before him for more than five and twenty years as earl or as king, the example of his brother-in-law Henry I. of England; and Scotland flourished under him as England might have flourished if a Henry II. had succeeded immediately to Henry I. The progress of Scotland was perhaps greater than that of any other state in Europe; relatively it was more prosperous than at any other period, though its advance continued for another century and a quarter after David's death. The towns acquired a large degree of self-government; there was a fairly active trade; the baronage and the Crown were in accord, and there was neither rampant feudalism nor threatening of a tyrannous absolutism, although, on the other hand, there came no constitutional development analogous to the growth of the parliamentary idea.

Progress of the country.

Malcolm IV. was twelve years old when he began to reign, and he reigned for twelve years. It speaks well for the consolidation of the kingdom by David that in these circumstances Scotland did not go completely to pieces. Malcolm or his advisers realised the impossibility of making head against

Malcolm the Maiden.

so powerful a king of England as Henry II.; Henry's promises were repudiated, and the Scots territories were again limited by Tweed and Solway, though the Scots king still retained the earldom of Huntingdon as an English fief. On the other hand Malcolm finally suppressed the MacHeth trouble, which after his reign does not reappear. At this time is to be noted the appearance of the great chief Somerled, part Celt and part Norseman, the progenitor of the chiefs of the clan Donald, who acquired the lordship of the isles, at first under the Norse overlordship. Under the headship of the house of Somerled Celticism again by degrees won predominance in the isles, at any rate as far north as Skye, and at a later stage Celtic antagonism to the Scottish monarchy centred in the Lords of the Isles.

This, however, was not till the overlordship was ceded by Norway to Scotland. In the reign of William the Lion, Malcolm's brother and successor, who reigned for forty-nine years, from 1165 to 1214, new claimants to the throne and champions of Celticism appeared in the MacWilliams, who claimed descent from Malcolm Canmore by his first wife. As in the case of the MacHeths, the centre of Celtic resistance was in Ross and Moray. The MacWilliam chief Donalbane was killed in battle in 1187; but after this William had difficulty in asserting his supremacy against the revolt of the Norse earl Harold of Caithness. The vicissitudes of William's reign were curious, since for fifteen years, between 1174 and 1189, he was the vassal of England; and even in the reign of John he had some difficulty in preserving the liberties which he had bought back from Richard I. In the organised portion of the kingdom, however, progress continued; as in England, the chartered towns multiplied, a proof of the material advance. And in one respect there was an advance towards constitutionalism. An assembly of the estates—earls, barons, prelates, and free tenants—refused to raise the tax corresponding to the Saladin tithe, which Henry of England demanded as William's overlord; and an assembly of estates met to sanction the tax which enabled William to purchase the abrogation of the treaty of Falaise. In other words, the right of the estates to consultation, and the refusal of abnormal

William the Lion.

taxation, was being recognised in Scotland as well as in England; although it did not in Scotland lead to the same appropriation of political power by parliament, for the single reason that Scottish kings were not like English kings perpetually in need of procuring supplies from abnormal sources. Even in ordinary circumstances the kings of England found that they could not 'live of their own,' whereas the Scots kings could.

William the Lion, his son Alexander II., and his grandson Alexander III., ruled between them for a hundred and twenty years. Both the Alexanders were men of great vigour and ability; their relations with England, though occasionally strained, never led to open war; and under these conditions everything tended to preserve the national prosperity and to continue the process of national consolidation. Alexander II. was only seventeen at the time of his accession, but the attempts of the turbulent elements to take advantage of his youth only showed that he was worthy to be the grandson of David I. The revolts were put down with promptitude and energy, and the two semi-independent districts on the west coast, Galloway and Argyle, were brought into effective submission. On the other hand the young king's attempt to make profit for himself out of the English troubles at the end of John's reign, came to nothing, with the failure to place Louis of France on the English throne. Alexander made his peace with the English government of Hubert de Burgh, to whom he gave a sister of his own in marriage, while he himself married Henry III.'s sister Joanna. At a later stage, about 1236, Henry was anxious to reassert his grandfather's overlordship, but Alexander was strong enough to rebut the claim and assert his own counterclaim to Northumberland. War was averted by a compromise which admitted neither claim but gave Alexander some Northumbrian territory as an English fief. In fact, the relations between Henry and the barons practically secured the Scots king against serious danger from the southern country. **Alexander II.**

Alexander II. died in 1149, when his son Alexander III. was only eight. Until 1262 Scotland experienced those disadvantages of a minority from which she was so repeatedly to suffer for more than

three centuries. Consolidation, however, had already gone so far that there was not, as there would have been in the past, a Celtic anti-Scottish movement; for we now use the term Scottish as representing the feudalised government of the south, with its composite racial elements. The strife during the minority was between two factions, each of them headed by Norman nobles, Durward and Comyn, the latter descended from the Conqueror's earl of Northumberland, Robert de Commines. Henry III. gave his daughter Margaret in marriage to the boy king, whom he tried to inveigle into an acknowledgment of vassalage, which the boy, no doubt under careful instructions, had the wit to parry. Henry, however, procured for himself an alliance with the Durward faction, with the result that the Comyn faction became definitely committed to Scottish nationalism; and here we find the beginnings of the nationalist and Anglicising grouping of Scottish barons which was to play an important part in later history. And here also we have the beginning of the definite association between the Church and nationalism, strengthened by the explicit pronouncement of the Pope against Henry's claim to the vassalage of the Scottish Crown. But the Barons' War entirely prevented Henry from giving effective support to the English faction; and long before it was over, Alexander had come of age and proved himself a monarch entirely capable of holding his own. Not till he was dead did it become possible for the English claim to be revived.

Alexander III.: the Minority.

Scotland looked back in after years to the reign of Alexander III. as a golden age; a view of it which is no doubt intensified by the era of storm and stress which followed it. Alexander was a strong and exceedingly popular monarch; he kept the country free from internal disturbances and secure from English aggression, and under his rule its material prosperity continued to increase. But the outstanding feature of the reign was the short war which established the Scottish overlordship of the isles. The independence of the Hebrides with a professed allegiance to Norway was a perpetual menace to the peace of the Scottish kingdom. Alexander was

The reign of Alexander III.

no sooner of age than he attempted to negotiate with King Hakon of Norway. Hakon's reply was a great invasion of Scotland, by Clydemouth; but the Norwegian force was shattered at the battle of Largs. In the course of the next three years the islands were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the king of Scots, and in 1266 Eric, Hakon's successor on the Norwegian throne, ceded the islands by treaty for a sum down and an annual payment of a hundred marks. The last fourteen years of Alexander's reign fall within that of Edward I. in England, and belong to the history of the great Plantagenet's attempt to bring Scotland and England under a single sceptre.

Wales in the thirteenth century.

Wales, unlike Scotland, never formed itself into an organised state. Its normal condition at all times, both before and after the Norman Conquest, was one of division into petty principalities. Now and then the rise of a particularly efficient warrior, such as of that Gryffydd who gave so much trouble in the days of Edward the Confessor, might bring extended regions under a single dominion for a time, but re-division was certain to follow. The Welshmen, like the Irishmen and the highland Scots, lived after their own fashion, scornful of innovations whether Saxon or Norman. The Welsh marches, the districts about the Wye, the Severn, and the Dee, occupied by the marcher earls, were a perpetual battle-ground; but the Welshmen did not unite to force back English or Normans, and the marchers were not tempted to seek to establish dominion among the Welsh mountains. There were usually Welsh princes ready to ally themselves with any one who was in arms against the king of England, or seemed likely to be so, from Eadric the Wild to Alexander II. of Scotland; but beyond the marches they were of little use as allies. The Conqueror frightened them into subjection; but even soldiers so vigorous as William Rufus and Henry II. got very little profit out of campaigning in Wales. The submission of Welsh princes lasted just so long as the Crown troops were in force in their territories.

In the reign of John, however, there were signs of possible development. The greatest of the princes, Llewelyn ap Jorwerth of Gwynedd, had ideas of unifying Wales under his own leader-

ship: the fact that his wife was a daughter of King John, though illegitimate, gave him a somewhat unique position. In 1212 he succeeded in combining the rest of the princes in a general attack upon the marchers and the English castles. The Welsh did not sweep the English out of the country; but when the barons and John were in arms against each other, Llewelyn allied himself with the barons. When the earl of Pembroke succeeded in establishing Henry III. on the throne, and procuring a general pacification, Llewelyn had already recovered Cardigan and Carmarthen, which had been held for the king; and he was allowed to retain them. He continued to find his profit in the antagonisms between Hubert de Burgh, the Marshals, and Ranulf of Chester, whom he selected for his own ally, much to his own advantage; and there was an increasing disposition on the part of the Welsh to regard him as a national champion. Till the end of his life in 1240 he continued to be irrepressible himself, and to give his help to any one who seemed likely to make trouble on the marches; and the Welsh princes in general recognised him as their head.

Llewelyn I.

On his death the domination of Gwynedd fell away, since Llewelyn's family did not preserve its own unity; but after a brief period of eclipse, one of his grandsons, Llewelyn ap Gryffydd, secured the supremacy over his kinsfolk and the sole lordship of Gwynedd. The prince found his opportunity for reviving his grandfather's ambitions when the Lord Edward was endowed with the earldom of Chester and the Crown territories in Wales. Edward adopted the policy of endeavouring to Anglicise these districts by introducing the English system of shire courts. The Welsh population was excited by his innovations, and Llewelyn headed a rising, which in a few weeks put him in possession of a large part of Edward's lands—the 'four cantreds' on the north, and Cardigan. The helpless Henry could not, and would not, help his son; the marchers stood aloof, having no inclination to be dominated by his power as earl of Chester; and virtually Llewelyn had to be left in possession. He had established his title among Welshmen as the champion of Welsh nationality.

Llewelyn II.

Next year the Mad Parliament met, and Llewelyn, like his grandfather, saw his own advantage in a judicious backing of the barons against the Crown, and then of Simon de Montfort against the marchers. Alone among Simon's supporters he worked his way successfully through the Evesham campaign and the events which followed it, with the result that he was left at the conclusion acknowledged prince of all Wales, excepting, of course, the dominions of the Crown and of the marchers, and excepting also from his overlordship the princes of the old line of South Wales. In effect everything that Montfort had promised him in the last treaty before the battle of Evesham remained in his hands. He had been too successful for his own ultimate good, and in the next reign his aggressive ambitions prepared the way for his downfall.

Llewelyn's success.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

CHAPTER VIII. EDWARD I., 1272-1307

I. European Survey

Before the Norman Conquest England stood isolated from the Continent. Practically her concern with European Powers was limited to defence against the aggressive maritime confederations of Scandinavia. In spite of the wide range of Aethelstan's matrimonial alliances she played no part in Continental affairs, and she herself was only touched by the fringe of Continental movements. The national life showed only reflections of the feudal reconstruction of Europe, and, despite the periodical efforts of zealous churchmen, her ecclesiastical organisation was in effect largely independent of the Roman authority. The building up of Charlemagne's empire, its disintegration, the reconstruction under the Saxon emperors, the formation of the West Frankish kingdom of France, the vicissitudes through which the Papacy passed, scarcely affected her.

England's isolation.

The isolation ceased when she passed under the sway of foreign masters. The feudalism which she was developing on her own lines was crossed by Norman feudalism, and acquired a new and distinctive type. Foreign ecclesiastics filled bishoprics and abbacies, and the contest between the empire and the Papacy had its counterpart in England in the contest between the Crown and the clergy. She was still in effect unconcerned with the empire, but for a century and a half her kings were intimately concerned with French politics. She was no longer isolated, but foreign affairs still touched her mainly because her kings were French potentates, and the interests of the dominant race lay in France hardly less than in England. England was never at war even with France; the dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine

were at war with their suzerain, and incidentally drew upon their English resources to carry on their contests.

Again the situation was changed when John was bereft of the Norman and Angevin inheritance, and was left with only a portion of his mother's Aquitanian dominion. When Edward I. succeeded to the throne of England half a century after his grandfather's death, Guienne and Gascony were merely French fiefs forming a valuable portion of the dominions of the king of England. From this time forward, if there is war it is war between England and France on account of the English kings' possessions in France, not war between the French king and a great feudatory who happens to have the resources of England to draw upon. England herself is a protagonist, which she has never been before.

The thirteenth-century change.

Now the prominent fact that presents itself in connection with foreign policy during the next two centuries, as in the past, is that the only powers with which England comes in collision, or in whose doings she is directly interested, are France, Scotland, and the Papacy. After a century and a half Burgundy is assuming the characteristics of a distinct power; but there is no other with which England comes in direct contact. Then suddenly with the accession of the house of Tudor comes an immense change, and England is swept into the vortex of European diplomacy, rivalries, and alliances; and we are inclined to wonder why nothing of the sort had happened before during all these centuries—why England and France were left to fight out their Hundred Years' War. But if that puzzle does present itself, it is only because we are familiar with the modern European system of great definite organised states, and have failed to realise that in the Middle Ages that system had not come into being.

Geographical conditions had induced a certain degree of consolidation upon national lines in England, in Scotland, and in France before the end of the thirteenth century. But at that date even in France the national idea was very indefinite, while outside the three countries named it hardly existed. In the Spanish peninsula there were the four Christian kingdoms of Portugal, Navarre, Castile, and Aragon,

The State of Europe.

besides the Moorish kingdom in the south. Northern Italy was a collection of independent city states. Sicily and Naples were on the point of passing under the sway of a junior branch of the house of Aragon. The great imperial dynasty of the Hohenstaufen had come to an end and the first Hapsburg emperor was on the point of being elected, mainly because he appeared to be insignificant, though he proved to be personally both vigorous and effective: two centuries were to pass before the imperial dignity ceased to be a shuttlecock tossed from one rival house to another. With the fall of the Hohenstaufen following the death of Frederick II. in 1250, the conception of the emperor as the secular head of Christendom practically perished, though it survived in theory; nor was its place taken by the conception of a German nation. Dynasties might aggrandise themselves by wars or marriages and territories might pass from one duke or count or margrave to another by the same processes, but Teutonic middle Europe remained a miscellaneous congeries of duchies and counties and archbishoprics, virtually without unity.

The Empire.

In the two centuries past the Papacy had played a leading part in European affairs; and for the last hundred years it had proved itself more powerful than emperors or kings; but its downfall was imminent, wrought by the overweening arrogance of Pope Boniface VIII. The power which had been too great even for the greatest of the Hohenstaufen went down before the unscrupulous Philip the Fair of France, who dared to take up the challenge of Boniface; and for seventy years the successors of St. Peter were almost the nominees of the French Crown, dwelling remote from the Eternal City at Avignon in Provence; not indeed within the French border, but under the shadow of France. The long 'Babylonish captivity' destroyed the papal prestige, and matters became worse with the Great Schism of 1378. The accident of a pope's death in Rome gave the Romans the control of a papal election, which was repudiated by the French cardinals, who elected an anti-pope; and Western Christendom divided its allegiance for purely political reasons between the rival claimants until the Schism was brought to an end by the Council of Constance in 1418. But the mischief had

The Papacy.

been done. The Papacy had lost its spiritual authority. Subversive doctrines had been promulgated in England by John Wiclif, and though Lollardy was driven under the surface in the land of its birth, Wiclif's principles took root in Bohemia. The Council of Constance, which endeavoured to restore the character of the Papacy, tried also to crush the new doctrines by burning their great advocates, John Huss and Jerome of Prague. It did not stamp out heresy, but it deluged East Central Europe with the blood of the Hussite wars. In fact, despite the merits of a series of popes the Papacy never recovered from the demoralisation of the Great Schism, and the way was made ready for a more decisive revolution.

In the period then upon which we are now entering, the Papacy after the death of Boniface, which very shortly preceded that of Edward I., is of comparatively little account in English history until we reach the Tudor times; and the same may be said of the German kingdom or empire. The course of events in Scotland will explain itself as the story proceeds; but it may be useful to have some preliminary explanation of the course of events in France.

France under the old Capets.

Since the beginning of the thirteenth century the rule first of Philip Augustus and then of St. Louis had done much to strengthen the Crown of France. Philip III., the successor of Louis IX., was no great ruler, but in his reign the failure of heirs to great estates added very large districts to the direct possessions of the French Crown, including in effect Poitou, Auvergne, Languedoc, and Champagne. The only great feudatories who were still in a marked degree independent were the count of Flanders and the dukes of Burgundy on the east, of Brittany, and of Aquitaine, the last of whom was also king of England. Philip's much abler son, Philip IV., commonly called the Fair, devoted himself to concentrating administrative control in the hands of the king, and to snatching portions of the still independent territory whenever he could provide himself with a colourable pretext. In the latter attempts he was unsuccessful, gaining little by his dealings with Edward I., and being completely foiled in his efforts to get possession of

Flanders: the Flemings, though they had little enough love for their count, were still less disposed to submit to the tyranny of the French king. But the general effect of the government of the last two generations of the direct line of Capet, Philip IV. and the three sons who ruled after him in succession, was to strengthen the administrative control of the Crown, and to establish the policy of appropriating everything that could be extracted from the feudal nobility.

The Valois succession.

The rule of Philip's sons, Louis X., Philip V., and Charles IV., established the principle of male succession to the throne. Since the days of Hugh Capet, son had succeeded father, and no question of law had ever arisen. Louis X. died leaving a daughter, but another child was expected, and the question of the succession was postponed till its arrival. The posthumous baby was a boy, but it lived less than a week; and the result was that the late king's brother Philip, who during the last months had been acting as regent, was recognised as the heir in preference to Louis's daughter. When Philip died he also left a daughter, but the third brother succeeded to the throne. It was only on his death that the new question was propounded whether the succession might descend through, though not to, a female—the theory on which a claim was put in on behalf of Edward III. of England. The theory, however, was rejected. Philip VI., the son of Charles of Valois, brother of Philip IV.; became king; and the exclusion of females from the line of succession became the recognised law of France.

Ten years after Philip's accession the Hundred Years' War began between England and France. The disasters of the first twenty years, and the devastations wrought by the outbreak of the plague called the Black Death, led to the attempt of the townsmen of Paris to win popular government, and to the terrible revolt of the peasantry called the Jacquerie. Both movements ended in failure, and their effect was once more to strengthen the power of the Crown in the hand of Charles V. called *Le Sage* (the Wise). Before his accession, however, the Valois kings had entered upon the dangerous course of largely increasing the appanages of junior members of the royal family. The idea was

that this would strengthen the Crown against the older feudatories; but the practical effect was to make the royal family a house divided against itself. The most notable example is provided by Burgundy. The French duchy of Burgundy. Burgundy lapsed to the Crown in 1361. King John instead of retaining it in his own hands bestowed it upon his fourth son Philip. But Philip married Margaret, the daughter of the count of Flanders, and this marriage made him lord of Flanders, Artois, and Nevers, and also of the county of Burgundy or Franche Comté, a fief of the empire not of France. In a later generation this Burgundian dominion was further extended by marriages, so that it embraced virtually the whole of the Netherlands, or what we now call Holland and Belgium, while only a part of it was under French suzerainty. Incidentally, we may note that the province of Dauphiné on the north of Provence was transferred to the French Crown in 1349, and thereafter became the appanage of the heir-apparent to the French throne, who thenceforth began to be known by the title of the Dauphin.

The evil results of this new system did not make themselves apparent until after the death of Charles V. The accession of the boy Charles VI. in 1380, and his subsequent development of intermittent insanity, led to fierce rivalries for supremacy between his uncles, and afterwards between his younger brother and cousins. The two factions came to be known as Burgundians and Armagnacs; and this rivalry was a fundamental factor in Henry V.'s conquest; while the later defection of Burgundy from the English alliance ensured the expulsion of the English from France, followed by the reorganisation of the French monarchy by Louis XI.

II. Edward the Legislator, 1272-1289

Edward had already started on his return from Palestine when the news reached him in Sicily of his father's death. So thorough had been the pacification of England that two more years passed before he felt that his own presence was necessary in his kingdom. On his departure he

Accession of Edward I.

had left the administration in the hands of Roger Mortimer, Robert Burnell, who became his chancellor, and the archbishop of York. They were confirmed in the regency by a parliament which met in 1273, as well as by Edward's own authority, and no disturbances arose during the king's prolonged absence, which was mainly due to difficulties in Aquitaine.

Edward himself returned to England in the autumn of 1274, to take his place in our history as the first definitely national king of a unified England, at least since the Norman Conquest. The Normans and the early Angevins had all been foreign rulers of a nation dominated by a foreign aristocracy. When the thirteenth century opened the aristocracy had almost, but not altogether, ceased to be foreign; the predilection of Henry III. for actual foreigners had completed the Anglicising of the baronage. Edward himself was nationalist in a double sense. His English kingdom occupied the first place in his thoughts and schemes which were directed to its magnification; but it was also a primary purpose of his administration to deepen and strengthen the sense of English unity, to treat the nation as a whole, to make it regard itself as one, and to smooth away the local barriers which helped to perpetuate what may be called provincial separatism. It was not the mere vulgar desire to acquire territory so much as the statesmanlike conception of framing a single homogeneous state which lay at the root of his desire to bring Scotland and Wales under a single sceptre with England. He failed; not because the conception was unsound, but because the methods which he adopted to give it effect substituted subjection for unification; and Scotland proved stubborn enough and strong enough to shake off a yoke imposed on her at the sword's point. But he successfully established in England itself a political and social structure far in advance of any other state; not because he was a great creative political genius, but because he made it his business, and taught even his antagonists to make it their business, to leave nothing indefinite which could be defined.

Edward the Unifier.

The rule of the Norman kings had been to a great extent a contest with the disintegrating forces of feudalism, which were

held down by the Conqueror and his sons, broke out into wild excess under the incompetent Stephen, and were finally crushed by the judicious absolutism of the first Plantagenet. Absolutism wielded by a John or a Henry III. had proved intolerable, and the barons seeking to place it under some control had threatened to create an oligarchical system, a danger which was averted first by Stephen Langton and William Marshal, and afterwards by Montfort, and by Edward himself acting upon exceedingly diverse lines. A strong and permanent form of central government was not yet established; there was still a possibility that the barons might prove too strong for the Crown; and it was definitely Edward's purpose to re-establish the Crown's supremacy. To achieve that end Edward had learnt that the first necessity was for the Crown and the law to be on the same side. The second need he had learnt from Montfort, that of calling in a force in the country which might be used to check an aggressive baronage, a force residing mainly in the towns and the minor landholders. The constitutionalism which created the Model Parliament was not intended to limit the power of the Crown, but rather to provide a counterpoise to the greater barons. But when Edward had made his parliament the effective mouthpiece of a wide public opinion, he had provided also a counterpoise to any force, whether baronial or regal, or, it may be added, ecclesiastical, which ran violently counter to that public opinion. Edward, with all his devotion to legality, was more than ready to act upon any verbal quibble by which the spirit of the law could be evaded, and the support of its letter could be claimed; but he learnt that evasions were dangerous when they set public opinion at defiance.

Edward and the Crown.

The reign falls into two main periods with an interval between them which may be appropriated to either. The first is the great era of legislation which ends in the year 1285, a period which includes the subjugation of Wales. The second is the era of the constitutional contest and of the Scottish struggle for independence, which lasts from 1294 to the end of the reign. The interval was marked by one statute of importance—the third Statute of Westminster—and by the

Division of the reign.

Scottish arbitration which placed John Balliol on the Scottish throne as the vassal of the king of England.

Edward had scarcely landed in England when the travelling justices were commissioned to collect information as to the character and extent of the franchises, privileges, and special jurisdictions enjoyed by the lords of the soil: an inquiry which was to bear fruit a few years later when the reports were in the king's hands. In 1275 his first parliament met at Westminster, though in a sense it was not the first of the reign. That title belongs more properly to the assembly which met in 1273 to take the oath of allegiance to the absent monarch, and to confirm the regency. The composition of parliament was still undefined. On that earlier occasion it had been attended not only by magnates but also, like Montfort's parliament of 1265, by four representative knights from each shire, and four representatives from each borough. It is convenient, however, to introduce distinctions which belong to a later date, and to call this assembly which was not summoned by the king himself a convention, instead of a parliament, reserving the title of First Parliament to the assembly of 1275. In this parliament, too, there was another element besides that of the magnates, the prelates, and greater barons to whom alone the name of baron will thenceforth be applied; but this other element is only indefinitely described as the 'community' or the 'commonalty' of the land. Its work was the promulgation of the Statute of Westminster I., which was a sort of tabulation of existing charters and ordinances to be recognised as the law of the land.

First Parliaments.

Statute of Westminster I., 1275.

The work of definition was fairly begun, but with it came the counterpart to the formal recognition of public rights—a grant of revenue. The king was authorised to levy a toll permanently upon the export of wool, wool-fells, and leather, a tax which soon acquired the general title of the Great and Ancient Custom, a duty the levying of which was admittedly a royal prerogative. Later in the year a second parliament was held in order to obtain a further grant, and on this occasion it is specifically recorded that the knights of the shire were summoned. During the en-

suing ten years, parliaments were constantly summoned for purposes of legislation or taxation, although no regular principle is to be observed implying the recognition of any right of attendance except on the part of the magnates. In 1276 there were only minor enactments, and in the next year the king was occupied with his first Welsh war.

In 1278 the report upon the inquiry into the franchises known as the *Rotuli Hundredorum*, or Hundred Rolls, was followed up by the Statute of Gloucester and the issuing of the writ *Quo Warranto*, whereby the itinerant justices were required to ascertain the warrant or authority under which the privileges were enjoyed. In theory there could be no right to special jurisdictions or exemptions from the operation of the ordinary law except by a specific grant from the Crown; in theory therefore no one who was unable to produce such a title could claim a legal right to privilege. There could indeed be no practical doubt that of the privileges in operation many had been simply usurped without authority; but, on the other hand, it was equally certain that others had been legitimately conceded, though the evidences of the grant had not been preserved. The baronage were at once metaphorically, and threatened to be literally, up in arms to resist any curtailment of what they had come to regard as unqualified rights. Whatever Edward's intentions may have been, he very soon saw that it would be practically impossible to insist on the production of documentary proofs. To the barons it was of first-rate importance that they should not be deprived of what they already enjoyed. To the king the essential matter was once for all to stop any further encroachments. The justice of the case was met by the recognition of all privileges which had been in fact enjoyed at the time of Richard I.'s accession; but the privileges now stood on record, and could only be added to by direct authority from the Crown. Possibly it had been Edward's intention not to curtail the privileges, but to allow the barons to redeem them by a fine; but, in fact, he yielded to the pressure of opinion. The need of replenishing the exchequer is illustrated by the 'distraint of knighthood' in the same year, a writ requiring all freeholders

Quo Warranto, 1278.

with an estate of twenty pounds a year to take up knighthood and pay the incidental fees to the Crown.

In the next year, 1279, the Church was dealt with in corresponding fashion. For the second time since his accession, the Pope had, not without good reason, ignored Edward's desire to make his chancellor, Robert Burnell, archbishop of Canterbury. The new archbishop, a Franciscan friar, John Peckham, was an ardent supporter of the extreme claims of the Church. Almost the first act of Peckham was in effect an assertion of the right to penalise violations of the Great Charter—an imputation that the king had violated it—and to enforce the pronouncements of the ecclesiastical courts, even against the king's officers, by excommunication. Peckham found himself obliged to give way before Edward's indignation; but the king at once proceeded to enact in parliament the statute *De Religiosis*, commonly called the Statute of Mortmain, which forbade the transfer of land to ecclesiastical corporations without the sanction of the overlord. The statute did not in fact make any material alteration in practice; it amounted to little more than the assertion of the right of the Crown to exercise a control over dispositions of land which in effect released it from sundry of the ordinary feudal obligations. When land passed to a corporation the feudal overlord was permanently deprived of the benefits of escheat, wardship, marriage, and succession. The statute, however, had a practical value in putting a stop to a trick by which lay tenants often sought to evade their obligations by a nominal transfer to the Church, which still left them in effective enjoyment of the estates.

Archbishop Peckham.

Statute of Mortmain, 1279.

After the Statute of Mortmain there was a legislative lull. The archbishop, in spite of the check he had received, attempted to extend the sphere of activity of the ecclesiastical courts, and was again sharply checked in 1281. In 1282 the second and decisive Welsh war broke out; there was no time for ecclesiastical quarrels or for extensive law-making: until the Welsh war was over the only purpose for which Edward wanted parliaments was the raising of money. In 1282 money was procured not

from parliament but by private negotiations with shires and boroughs. This was not enough; and next year when the Welsh campaign made it impossible for either the king or most of the barons to take part in a formal parliament, the experiment was tried of calling two councils for the provinces of Canterbury and York, and summoning city and shire representatives as well as ecclesiastics to attend them. Grants were obtained from the Commons, but only a partial promise from the clergy. Another irregular parliament was held later in the year at Shrewsbury, where two representatives were summoned from each shire and from twenty selected cities and boroughs, for the trial of David the last of the Welsh leaders who had remained in arms. One piece of legislation, the Statute of Merchants or of Acton Burnell, was a by-product of this assembly. In the following year, 1284, the Statute of Wales, organising the administration of the subjugated country, was issued by the king's authority, without the calling of a parliament at all, though it was prepared in concert with the barons. Another royal ordinance of the same date known as the Statute of Rhuddlan, was also without parliamentary sanction, although after this time the term statute is hardly applied except to an Act of Parliament. The Statutes of Rhuddlan and Acton Burnell were concerned respectively with the methods of the royal exchequer and of the recovery of debts by merchants.

Raising money, 1282-1283.

In 1285, however, Edward's legislative activities were again in full play. The Statute of Westminster II. followed its earlier namesake in being largely a digest, or re-statement with emendations, of the existing laws. Its primary importance, however, lay in its innovating first clause, which has sometimes caused it to be referred to as the statute *De Donis Conditionalibus*. The principle established by this clause was what is called perpetual entail. Hitherto when land had been granted to a man and his heirs upon conditions, the grantee had full power of alienation if his heirs failed. The statute deprived him of this power, and the estate reverted to the grantor. Thus the rights of the grantor and his heirs were secured and the powers of the actual tenant limited; whereby

Statute of Westminster II., 1285.

the greatest profit accrued to the king as being the greatest of overlords.

Other clauses of the statute remodelled the assize courts; and the companion Statute of Winchester revived and remodelled the system of the popular courts which had descended from Saxon times, the police system of hue and cry, watch and ward, and revised the militia or fyrd and the assize of arms. At the same time a writ was issued by the king known as *Circumspecte Agatis*, which was afterwards recognised as a statute. In effect it was an ordinance dealing with those encroachments of ecclesiastical jurisdiction on which Archbishop Peckham had employed himself, and it explicitly defined the legitimate limits of that jurisdiction.

Statute of Winchester, 1285.

Of the next four years, all but a few months were passed by the king in France; he returned to complete what may be called his own legislative record with the Statute of Westminster III. known as *Quia Emptores*. There is no appearance that at this or the last Westminster parliament popular representatives were present. Both seem to have been assemblies of magnates, although a week after the promulgation of *Quia Emptores* a fresh parliament was assembled for the purpose of obtaining pecuniary grants, to which two or three elected knights from each shire were summoned. The purpose of the Act was to put an end to sub-infeudation. That is to say, if a landholder sold his land, his overlord became the overlord of the new possessor; the purchaser became the man, not of him who had alienated the land, the alienor, but of the alienor's overlord. As in the case of the *De Donis* the rights and interests of the overlord were secured, and the maximum of advantage accrued to the supreme overlord, the king. It should be observed that the importance of these regulations was not military but financial. The obligation of military service to the king always overrode the obligation of military service to a mesne lord. The point was that in respect of the financial incidents of feudal tenure, the feudal aids, the new tenant when land was alienated became liable not to the alienor but to the alienor's overlord.

Statute of Westminster III., 1290.

III. The Conquest of Wales and the Scottish Arbitration, 1276-1292

It has been observed that it was Edward's ambition to consolidate the whole island of Great Britain into one powerful homogeneous kingdom, which would in effect be more powerful than any European state. But Wales, though admittedly subject to the English Crown, stood outside the English system, and Scotland, ruled generally by vigorous kings, persistently declined to admit an English overlordship. An effective annexation of Scotland was obviously out of the question so long as Alexander III. was living; and Alexander was a little younger than Edward himself. Only his unexpected and premature death in 1286 brought the realisation of Edward's ideal into the field of practical politics; but before that time the subjugation of Wales had been accomplished.

Wales had at all times stood perpetually in the way of any complete unification of the English government. Even kings so vigorous as William Rufus and Henry II. had found the strain of campaigning in Wales too great to permit of a permanent and effective subjugation. The Welshmen were held in check by the earls and barons of the marches; the marcher lords were of necessity granted an amount of independent authority and freedom of action, which at all times made the Welsh marches a dangerous centre for disaffection, and in some sort a menace to the authority of the central government. The earls of Chester, Gloucester, and Hereford, and latterly the house of Mortimer, had been in England the nearest representatives of the great feudatories of foreign monarchs. Until Wales should be absorbed, the privileges of the marchers must be maintained; and so long as they were maintained the supremacy of the central government was incomplete.

Wales and the marches.

Llewelyn ap Jorwerth and his grandson, Llewelyn ap Gryffydd, had made such skilful use of the factions in England in the days of John and of Henry III. that Llewelyn II. had succeeded in making himself an almost independent prince with a supremacy, recognised both by English and Welsh.

Llewelyn ap Gryffydd.

over about three-fourths of Wales. His position had been secured by the treaty of Shrewsbury after the final triumph of the Crown over the Montfort party. Formal homage and the payment of the indemnity imposed upon him were the only conditions that he needed to observe to be secured against the English interference. So long as Llewelyn kept quiet and respected those conditions, Edward would not have moved against him; for it was the English king's boast that he kept his promises inviolate and never set the law at naught.

But Llewelyn courted destruction. Success had excited his imagination; he dreamed of a larger dominion, and overrated his power of achieving it. He conceived, when Henry III. died, that he had found his opportunity in the accession of a king who was actually absent from the country; for he systematically evaded taking the oath of allegiance to the new king, and the further payment of the instalments of his indemnity. Although he threw down no open challenge he succeeded in expelling from Wales his own brother David, and Gryffydd, the subordinate prince of Powys, thereby strengthening his own control within Wales itself. Presumably under the impression that a Montfort faction could be resuscitated, he demanded the hand of the great earl's daughter Eleanor, promised to him in 1265. In this he was foiled because the lady was captured on her way from France to Wales, and was detained in custody. He had gained nothing by the move, but he had acquired a new ground of resentment against the English king.

Edward during his first two years in England made repeated efforts to induce the Welsh prince to do homage and to pay his debts. Every summons was ignored, or else an excuse was found for evading it. At the end of 1276 the king resolved to enforce his authority with the strong hand. Before Edward's main army was collected in the summer of 1277, Llewelyn's dominions were attacked by three columns, in the north, the south, and the middle marches. The operations were immediately successful; the southern chiefs submitted at once, and Gryffydd was restored to Powys. But it was necessary to secure Llewelyn's own submission. In the summer

The First Welsh War, 1277.

the main army advanced from Chester, working steadily along the northern coast, clearing a military road, and erecting forts at Flint and Rhuddlan. A fleet cut Llewelyn off from Anglesea, and secured its occupation by an English force. By mid-autumn Llewelyn was shut up in the Snowdon country with the prospect before him of being starved out; and he submitted. The treaty of Aberconway left him lord of Gwynedd only, though the heavy indemnities to which the actual treaty compelled him to submit were remitted by grace of the conqueror. His brother David was rewarded for his adherence to the English party by the two cantreds of Duffryn Clwyd and Rhuvoniog, the greater part of the modern shire of Denbigh. Edward was so well satisfied with the completeness of the victory that Llewelyn was allowed to marry Eleanor de Montfort at the end of the year.

Now it was obvious to every Englishman that English institutions and English methods of government were infinitely superior to Celtic institutions and methods, in Wales as in Ireland. The manifest conclusion was that Wales ought to be administered upon English lines. Strong castles were established at Flint and Rhuddlan, at Aberystwyth and Carmarthen. The English shire organisation was applied in the south and in the two northern cantreds. English colonies were planted around the castle walls. English law overrode the ancient customs of the Welsh people. The reinstated Welsh princes found their authority encroached upon, and the Welsh population found themselves insultingly treated as inferiors by the English. Those who had resented the domination of the prince of Gwynedd and had helped to overthrow it, found the English domination tenfold more detestable. Appeals to Edward were in vain because the Welshmen were practically unable to present their case effectively. The result was that in a very short time the whole country was seething with disaffection, and a great insurrection was prepared unsuspected by the authorities.

The first settlement.

In the spring of 1282, a little more than four years after the treaty of Aberconway, the rebellion blazed out. The first blow was struck by David, who had made friends with his brother. He fell upon Hawarden and captured it. Llewelyn flung him-

self in vain against the castles of Flint and Rhuddlan, but held the surrounding country at his mercy. David sped south; Cardigan and most of Carmarthen were quickly in insurrection, and Aberystwyth itself was captured before David returned north to Denbigh, whence he could threaten the flank of any movement from Rhuddlan, which was now the headquarters for the king of England's levies.

The Insurrection of 1282.

It was Edward's intention to repeat the campaign of 1277, but the wide area of the insurrection, and the unexpectedly formidable character which it assumed in the south, prevented an early concentration of forces. Gilbert of Gloucester, the same who had figured so largely at the close of Simon de Montfort's career, opened the southern campaign, but was surprised, routed, and driven back to Carmarthen. For some time Edward remained in forced inactivity at Rhuddlan. In September a contingent of his vassals from Aquitaine occupied Anglesea. David was driven out of the Clwyd valley. Edward himself was able to advance to Conway. Then came a disaster to the troops from Anglesea, which had invaded Carmarthenshire in time of truce. Edward made up his mind to a winter campaign.

But it was not in the Snowdon district that the decisive blow was destined to be struck. Llewelyn, determined not to be trapped there and starved into surrender, hurried off to the middle marches to raise the Welsh on the Upper Wye. They rallied to his standard, and barred the advance of an English force at the Bridge of Orewyn on the Yrvon. But while Llewelyn himself was absent, confident that he had left his troops in an impregnable position, the Englishmen found a ford, crossed the river unimpeded, and routed the Welsh. Llewelyn himself was on his way back to join his force when he was captured and slain. It was this accident which transformed the battle of Orewyn Bridge into a decisive victory, for there was no one capable of taking Llewelyn's place. The battle itself has some significance as being the first recorded occasion since Hastings when the bow was employed to break up the enemy's ranks as a preliminary to the cavalry attack; a

Fall of Llewelyn, 1282.

system which was to be developed with decisive success in Edward's Scottish wars.

The fall of Llewelyn broke the resistance in the south and the middle marches; but David still held out in Snowdon as his brother's successor. The prolongation of the struggle had been made possible only by the extreme difficulty of placing an English army in the field, for want of money. It was this which led to the summoning of the two separate councils at the beginning of 1283, in order to obtain a grant which, however, Edward still found to be inadequate. But there came another contingent from Aquitaine: thus reinforced, Edward again began to move in the north, while William of Valence, earl of Pembroke, marched up from the south where he had taken the chief command in place of Gloucester. David in effect threw up the struggle, became a fugitive, and was surrendered by his own people in June. In October he died the death of a traitor, and no man was left to emulate the exploits of the Llewelyns. With no chief to rally round, no defiant patriot with the prestige of a princely name and an inspiring ancestry, the possibilities of an organised Welsh resistance disappeared, and Edward set himself to order the government of subjugated Wales.

Subjugation completed, 1283.

The subjugation of Wales did not mean that all Wales was brought under a single system. The marcher lordships remained as they had been before, except that at one stage or other of the conquest they had been extended, and during the last stages a large portion of the cantreds had been granted to the men who had been successful in ejecting David from Denbigh. Pembroke was a wholly Welsh earldom; but the earls of Gloucester and Hereford, Lancaster, Lincoln, and Warenne held large territories with marcher rights: practically on an equality with them was Mortimer of Wigmore, and besides these there were several minor marcher barons. Their rights were defined and were presently to be curtailed: in the course of time many of the lordships lapsed to the Crown, and were absorbed into the royal domain. But broadly speaking the regions which had been under the direct sway of Llewelyn and his allies,

The final settlement, 1284.

the districts which had been actual Welsh lordships, were re-organised on the lines of the English shire in the two groups forming North Wales and West Wales, each of which had its own court of chancery and exchequer, with their respective capitals at Carnarvon and Carmarthen. Royal castles and royal garrisons ensured the effective mastery of the Crown, commanding every strategic point, and round them grew up colonies of English traders, secure under the protection of the garrisons. It was not till some years later that the whole principality thus annexed to the Crown was conferred upon the king's son Edward, born at Carnarvon in 1284, setting the precedent by which thereafter the title of Prince of Wales was always conferred upon the heir apparent. The principality still stood outside the general English system, and for more than two centuries was unrepresented in English parliaments, with only two exceptions. The system of administration was laid down in the so-called Statute of Wales of 1284, without being submitted to a formal parliament.

From 1286 to 1289 Edward was in France busying himself with affairs which were no direct concern either of England or of Aquitaine—the reconciliation of foreign princes, and unsuccessful endeavours to promote a new crusade. He left the regency in the hands of his cousin Edmund of Cornwall. His absence, with the chancellor in his company, was unfortunate; for many high legal officials seized the opportunity to indulge in an orgy of corruption. Also there was trouble in Wales; first owing to the revolt of Rhys of Towy, one of the Welsh chieftains, who as a loyalist had not been dispossessed, but who now found himself at odds with the South Wales government. He was successfully suppressed by the regent, and his lands were confiscated to the Crown. But a more serious matter was the outbreak of a fierce quarrel over the boundaries of their respective territories between the earls of Hereford and Gloucester, who indulged themselves in the old marcher practice of private war, very much to the public detriment. Edward was brought hurriedly home in 1289, because, in response to an appeal for a general aid, he was met by Gilbert of Gloucester's declaration that no grant ought to be made until

The king's absence, 1286-1289.

the king came home again. Edward came, heard, and acted. A number of judges were dismissed, though some were presently reinstated; and the misconduct which had been rife in the king's absence was effectively checked, though inadequately punished, by the king's presence.

The suppression of the corrupt judges was not more necessary than the control of the marchers. It is something of a paradox that the first move in this direction should have been the marriage of Gloucester to Edward's daughter Joan of Acre. On the face of it, the earl was greatly honoured; in actual fact the marriage secured the Gloucester estates in tail to Joan's offspring, that is, to the blood royal, and the escheat to the Crown if her heirs failed. The next step was an order to the two earls to desist from their private war and submit the decision of their quarrel to a jury. The marchers unanimously refused to have anything to do with a procedure which deprived them of a cherished privilege. Nevertheless, Edward held his court at Abergavenny and forced the earls to an unqualified submission; though the actual penalties imposed, of imprisonment and forfeiture, were not ultimately enforced. Edward was at this moment at the height of his power and popularity in the country, because he had rejoiced the general community by the expulsion of the generally detested Jews.

Gloucester and Hereford, 1290.

But just at this time there were larger issues at stake than the corruption of the judges or the turbulence of the marchers; for in 1291 Edward was invited to arbitrate upon the succession to the Scottish throne.

Scotland.

We have seen Scotland prospering for a long time under a series of capable rulers, whose line culminated with Alexander III., the last of the male descendants of Malcolm Canmore in the direct male line. Alexander followed the example of his predecessors in evading any formal recognition of the English king's claim of suzerainty over the Scottish kingdom. It is asserted on behalf of the English that in 1278 Alexander did render homage to Edward unconditionally. The Scottish Chronicle affirms that the homage expressly excepted the kingdom of Scotland, and the evidence rather favours its veracity.

Alexander III.

In any case, the English claim was a pure formality. Edward certainly never made any attempt to enforce it.

But when Alexander was killed by a fall from his horse in March 1286, he left behind him no children and only one grandchild. His own daughter Margaret had been wedded to Eric, king of Norway, and died in giving birth to another Margaret, who is known as the Maid of Norway. This three-year-old child was recognised as queen, and the government of the country was carried on by a commission of six nobles as guardians of the realm. But this commission of regency did not long succeed in curbing the turbulence of the barons. The party of order among the regents were willing enough to have the power of the king of England at their backs; and in 1289 the eminently sensible proposal was made that the youthful Maid of Norway, the queen of Scots, should be betrothed to the still more youthful heir-apparent to the English throne, Edward of Carnarvon. Thus in due course the crowns would be united, and the two kingdoms amalgamated. The mere anticipation that such a scheme was likely to be carried out would give the king of England a direct interest in the maintenance of an orderly government in Scotland, without giving him any direct authority; and the fact would serve as a curb on the turbulence of the nobles. The immediate necessities were satisfied by the treaty of Salisbury between England, Scotland, and Norway, and the treaty of Brigham between England and Scotland, under which the little queen was to be sent over to Scotland from Norway without any contract of betrothal, but with an agreement that if the contemplated marriage should ultimately take place the laws and customs of Scotland were to be maintained intact. If Margaret then died without issue the kingdom was to revert to the 'natural heirs,' and was to remain 'separate, divided, and without subjection as it has hitherto been.'

The Maid of Norway.

Unfortunately this peaceful union was prevented by Margaret's death on her way from Norway to Scotland in 1290. The succession to the crown at once became subject to dispute. There were no legitimate descendants of William the Lion living, and no descendants even of David I. in

The throne vacant, 1290.

direct male line. But William's brother David was represented by the descendants of his three daughters[1]; John Balliol, grandson of the eldest daughter Margaret, Robert Bruce, earl of Annandale, son of the second daughter Isabella; and John Hastings, grandson of the third daughter Ada. Besides these no less than ten other pretenders put in claims of varying inadequacy: among them John Comyn of Badenoch, as descending from Malcolm Canmore's brother Donalbane. Balliol contended that he had the prior claim as representing the eldest branch. Bruce claimed priority as being a generation nearer to David of Huntingdon. Hastings claimed that the inheritance should be divided among the three daughters as co-heiresses; and there was no precedent and no recognised authority to decide between these rival claims as concerned the crown of Scotland, though each could point to precedents in feudal customs. At the instance of Bishop Frazer of St. Andrews, one of the regents, the decision of the question was referred to the arbitration of the king of England; it is not probable that the bishop invited Edward's intervention on his own responsibility.

The Norham Conference, 1291.

Accordingly a few months later Edward was collecting documentary information relating to the Scottish question. In April he summoned the magnates of both realms to a conference at Norham, where he opened the proceedings by demanding as a preliminary the recognition of his own overlordship, to which Bruce had already pledged himself. The Scots expostulated; but in face of Edward's attitude, and the impracticability of resistance, they soon gave way, the claimants taking the lead in acknowledging the suzerainty. Edward immediately demanded possession of the royal castles, which were to be restored when the vacant throne was filled; and again the Scots yielded to his demand. Edward then appointed a commission to inquire into the claims, three-fourths of the commissioners being Scots, nominated by Bruce or Balliol as the principal pretenders. To carry on the government during the interim, he reappointed the regents, adding an English baron to their number.

[1] See Genealogical Tables, VI., *Scottish Dynasties* (1).

The case was then postponed to the summer of 1292 when the court gave its first decision in favour of Balliol and against Bruce.

Judgment for Balliol, 1292.

Although less than a hundred years earlier King John had succeeded to the throne of England and the dukedom of Normandy as being nearer of kin to Richard than his elder brother's son, Arthur of Brittany, the rule of primogeniture was held to be more authoritative than the rule of proximity. Bruce fell back upon Hastings's theory of partition among the three daughters; but this view also was rejected at a later sitting, while all the other claims were swept aside, and a final declaration was given in favour of Balliol who, as king of Scots, swore fealty to Edward as lord paramount, and was then duly crowned at Scone. According to promise, Edward made over the castles to the new king.

It requires an effort not usually made to get at anything like a fair view of the conduct of the various parties in these very complicated transactions. To begin with Edward. There is no reason to doubt that he had thoroughly persuaded himself that the kings of Scotland did legally owe fealty to the kings of England. The opportunity presented itself for forcing the Scottish magnates to an open recognition of his title, without such an actual resort to arms as would have been necessary while any strong king occupied the Scottish throne; and Edward took his opportunity. Probably till the end of time English historians will maintain that the claim was valid, and Scottish historians will maintain that it was not. The evidence either way rests upon dubious statements by partisan recorders, though the Scot has never had an adequate answer given to the question, 'What change was made first by the treaty of Falaise and then by its abrogation, if, both before the former event and after the latter, the Scots king was the vassal of the king of England?'

Edward's claim.

What then of the attitude of the Scottish magnates? It is evident that as a body they admitted Edward's claim, not because they were satisfied of its legal validity, but because they saw no practical alternative. After all, English kings had repeatedly claimed the suzerainty, but except during

The Scots magnates.

the period of the treaty of Falaise they had never attempted to act upon it. The promises of the treaty of Brigham did not point to any intention on Edward's part to interfere with Scottish liberties, and even if the worst came to the worst it could be argued that the submission was really invalid as having been extorted by force. The hypothetical danger was less to be feared than the immediate menace of a forcible occupation, for which Edward was very obviously quite prepared. Probably the legal-minded Edward would be perfectly satisfied by the formal withdrawal of technical resistance to his title.

Such an argument might have satisfied even a purely Scottish baronage. But the baronage were by no means purely Scottish. Half of them held lordships in England, and were already Edward's vassals. As a personal matter, it was of no great consequence to them if he became also their supreme overlord in Scotland. As matters stood, they were involved in the same dilemma as barons of England who were also vassals of the duke of Normandy when the duke was not also king of England. They might as barons of Scotland have to quarrel with the king of England, to whose allegiance as barons of England they were bound. It was not therefore surprising that a large proportion of them should have accepted the Scottish suzerainty of the king of England with equanimity, and even with approbation. Their ears were not open to the call of patriotism; they were not Scottish patriots, because they were only half Scots.

The Scots barons.

As for the commons of Scotland who had no say in the matter one way or other, they were presently to display their patriotism with decisive effect; not, however, on account of an abstract objection to the titular suzerainty of King Edward, but because that titular suzerainty led up to a military occupation which fired them with an inextinguishable hate of the Southron. Lastly it is to be remarked that the clergy, ever in fear of finding themselves subjected to the supremacy of Canterbury or York, were much more careful of Scottish liberties than the largely English lay baronage. They, rather than the baronage, were assuredly responsible for the safeguarding clauses

Commons and clergy.

in the treaty of Brigham. They may have considered that Edward was barred by that treaty from any objectionable interpretation of his rights as suzerain. And when they were disappointed in that expectation, it was the clergy who most zealously devoted themselves to the cause of liberation.

By the close of the year 1292 Edward had completed his achievements as a legislator with the statute *Quia Emptores*. He had absorbed Wales into England, and curbed the turbulence of the marcher barons. He had achieved the recognition of his suzerainty over Scotland. His record had been one of almost unqualified success. But by the development of his Scottish policy he destroyed for three hundred years the prospect of a harmonious union of the peoples of Great Britain. And if during the last fifteen years of his reign the lines of the development of the English constitution were permanently laid down, we owe their form almost as much to his defeats as to the realisation of his own aims. But no man has known better than he how to accept defeat without loss of dignity or honour, and so to acknowledge error as to transform censure into praise. In spite of the dark blots on his later career, he emerges a greater man than if it had ended with the twentieth year of his reign.

1292, a turning point.

IV. Constitutional Crises, and the Scots Revolt, 1293-1297

John Balliol became king of Scotland as Edward's vassal in November 1292. But troubles were already brewing for the king of England apart from the wasp's nest which he was on the point of stirring up in Scotland. His relations with the French king Philip IV. were theoretically friendly. With Philip III. they had been friendly in actual fact. The French Crown had made no effort to disturb Gascony, and had without demur conceded the claim of Edward's wife Eleanor of Castile to Ponthieu in the north-east of France. But Philip the Fair, a prince of the same type as Philip Augustus, was waiting his opportunity to lay hands on the French territories

Edward and France.

of the English king upon any legal pretext which would serve his turn.

An opening was given to him at the beginning of 1293. For a century past at least there had been a hot rivalry and antagonism in the Channel between the English and the Norman seamen. Latterly there had been frequent collisions, acts of violence, and charges and counter-charges of piracy. In May a fleet, partly English and partly Gascon, encountered a Norman fleet off the coast of Brittany. There was a regular sea-fight, in which the Normans had the worst of it and the English ships came home laden with spoils. As a matter of course each side declared that the other was entirely to blame; and at the beginning of 1294 Philip summoned Edward, as duke of Aquitaine, to answer for the proceedings of his Gascon subjects. The king's brother, Edmund of Lancaster, who was also by marriage count of Champagne, went to Paris to act on Edward's behalf, and at the same time to arrange his marriage with Philip's sister Margaret, as Eleanor of Castile had died in 1290. It was agreed that pending the marriage Philip was to take formal possession of certain castles in Gascony, much as Edward had taken possession in Scotland pending the decision as to the succession to the Scottish throne. This was the agreement arrived at; but Philip had hardly got possession of the castles when he revived the proceedings in the feudal court against Edward, declared the fiefs forfeited, and seized the administration of Gascony.

The breach, 1293.

Treachery so flagrant could have but one result, and Edward immediately made preparations for war. He attempted to build up a coalition of European potentates, summoned a parliament in England from which he wrung a heavy subsidy, and dispatched an advance force to Gascony. The country shared the king's indignation: some of the barons strained their private resources to the utmost to raise an adequate army, and the king was even suffered to seize the wool of the merchants and to exact a heavy pecuniary payment as the condition of releasing it.

Preparations for war, 1294.

Yet the French war was postponed. At this moment there

was a dangerous rising of the Welsh, headed by Madoc, who claimed to be the son of Llewelyn. All Wales was in arms, though some of the chiefs declared that they were rising not against Edward but against illegal oppression by the marchers. Edward had to turn upon Wales the forces intended for Gascony, and to procure from the reluctant parliament still further supplies. A fierce and costly winter campaign crushed the insurrection, the decisive battle being fought at Maes Madog in January, when the Welsh were shattered by a development of the tactics of Orewyn Bridge. Bodies of archers, alternating with squadrons of cavalry, poured their volleys into the Welsh ranks, and broke up their line, so that the charge of the cavalry was made irresistible. But even after the slaughter of Maes Madog six months passed before Edward felt that the embers of rebellion were completely stamped out. And in the meanwhile the expeditionary force in Gascony, after some preliminary successes, was being decidedly worsted by the French king's brother Charles of Valois. Both Edward and Philip worked hard at combining coalitions each against the other, but neither of the kings got any practical help from his allies.

A Welsh insurrection, 1294-1295.

But a new centre of disturbance had already risen in Scotland. Edward had not been content with his formal suzerainty; he encouraged the carrying of feudal appeals from Scotland to his own court, for which there was no precedent. The Scots had at least been entitled to suppose that in acknowledging Edward's suzerainty they were not subjecting themselves to any claims such as no king of England had previously made; since it was Edward's contention that he was demanding only the recognition of rights which had subsisted even before the Norman Conquest. Practical subjection to the distant court in England was an intolerable burden. King John Balliol attended the English parliament in 1294, when he displayed a remarkable devotion to Edward's cause against the French king. When he returned to Scotland the magnates practically set him aside, and established a government by a committee of twelve—bishops, earls, and barons—exceedingly suggestive of the Provisions of Oxford. The government pro-

Scotland, recalcitrant, 1294.

ceeded to expel sundry nobles who were regarded as being too friendly to Edward, including Robert Bruce II., earl of Carrick, who had also just succeeded his father, the old claimant, in the earldom of Annandale. They explicitly denied the right of carrying appeals to England, and negotiated an alliance with Edward's enemy, Philip of France, whose niece was to be married to Balliol's son Edward. This was just at the moment when the king had completed his pacification of Wales, and the position in Gascony was particularly unpromising. Edward responded by demanding the surrender of certain border castles, which the Scots government refused. Almost at the same moment the French fleet had accomplished a raid upon Dover, and there was some prospect that an invasion of England would be attempted. This was the crisis which brought about the summoning of the Model Parliament at the end of 1295. It had become essential that the whole nation should demonstrate its unity in the face of its gathering enemies.

The Franco-Scottish Alliance, 1295.

The year 1295 marks a distinct epoch not only in the constitutional development of England but in international relations. The alliance between Scotland and France, which originated with the treaty of this year, lasted for the best part of three centuries; and throughout that period every war between England and France was complicated by it, as well as every difference between England and Scotland. French help for Scotland was always a possible contingency that had to be faced; and if England invaded France she had to be always on guard against a Scottish invasion, and might on occasion find Scottish troops playing a very formidable part in the armies of France.

The composition of English parliaments had hitherto been irregular. The permanent elements had been the magnates lay and clerical, the greater barons and the prelates. Occasionally representative knights of the shire had been summoned, and representative burgesses for the first time in 1265. In Edward's reign there had been assemblies at which knights of the shire, burgesses, and nominated representatives of the minor clergy, had been present; on

The Model Parliament, 1295.

other occasions there must have been knights of the shire, but not apparently burgesses. In short, from 1275 to 1291 the great statutes had been passed by parliaments without any recognition of the principle that the presence of any one but magnates was essential. But the parliament now summoned in 1295 became the permanent model, although there were occasional deflections from it, and in one respect a material change took place in its form. An old legal formula—'what touches all should be approved by all'—was enunciated in the writ of summons, and accordingly there were called to it the barons and prelates, two elected knights from each shire, two elected burgesses from each borough, archdeacons and deans and representatives of the parochial clergy and the clergy of the cathedrals, as well as prelates. The purpose of the assembly was the provision of money; each of the three estates, the clergy, the baronage, and the commons, deliberated independently, and fixed their own contributions. At this time, however, it would seem that the knights of the shire were associated with the barons, for their grant was an eleventh, while that of the boroughs was a seventh. The clergy could not be persuaded to contribute more than a tenth. The subsequent change referred to above was the separation of the clergy from parliament, with the exception of the prelates, which is accounted for by their position as tenants of the Crown. The clergy preferred to make their grants in their separate assemblies—the convocations of the two ecclesiastical provinces. Another alteration of form, not of structure, took place when in 1333 the knights finally associated themselves with the borough representatives as a deliberative chamber separate from the hereditary baronage.

A naval movement.

One other salient feature in this memorable year has to be noted. The vigorous but unsuccessful effort of France to organise an invasion seems to have brought about the first creation of the beginnings of a French royal navy, and in England a great advance in the organisation of naval coast defence. Edward had an intelligent conception also of the uses of a fleet acting in support of land forces; and both before this in the French war and afterwards in the

Scottish wars he made judicious use of naval co-operation in his land campaigns.

Leaving his brother Edmund to the conduct of the coming campaign in Gascony, Edward turned his own attention to Scotland. For in consequence of the proceedings of the Scottish government he had summoned the king to appear before him, just as two years earlier he had himself been summoned to appear before the king of France. Balliol ignored the summons, and Edward had determined on the forfeiture of his recalcitrant vassal's kingdom. Berwick surrendered without any prolonged resistance. Balliol renounced his homage, but a month afterwards Dunbar was captured. Edinburgh, Stirling, and Perth followed suit before midsummer. Then Balliol made his own submission. Edward continued his unresisted progress through the east of Scotland to Aberdeen and Elgin, and then back to Berwick, bringing with him the Scottish coronation stone which tradition had identified as that on which the patriarch Jacob had reposed his head at Bethel.

Edward invades Scotland, 1296.

Balliol, now a prisoner, had forfeited his crown by rebellion against his overlord, at least on Edward's hypothesis that Scotland was simply a fief of the English Crown. Edward had no intention of putting a new king in his place; he meant to keep to himself the fief which had lapsed by forfeiture. Prudent Scots made haste to tender their allegiance: the names of some two thousand persons of position were entered in the record known as the Ragman Roll. Among them are those of Robert Bruce, now restored to the earldom of Annandale, which had been handed over to Comyn of Buchan, and of his son, the future king. The name of William Wallace, however, may be searched for in vain; the national hero never bowed the knee to the English usurper. Apparently Edward anticipated no resistance to his government, which was settled at a parliament of the magnates of both countries. Earl Warenne was left behind as the king's lieutenant, with Hugh Cressingham as treasurer, and William Ormesby as chief justice.

The Scots crown annexed.

In November Edward was holding another English parliament

in the south to obtain supplies for a vigorous prosecution of the French war which had been making no better progress than before in Gascony. The king's brother Edmund was dead and the command had devolved upon the earl of Lincoln. But disappointment was in store. The laity were liberal enough with their grants; but to the king's extreme wrath the clergy entirely refused to contribute; and some three months later Edward found himself faced by the opposition of a section of the baronage, and also by a growing tide of popular feeling.

An opposition in England.

The clergy were led by the recently appointed Archbishop Winchelsea, Peckham's successor at Canterbury. Like so many of his predecessors, Winchelsea became the champion of clerical rights against the secular authority when he became archbishop. He had hardly received the pallium when the most aggressive of all popes, Boniface VIII., ascended the papal throne. In 1295 it was Winchelsea who led the clergy in refusing for the purpose of the war a larger grant than one tenth. Early in 1296 Boniface issued the bull known as *Clericis Laicos*, of which the pious intention was to prevent the wealth of the Church from being used to further wars between Christian princes. Boniface forbade all secular authorities to demand, and all clerical authorities to pay, any exactions without first asking and obtaining the papal sanction, on pain of excommunication. On that bull Winchelsea now took his stand. The clergy as patriots were willing to aid the king generously, but the papal decree must be obeyed, and no contribution must be made until the Pope's leave had been obtained. Such was the final decision of the clergy announced in January 1297. The king's hot temper was under less control than while his wise wife Eleanor was still living. He blazed into fiery wrath. The clergy should pay not a tenth but a fifth; if not they would be placed outside the law, outside the protection of the officers of the law; and outlawed accordingly they were save the very few who made private submission.

Archbishop Winchelsea, 1296-1297.

The clerical defiance, the claim, intolerable from the point of view of the State, that obedience to the Pope overrides obedience

to the State, the sentence of excommunication pronounced in accordance with the papal bull, had roused the king's passions. He was in a fever to push forward his plans in France. Already in his need of supplies he was seizing the wool and hides which awaited export, or exacting a very heavy toll called a *maletolt*, for not seizing it; and his officers were requisitioning food supplies on all hands. He called an assembly of the barons to explain his plan of campaign. He would take an army to Flanders to co-operate with the count on the north-east of France; another army was to operate in Gascony, under the leadership of the marshal Bigod, earl of Norfolk, and the constable De Bohun, earl of Hereford. But Hereford's hour had come. He had not forgotten his defeat in 1290. Hereford and Norfolk flatly refused to go to Gascony. They would, as in duty bound, accompany the king to Flanders; but to Gascony without the king they were not bound to go, and go they would not. 'By God, sir earl,' the furious king broke out to Norfolk, 'thou shalt either go or hang.' 'By God, sir king,' replied the earl, 'I will neither go nor hang.' The law was on the side of the earls, and their musters were not to be despised, especially as the popular clamours against the illegal royal exactions were waxing loud and angry.

Hereford and Norfolk, 1297.

Angry as he was, Edward saw that he had blundered: he had broken away from his guiding principle of keeping within the letter of the law. He had put himself in the wrong: he was wise enough to see that he must put himself in the right, if he could do so without loss of dignity, and that he must do something more if he was to recover his full strength. Boniface, who found himself in danger of defiance from the kings of both France and England, pointed the way to a reconciliation with the clergy by a bull relaxing the stringency of the *Clericis Laicos*. Edward relaxed the stringency of his proceedings against the churchmen. Winchelsea saw that he, too, had gone too far: he authorised the clergy to pay, or not to pay, as each man's own conscience bade him, though he would pay nothing himself. The bulk of the clergy were prompt in acceding to the king's demands. The popular resentment was pacified

Retrieving the position.

when the king's officers were ordered to pay for the goods they had requisitioned; the merchants were pacified by the promise that the wool and the hides should presently be paid for. The claim for service beyond sea was regulated by the announcement that the foreign levies were to be on the footing of paid volunteers serving out of goodwill and without legal obligation.

As matters stood the larger enterprise of a twofold campaign could not be carried out, and Edward had to content himself with carrying his army to Flanders. By August a powerful force was assembled, though Norfolk and Hereford, having the tables turned on them, chose to resign their offices rather than go. The king appointed a council of regency, with the boy Edward as nominal regent. Even at the last moment the recalcitrant earls came forward with a demand for the confirmation of the charters, which Edward refused as untimely. He took his departure to Flanders, although the earls were already threatening to stay forcibly the collection of supplies until the charters should be confirmed.

Edward sails to Flanders (August).

The determination to push forward the war, and the absorbing character of the struggle with the opposition which he had raised, prevented Edward from realising that affairs were taking a serious turn in Scotland. Warenne had been left there presumably on the hypothesis that the task of governing the country would present no serious difficulties; for he was a man of naturally small capacity and had grown inert with age. The more active, but equally incompetent, Cressingham and Ormesby were tyrannical self-seekers; the English soldiery who had been left as garrisons took their tone from their chiefs and played the tyrant as if they were in a conquered country. Numbers who had refused allegiance took to the hills and moss-hags as outlaws. Among them an ascendency was soon achieved by the hero of many legends and myths, William Wallace. In the north a similar rôle to that of Wallace was being played by Andrew Murray. By May the popular revolt was general, though hitherto none of the nobles had taken the lead. But now Sir William Douglas, one of the southern mag-

The Scots revolt, May.

nates, joined Wallace, and young Robert Bruce of Carrick began playing for his own hand on the side of the insurgents.

Edward meanwhile was preparing to carry off to Flanders some of the Scots nobles who had taken part in the resistance to him before John Balliol's deposition. When Clifford and Percy were sent from the north of England to help the king's lieutenants in dealing with the insurrection, the magnates made a show of repentance; and when Edward left England for Flanders he was still under the impression that order would very soon be restored.

He was mistaken; for Wallace was still in arms; and though the magnates would not openly support him, or place themselves under the leadership of a mere knight, they gave no efficient aid to the government. At last Warenne began to move against the outlawed captain, who drew his forces together at Cambuskenneth commanding the Stirling bridge over the Forth. His strength lay entirely in his foot soldiery, spearmen for the most part; the horse who were still with him were only a few score. Warenne arrived at Stirling Bridge, which his men-at-arms could cross only two abreast; yet with amazing folly he began to dispatch his army across the river. When enough of them were over, Wallace fell upon them, seized the bridge-head, and cut them in pieces. A panic seized the troops who had not crossed; the Scots contingents who were with them turned against them, and there was a wild flight and slaughter. Warenne escaped to Berwick; the hated Cressingham was caught and killed; the story runs that the dead body was flayed, and Wallace, according to an English tradition, made from the skin a scabbard for his sword. But the stories of Wallace vary between attributing to him exceptional ferocity and exceptional magnanimity. At any rate the effect of the victory was that Wallace was proclaimed *Custos Regni*, guardian of the kingdom in the name of King John; the English were swept out of the country, and Wallace began to raid into the north of England.

Wallace at Stirling Bridge, Sept. 11.

These events took place in September. The regency in England awoke to the danger of the situation. A parliament was called; but Norfolk and Hereford took full advantage of their

position. There should be neither men nor money for the Scots war till the charters were confirmed, and to that demand they added a petition against the taking henceforth of any tallage or aid without the consent of parliament. A later age attributed to this petition, *De Tallagio non Concedendo*, the force of a statute. But in fact it was not adopted in that form. What the regents did was to issue a confirmation of the Great Charter and the Forest Charter, with the addition of clauses forbidding the levying not of tallages but of *maletolts* and aids such as had been recently exacted without the consent of parliament. Substantial contributions were thereupon voted, and a commission obtained from the king in Flanders a formal ratification of the regency's action. We may suppose that Norfolk and Hereford were moved by a vengeful desire to humiliate the king rather than by patriotism or foresight, qualities of which they never made any display. But this *Confirmatio Cartarum* did in fact decisively reaffirm and definitely extend the limitations on the power of the Crown and the authority of the council of the estates of the realm which had been laid down at Runnymede. And specifically it assured to the parliament a control over policy by the prohibition of novel methods of raising revenue without the assent of the estates; which could be refused if they disapproved the purposes for which the money was wanted, or which could be made conditional upon the remedying of grievances.

Confirmatio Cartarum, October.

V. Malleus Scotorum

Edward's expedition to Flanders had enabled the opposition barons to win a constitutional victory; it had allowed the Scottish insurrection to assume dangerous proportions; and it had brought with it no practical gains. The delay in its departure had given Philip the opportunity for bringing up large forces to Flanders, and the English army when it arrived was by no means of the strength that the Flemings had anticipated. Edward had allied himself with the count, but the burghers were very nearly as ready to fight against their count

Truce with France.

as against the French. The military operations soon proved futile, since neither the king of England nor the king of France had ventured to bring his adversary to a decisive engagement. A brief truce was already in operation at the moment when Edward ratified the *Confirmatio Cartarum*. At the end of the following January 1298, the truce was extended for two years; and the two kings agreed to refer their quarrel to the arbitration of Pope Boniface, not as pope but as a private individual. Edward, without waiting for the award, made haste back to England, determined to vent his wrath upon Scotland. The regency had gathered a large army, before which the raiders from over the border fell back, but Edward forbade any extensive campaign until his return.

By midsummer Edward had concentrated a strong force at Roxburgh, one of the two fortresses of which the English remained in possession. The Scots lords, though they did not openly join Wallace, ignored the English king's summons to a parliament held at York as a preliminary to the invasion. Norfolk and Hereford demanded, before they would march, that the king should renew on English soil the Confirmation of the Charters, which he had ratified at Ghent; but they were satisfied with a pledge from leading loyalist magnates that the demand should be complied with later. Edward began his advance, but found the country cleared of provender; and the lack of supplies had almost driven him to decide upon a retreat when he learnt that Wallace's army was a few miles off at Falkirk. The king had, in fact, taken the precaution of preparing a provision fleet, but it was weatherbound at Berwick. With the prospect, however, of an immediate decisive battle Edward advanced to Falkirk. Wallace had his spearmen ranged in the solid masses called 'schiltrons,' with bodies of archers between them; but all the cavalry he had with him left the field at the first sign of an encounter. The masses of the English men-at-arms turned the Scottish flanks and cut the archers to pieces, but hurled themselves in vain against the spears. Edward, however, brought up his own archery; there were no Scottish horse to fall upon them; the storm of English arrows opened great gaps

The Falkirk campaign, 1298.

in the ranks of the spearmen into which the English chivalry charged; and, in spite of fierce resistance, the battle became a mere slaughter. Vast numbers of the Scots were left dead on the field, though Wallace himself made his escape.

It is probable that young Bruce was with Edward's army in the battle, and laid to heart the lesson by which he was to profit at Bannockburn sixteen years afterwards. This, however, is by no means certain; for apparently he was in arms in his own country next month against Edward. But, in fact, after Falkirk, the victor did practically nothing to establish his authority, but was forced back to England, since his levies were refusing to prolong their service. His efforts to draw an effective fighting force to his standard were in vain. It was not till 1300 that he was again able to lead an army into Scotland. The battle of Falkirk did not effect a reconquest. It did indeed cause Wallace to resign his position as *Custos Regni*; when probably he betook himself to France in the vain hope of procuring effective assistance from Philip the Fair. But with Wallace out of the way the nobles were comparatively ready to come forward. There was a 'band' between Bruce, Comyn of Badenoch, and Bishop Lamberton of St. Andrews, who assumed some sort of regency.

After Falkirk.

For nearly two years Edward was kept in the south by quarrels which at last were sufficiently composed to enable him to march north in 1300. But this campaign was very ineffective. It was terminated by a truce to the following summer. Again in the winter of 1301 another campaign was attempted with equally small success. The Scots would not meet Edward in the field, but they cleared the country of provisions, and Edward got nothing for his pains. Then there was another truce and no more fighting till 1303. Bruce, for whatever reason, had by this time returned to the English allegiance, perhaps from jealousy of Comyn. In 1303 Edward again overran Scotland, where he passed the winter; the Scots pursuing their former tactics, avoiding battle, and leaving the English very little anywhere to pillage. Soon after the beginning of 1304, however, most of the Scots nobles seem to have got tired of the

Campaigning renewed.

contest, and made their peace with Edward individually on fairly easy terms. Stirling Castle held out stubbornly for some time, but was reduced to surrender soon after midsummer, after which Edward once more returned home under the impression that the subjection of the country was complete. Wallace, who had remained in a subordinate position, though always taking an active part in hostilities, remained an outlaw outside the king's peace, and kept the flame of insurrection smouldering; but in 1305 he was betrayed to the English, carried captive to London, and condemned to the ignominious death of a traitor—the political equivalent of a martyr's crown. Out of the tangle of legends gathered about the great champion of liberty it is not easy to extract much assured truth; but this at least is certain, that from first to last he was the one man who in season and out of season never relaxed his efforts to drive the alien out of the country, never dreamed of submission, never deserted the cause. And therefore his memory is to Scotsmen dearer even than that of the king who actually obtained for Scotland the freedom for which Wallace seemed to have died in vain.

The end of Wallace, 1305.

A few weeks after the death of Wallace, the plan for the government of Scotland was promulgated—the product of the deliberations of a committee, of whom twenty were English and ten were Scots. There was to be a lieutenant, the king's nephew, John of Brittany, with some high officers. The Celtic custom of the Highlands and of Galloway was to disappear; otherwise the law of Scotland was to be maintained, with amendments not specified. Sheriffs, usually Scots, were appointed to the shires; troublesome persons were to be deported to a safe distance in England. Robert Bruce and Bishop Wishart of Glasgow were two of the magnates upon whose advice the scheme was drawn up, and by whose action it was very shortly to be wiped out.

A scheme of government.

The seven years between Falkirk and the settlement, from 1298 to 1305, had been trying years for the king. When Edward, still anxious to prosecute the Scots war from which he had been obliged to desist by the defection of his levies, called a parlia-

ment in the early spring of 1299, Norfolk and Hereford were again to the fore with their demand for the confirmation of the charters, promised at the outset of the Falkirk campaign. Edward's attempts at evasion are somewhat incomprehensible; the barons were thoroughly determined to carry their point, and the king was obliged to give way, having succeeded only in intensifying the ill-feeling which already subsisted. In the summer the treaty of Montreuil with France was negotiated on the basis of the award which Boniface had given twelve months before. King Edward was at last to marry Philip's sister Margaret, and Edward of Carnarvon was to be betrothed to his daughter Isabella. Each of the kings threw over his allies, but Philip did not relax his hold upon Gascony. Still the formal reconciliation prevented Philip from lending an ear to Wallace, who probably visited France at this time. In 1300 Edward's old enemy, Humphrey de Bohun of Hereford, was dead, but still it was the baronial opposition which forced the king to accept the additional clauses called *Articuli super cartas*, largely directed against infringements of the charters, and especially enforcing the 'perambulation' of the forests—an inquiry, that is, into the encroachments whereby the royal forests had been unduly extended. In return the grant was made which enabled Edward to conduct his ineffective campaign later in the year; yet in January 1301, when the same parliament was reassembled to consider the report on the forests, he again found himself presented with a list of grievances for which he was forced to promise remedy.

A French treaty, 1299.

But on one point Edward achieved a marked victory. Pope Boniface had issued a bull, to which Wallace may possibly have had something to say, forbidding Edward to attack Scotland, on the ground that Scotland was a papal fief. Winchelsea had laid that bull before him in the previous year, and was disposed to support the Pope's claims. Edward now brought the matter before parliament; whereupon the barons with a gratifying unanimity, and in very emphatic language, informed Boniface that the king of England entirely declined to submit his conduct of temporal affairs to any external

A clerical defeat, 1301.

authority whatsoever, and that if he ever did think of doing so, they, the barons, would by no means permit it. Boniface and Winchelsea between them had unwittingly effected the reconciliation of the king and the baronage, between whom there was no more overt antagonism. Also Winchelsea's action broke up the alliance of the baronial with the clerical opposition; and from this time Winchelsea's own power was completely lost.

The king's hands strengthened.

In other ways, too, the king's hands were now being strengthened. The young Gilbert of Gloucester was his own grandson; the old troublesome Gilbert had died some time before the crisis of 1297. The rich earldom of Cornwall had been added to the royal estates by the death of the king's cousin Edmund without heirs. The young earl of Hereford was married to another of the king's daughters on much the same terms as Gilbert of Gloucester; and in 1302 Norfolk himself, who had no heir of his body and did not wish his brother to succeed him, surrendered his estates to the Crown and received them back in tail, which in the circumstances meant that when he died they would go to the Crown. For a time then, from 1302, fortune favoured King Edward. Philip of France was in difficulties. The Flemish burghers, though they had supported their own count very half-heartedly against him, revolted against French tyranny when Philip got the upper hand; and for the first time, at Courtrai in this year, their massed infantry utterly routed the chivalry of France. Also he was engaged in that bitter struggle with Pope Boniface, which was to end in the victory of the king, but for the time being hampered his action. Consequently in 1303, Philip accepted a treaty with Edward, restoring Gascony to him. Then Boniface died, and after an interval the Gascon archbishop of Bordeaux became Pope Clement IV. Clement, who initiated the residence of the popes at Avignon, reversed the papal policy, and was a very good friend of Edward as well as of Philip. Edward extracted from him the annulment of the various promises which had been extorted by parliament from the Crown from 1297, though he made no actual use of this release, except in respect of the forest charter. He may have

France and the Avignon Papacy.

intended to go further, but the renewal of troubles in Scotland in 1306 demanded the whole of his attention.

On 25th March 1306 Robert Bruce was crowned king of Scotland at Scone, by Bishops Wishart of Glasgow and Lamberton of St. Andrews, the former of whom took and broke the oath of allegiance to Edward six times, while the latter at this particular period was supposed to be high in the confidence of the English king. The Scottish bishops perjured themselves in the cause of national freedom with apparently untroubled consciences. The various versions of the beginnings of Bruce's rebellion are hopelessly irreconcilable in their details. It is tolerably evident that Bruce and Lamberton were in some sort of league. It is also certain that Bruce sought a conference with John Comyn of Badenoch, the 'Red Comyn'; that they met in the Franciscan church at Dumfries; that there was an angry quarrel, and that Comyn was stabbed by Bruce and slain before the high altar. Comyn had with more consistency than any of the great nobles taken the patriotic part; his mother was John Balliol's sister, and his father had been one of the numerous claimants for the Scottish throne, on the score of descent from Donalbane, the brother of Malcolm Canmore. After the Balliols themselves, the Red Comyn really had a better claim than Bruce himself to the Scottish throne. The Bruce tradition says that Bruce killed Comyn because he found that Comyn had betrayed, or intended to betray, him to Edward; Bruce having proposed that they should act in concert in claiming the throne for one or the other, the one who was made king handing over his lordships to the other. On the other hand, Comyn was obviously the only actual rival who stood in the way of Bruce's ambition; and Bruce had hitherto been completely unscrupulous. But the outstanding fact was that the murder of Comyn left Bruce no alternative. There was no possibility of forgiveness for a sacrilegious murder, which was certainly associated with a design of rebellion against Edward. The only course was the desperate one of fighting as the champion of Scottish independence. Bruce's crime transformed him from a vacillating and violent self-seeker into a hero

Robert Bruce's revolt, 1306.

The murder of Comyn.

—prudent, daring, and resolute, a consummate leader, a mirror of chivalrous knighthood.

By the coronation at Scone the gage of battle was flung down; and the flame of insurrection spread. But the murder of Comyn split what might have been the patriotic party by driving the whole of the Comyn connection into fierce hostility to the new king. Three months after the coronation Bruce was routed by an English force at Methven. The bishops, two of Bruce's brothers, his wife and his daughter, were captured, and he himself became a hunted fugitive. In the winter he was lying in hiding in the island of Rathlin, off the Irish coast. But the fire he had kindled was not to be quenched till Scotland was free. In the spring he was back in his earldom of Carrick, and the insurgents who gathered to his banners were striking fierce blows against the English forces. Edward had sworn that there should be no more mercy, that Scotland should be brought under his heel. His own health had suddenly broken down; yet with unflagging energy he assembled great levies in the north of England, to crush utterly once for all the sacrilegious and now excommunicated traitor who had defied him. Early in July the great army was on the march, close on the border; but already the grip of death was closing upon the great king. On 7th July he expired at Burgh-on-Sands, leaving to his son the command that his bones should be carried at the head of his army until all Scotland should be utterly subdued. The injunction was not obeyed. His bones were carried back to Westminster and laid in the tomb, on which were inscribed the words '*Malleus Scotorum*' —the hammer of the Scots. As for the subjugation of Scotland, Edward of Carnarvon was not the man to carry out the task on which his father had failed.

Death of Edward, 1307.

CHAPTER IX. EDWARD II. AND THE MINORITY OF EDWARD III., 1307-1330

WHEN Edward I. died, the great expedition which was to stamp out Scottish rebellion once for all was turned into a wholly ineffective military demonstration and nothing more. The king's cousin, Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, was left in charge of affairs in Scotland; his other cousin, John of Brittany or Richmond, had never actually taken up the office of lieutenant. The great levies dispersed. King Robert and his brother Edward, Lord James Douglas, and a steadily increasing following of barons and knights, waged a merciless guerilla war upon the English garrisons in the south, varied by incursions upon the hostile Comyn kindred in the north. Fortress after fortress was surprised, and when captured was dismantled; the patriots had not troops to spare for garrisons. Every success brought in fresh adherents; every effort to hunt down the insurgents was foiled. Before long the question was not whether the English would be able to crush the patriots, but whether they would themselves be wiped out of Scotland. And meanwhile the king and the barons of England paid no heed, having more pressing personal matters on their hands.

Progress of Bruce.

It has been previously noted that the French kings of the fourteenth century turned to the dangerous policy of creating a powerful territorial nobility of the blood royal, with the intention of strengthening the power of the Crown. Edward I. of England had set the example, not realising that he was creating a new danger—nearness to the Crown did not entail loyalty. In the reign of Edward II. personal rivalries, jealousies, intrigues, and hostilities, controlled the course of public

The English barons.

events far more than any considerations of public policy; and half the men who were responsible were of the blood royal, or connected with it by marriage. The most powerful magnate in the country was Thomas of Lancaster, the king's cousin-german, who had inherited, or by his marriage with the heiress of Lincoln was to inherit, no less than five earldoms. The earl of Pembroke was the son of Henry III.'s half-brother, William of Valence. The earl of Gloucester, as yet only a lad of sixteen, was the king's sister's son; the earl of Hereford was the king's sister's husband. Earl Warenne was the husband of the king's niece. But of them all only Gloucester and Pembroke were ever influenced by any sentiment of loyalty to their kinsman. A baronage which had been dominated by the will of a great ruler, who was also a great statesman, nevertheless adhered to the conviction of their grandfathers, that the government of the country ought to be in their own hands; and they soon determined to give that conviction effect when the throne was occupied by a king who displayed in a violently exaggerated degree every defect in the character of Henry III. The unfailing folly of Edward II. saved the country from a real danger; a strong and unscrupulous king, following the old Edward, would have made the Crown completely despotic. The selfishness and the shortsightedness of the barons saved it from another danger—the establishment of an oligarchical baronage. The liberties which had taken root during the last reign were not destroyed; but a nation which owes its liberties not to the wisdom but to the folly of its rulers, must pay a heavy price.

Edward lost no time in emphasising his own unlikeness to his father. His favourite comrade, Piers Gaveston, a young Gascon knight, was at once recalled from the banishment into which the old king had sent him in order that the heir apparent might be removed from his disastrous influence. Honours and lands were heaped upon the favourite, who received the great earldom of Cornwall, of which the Crown had retained possession since its escheat upon Edmund of Cornwall's death, and he was married to the king's niece, the young earl of Gloucester's sister. The Scots campaign was completely abandoned. The ministers

Gaveston.

and judges, on whom Edward I. had relied in his latter years, were dismissed to make room for royal favourites. Winchelsea, who had at last been driven into banishment, was invited to return. The barons may well have anticipated a revival of the era of the Poitevins and Savoyards; but for the time their irritation was restrained by the old earl of Lincoln, the surviving representative of the loyal associates of the old king among the baronage. The disgust was increased when Edward, on his departure to marry his young French bride Isabella, left Gaveston behind as regent; and again on his return when the nobility were insulted by the king's public display of his devotion to his favourite. Gaveston, accomplished and witty, instead of seeking to conciliate hostility, chose to amuse himself by levelling gibes and insults at the men from whose enmity he had most to fear. Even Lincoln was driven into opposition; and nine months after Edward's accession, a parliament of magnates demanded Gaveston's immediate banishment, in terms which implied very clearly that they were ready to enforce the demand in arms. It was obviously impossible for the king to resist, and Gaveston was sent to Ireland as lieutenant.

Gaveston banished, 1308.

Edward's one desire was to procure Gaveston's recall. He strove hard to win over some of the barons, but meanwhile government was practically in abeyance. Twelve months after the parliament of magnates, a full parliament met in April 1309. Some supplies were granted, but with the accompaniment of a list of grievances and complaints against the king's officers; and the king's entreaty for a reversal of Gaveston's banishment was flatly refused. Nevertheless, aided by the moderating influence of Lincoln, Edward succeeded in so far mollifying several of the barons that he presently on his own responsibility ventured to recall the favourite. Gaveston fancied that his recall was a victory, and acted accordingly; but it had been at the best no more than a dubious concession. The rising resentment of the earls was already manifesting itself before the end of the year. In March 1310 the magnates assembled; and they came in arms. Of the ten earls none were friendly to

Gaveston recalled, 1309.

Gaveston, and only three were really friendly to the king—Lincoln, Gloucester, and Richmond (John of Brittany). Two—Warenne and Oxford—did not attend. The assembly followed the precedent of the Mad Parliament; after presenting a long list of grievances, it demanded that the remedying of them should be placed in the hands of the baronage. Before this unanimous demand Edward was helpless. He surrendered the royal authority for eighteen months to a commission appointed on the lines of the Provisions of Oxford; the twenty-one Lords Ordainers, as they were called, included the eight earls who were present, seven bishops headed by Winchelsea, and six barons. The Ordainers were to take immediate administrative action, and were further to prepare measures for the reformation of the realm, to take effect at the end of their period of office. The Commons had no voice in the matter at all. Before the time ran out, the death of Lincoln not only deprived the king of his best supporter, but increased the power of Lancaster, to whom, as Lincoln's son-in-law, the earldoms of Lincoln and Salisbury passed, in addition to the three—Lancaster, Leicester, and Derby—which he already possessed.

The Lords Ordainers, 1310.

While the Ordainers were at work preparing in the first place preliminary ordinances which they issued in August, and then the great body of ordinances which were brought forward twelve months later, Edward was ostensibly engaged in attempting the reconquest of Scotland. None of the earls joined him except Gloucester and Warenne, and nothing was accomplished. Bruce refused battle, and contented himself with cutting off supplies and harassing communications.

In August 1311 a full parliament was summoned to consider the ordinances which were issued in their final form in October. To a great extent the ordinances were reaffirmations of principles theoretically recognised, denunciations of practices in breach of the law. The 'new customs' which Edward had procured by agreement with foreign merchants were to be abolished; the alien bankers were to be ejected. Practically the ordinances were of no constitutional value; their

The ordinances of 1311.

primary interest for the moment lay in the penal clauses directed against Gaveston and other royal favourites, and their most permanent interest in the arrangements made for limiting the royal power through its control not by the estates in general but by the baronage. The king was not to go to war, to levy forces, or to leave the realm without consent of the baronage; the baronage were in effect to appoint or control the appointment of all the chief officers of state in England, Ireland, and Gascony. Gaveston and other Gascons were to be banished without hope of recall from all the realms under the lordship of the king of England.

Gaveston went in November; but in January of the next year, 1312, he was back again in the north of England in the king's company. In effect the king had simply defied the Ordainers, and the Ordainers were prompt to take up the challenge. Lancaster, Pembroke, Hereford, Arundel, Warwick, and Warenne acted together; Gloucester took a somewhat less aggressive part. The northern barons, Clifford and Percy, watched the border. Edward and Gaveston failed to raise an army, and the favourite shut himself up in Scarborough, where he surrendered to Pembroke, Warenne, and Percy after a brief siege. The three pledged themselves that Gaveston should suffer no injury till parliament had settled his fate; and if the parliamentary settlement was unsatisfactory he was to go back to Scarborough. But on the way south Gaveston was kidnapped by Guy of Warwick and carried off to Warwick Castle. Pembroke, who was in personal charge of the prisoner, was absent at the time. Warwick was acting in collusion with Lancaster, Arundel, and Hereford. They resolved upon Gaveston's death, regardless of the pledges of Pembroke and Warenne, by which they were in honour bound. The unfortunate Gaveston was carried to Blacklow Hill and was there slain. The responsibility for the murder lay most directly upon Lancaster. But from that hour Pembroke and Warenne, whose plighted word had been disregarded, were Lancaster's enemies.

The end of Gaveston, 1312.

But though the once solid party of the earls was split, neither side was anxious to fight. The birth of a son and heir to the king

made for a general pacification, and by the end of the year there was a formal reconciliation, though both Lancaster and Warwick stood aloof for another twelve months. When they also at last made formal submission, it seemed that peace might really be at hand since Gaveston himself could not be resuscitated.

Formal reconciliations, 1312-1313.

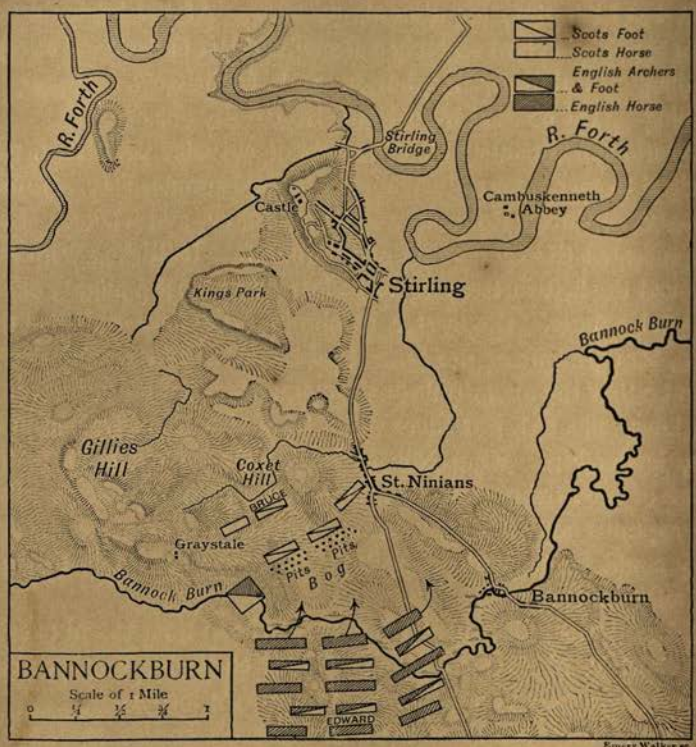
It was high time for discords to cease. At the beginning of 1314 the English had scarcely a stronghold left in Scotland except Stirling, Edinburgh, Roxburgh, and Linlithgow. Stirling—hard pressed by Edward Bruce—by one of the curious compacts which the laws of chivalry permitted, was pledged to surrender unless relieved by Midsummer Day. James Douglas captured Roxburgh and Linlithgow, and Thomas Randolph scaled the castle crag of Edinburgh. If Stirling were not relieved the last fortress would be lost. So at last a mighty effort was to be made. Gloucester, Pembroke, and Hereford joined the king, though four of the earls stood aloof. There was no doubt about either the magnitude or the magnificence of the army which the king collected, but there was a total absence of trained military leadership. King Robert knew that he must fight—the terms of the Stirling compact made that a point of honour. But his captains and his men were experienced campaigners; and they could be trusted as Wallace had never been able to trust his followers.

Scotland, 1314.

Edward was so late in starting, that to be in time he had to take the shortest route for Stirling. Bruce chose his own position with a thorough perception of the enemy's incompetence; the memory of the first Edward's tactics at Falkirk pointed to the one serious danger which had to be averted. As there was only a small force of cavalry, the only effective use of them which could be made in the field was to paralyse the English archers; apart from the archers, the Scottish spears would hold their own against any deluge of cavalry, as the Flemings had held their own at Courtrai. The smaller force was secured against being outflanked by the nature of the ground; the attack could be made only on a narrow front, largely protected by boggy ground and by artificially prepared

Bannockburn, 24th June 1314.

pitfalls. On the night of 23rd June the armies lay facing each other. In the morning the English, forgetting the teaching of Edward I. and the Welsh wars, advanced their archers unsupported to shoot down the Scottish ranks; the opportunity was promptly seized; the small body of Scottish horse, hidden



on the right, burst upon the archers and cut them to pieces. For that day the bow was of no more service to the English. The first column of the English horse crashed over the broken ground upon the Scottish spears, which bore the shock and flung them back only to make more desperate confusion of the second charging column. The Scots pressed forward, their mass unbroken; the English mistook a movement of the camp-followers on Gillies Hill in the rear for the arrival of a fresh force;

The battle.

panic fell upon them; though here and there were valiant warriors who stayed to fight and fall with their face to the foe, the great mass of the army broke into wild flight. Edward reached Dunbar, where he took ship for Berwick; Gloucester was slain on the field, Hereford was made prisoner, Pembroke escaped. The Scots horse were too few to make the most of the pursuit; nevertheless there was a very great slaughter, though the victors had a preference for prisoners who could be put to ransom over useless corpses. Edward had marched luxuriously provided, and a vast booty fell into the hand of the Scots.

Bannockburn was one of the three great battles which decisively demonstrated that the 'schiltron,' the phalanx of infantry armed with the spear and axe, could hold its own against charging columns of mail-clad knights; though the mail-clad knight was slow to lay to heart the lessons of Courtrai, Bannockburn, and Morgarten. The Scots of a later generation would never realise that Bannockburn had been won because the English archery were prevented from playing the same part as at Falkirk. A more intelligent generation of Englishmen was to turn to account the lessons of Edward I., and to demonstrate the invincibility of leaders who knew how to use archery in conjunction with either horse or foot, and against either horse or foot. Bruce had grasped the principle, but he could not use archery, because Scotland never had archers worth the name; what he could do, thanks in part to the incompetence of the English chiefs, was to put the English archery *hors de combat.*

The military lesson.

But Bannockburn was not merely a remarkable battle, it was a decisive one. What precisely an English victory at that stage might have meant it is impossible to say; but the Scots army would certainly have been annihilated, and nothing but the internal broils of England would have made a renewed resistance possible. King Robert's victory destroyed the possibility of an English conquest of Scotland, and left the northern country to work out its own salvation after its own fashion, with permanent effect upon the national character, not peacefully, but through ceaseless storm and stress. By so doing

Effects of the victory.

it established as England's neighbour a power whose hostility was very commonly active and never negligible. For fifteen years to follow and more, Scotland was always able to take the aggressive, to raid and harry the north of England, to foster English dissensions, and to harbour English rebels. And it was owing to Bannockburn that the Scots came near to driving the English out of Ireland, and destroyed for a couple of centuries all prospect of the English rule attaining to an effective organisation in that country.

In Ireland, outside the narrow pale where there was a colourable imitation of English institutions, an Anglo-Norman feudal baronage and Celtic clan chiefs professed a sort of allegiance to the English Crown, but went their own way with very little respect for any law, their endless private wars unrestrained by an almost powerless central authority. There was little enough unity either among the Norman barons or among the Irish chiefs; but Irish and Normans were rather more hostile to each other collectively than to rivals among their own racial group. The Irish resented the Norman supremacy altogether. When Edward's great army was shattered at Bannockburn, some of the Irish chiefs thought that their opportunity had come. They looked upon the Scots as their own kinsmen, without realising the extent to which half Scotland at least had been Normanised. They could not unite among themselves to throw off the English domination, but they conceived the idea that if they offered the crown of Ireland to Bruce, Ireland might be united under a Scots king. Bruce himself was not to be tempted by extravagant ambitions; he knew well enough that the unification of Scotland itself would tax his powers to the uttermost. But his brother Edward, a very valiant if also a very rash warrior, was ambitious and perhaps dangerous. If Edward Bruce would accept the Irish invitation in his place, Robert would give him what help he could without committing himself deeply.

Ireland, 1314.

In the spring of 1315, less than a year after Bannockburn, Edward Bruce had landed in Ireland, and it very soon became evident that from north to south the Irish clans were prepared to welcome him. What the Norman barons might do was

another matter. The greatest of the Norman magnates, Richard de Burgh, earl of Ulster, was King Robert's father-in-law, and there were others who might succumb to temptation. De Burgh, after wavering, sided with the acting justiciar of Ireland, Edmund Butler. Edward Bruce's successes in the field in conjunction with his Celtic Irish allies, intensified racial alarm; the Normans determined to hold together, and the war assumed very much the character of a struggle between Norman and Celt. Edward could march about the country, but the fortresses defied him. In 1316 King Robert came over to help his brother, who was crowned king of Ireland. But the Bruces were still unable to capture the castles or the fortified towns. Robert had to return to Scotland. Both parties were divided by internal feuds. But in 1317 the arrival of the fierce and resolute Roger Mortimer of Wigmore as justiciar greatly strengthened the Norman faction, and in the next year Edward fell in a skirmish at Dundalk. With his death ended the chances of a successful revolt against the English domination; although it was not followed by any serious effort to convert that domination into a healthily organised government.

Edward Bruce in Ireland, 1315-1317.

Bannockburn made Edward Bruce's Irish expedition possible; and it materially helped to make the king's government in England impossible. Lancaster and three of the earls had refused to join the great army, on the ground that the king was making war without having obtained the assent of parliament, in contravention of the ordinances; breach of the ordinances was declared to be the cause of all the troubles in the realm. While Bruce harried the north, the Ordainers protested against moving until Hereford and other prisoners were at liberty. An exchange of captives was effected, and Lancaster was strengthened by the return of his ally, while the king's party was weakened by the death of Gloucester. Also since the death of Winchelsea in 1313 Lancaster had adopted the rôle of champion of the Church. His one possible rival in his own party was removed by the death of Guy of Warwick. He successfully ousted Pembroke from the command of the army, which was sup-

Thomas of Lancaster.

posed to be going to bring Scotland to reason, although it actually did nothing at all; and altogether, by the beginning of 1316, he was in a position of greater power than any subject had enjoyed since the Conquest. For Earl Simon's dictatorship fifty years before had rested upon the earl's intellectual and moral pre-eminence, not upon the resources at his command.

Growing disintegration, 1315-1318.

Thomas of Lancaster only proved his complete incapacity for making good use of his power. He may or may not have had a secret understanding with King Robert; he certainly failed entirely to take any active measures against him, while that astute monarch gave colour to the suspicions which were rife by carefully leaving the earl's territories unraided. Famine and pestilence ravaged the country from end to end. Douglas and Randolph devastated the north; Welsh risings plunged the marches into warfare; in Lancashire there was an insurrection against the earl himself; and Bristol instituted a revolt on its own account, a popular party rising against the domination of a ring of burgesses who had turned the government of the borough into a close oligarchy. What once had been a baronial party resolved itself into a chaos of factions; and disasters seemed to culminate when, in 1318, even Berwick fell into the hands of the king of Scots.

Pembroke.

The blow served to bring the barons more or less to their senses. A sort of middle or moderate party was drawn together by Pembroke, which captured the administration and proved itself a shade less inefficient than the king and his favourites on the one side and Lancaster on the other. A sort of reconciliation was brought about by the compact or treaty of Leak; and in the new council of seventeen, which replaced the old council of twenty-one, Lancaster was represented by a banneret, while Hereford, Arundel, and Richmond were personally associated with Pembroke. In 1319 an attempt was made to hold the Scots in check, but the only effect was to prove the utter disintegration which had taken possession of the English. An army marched to besiege Berwick; but in so doing it left the whole of the northern counties at the mercy of Douglas's troopers, who never challenged a pitched battle, but went where they chose, effecting perpetual

surprises, and utterly foiling pursuit by the rapidity of their movements. The English found themselves so wholly helpless that they were reduced to making a two years' truce.

The Pembroke government, such as it was, got no help either from the king or from Lancaster. Edward was trying to reconstruct a party of his own with the two Hugh Despensers, father and son, as the moving spirits. **Rise of the Despensers.** A former Hugh Despenser had been one of Montfort's most trusted and capable associates. He had fallen at Evesham, when his son, the elder Despenser, was a child; the child had grown up to become a competent official under Edward I., and his son, the younger Despenser, who was about the same age as Edward II., became the king's personal favourite after the death of Gaveston. The Despensers inherited the Montfort tradition, but had not thereby been attached to the baronial party, being rather the professed advocates of Montfort's popular doctrines. So far as principles were concerned, they were warranted by their tradition in antagonism to the oligarchism of the baronage, and in adopting the theory of alliance between the Crown and the Commons. But, unfortunately, in practice they were not constitutionalists but self-seekers. A comparative respectability attaches to them because there was actually a constitutional element in their programme; but they never rose to the level which would entitle them to be called patriots.

The death of Gloucester at Bannockburn had caused the partition of the Gloucester inheritance among his three sisters, the eldest of whom was married to the younger Hugh Despenser. The three brothers-in-law, Hugh Despenser, Hugh of Audley, and Roger of Amory, each wanted the Gloucester earldom to be revived in his own favour. Amory was of Pembroke's party and Audley was of Lancaster's. Now the male line of the Braoses, who held the lordship of Gower in South Wales, was coming to an end. Hereford, Despenser, and Mowbray, Braose's son-in-law, all wanted possession of Gower when Braose should die, which he did in 1320. Mowbray's title was good according to marcher custom, but according to general English law the estate lapsed to the Crown. Mowbray **The marcher quarrel, 1320.**

seized it, and Despenser turned him out on behalf of the Crown. All the marchers were at once in arms in defence of the marcher custom. Despenser's action united the Lancaster and Pembroke parties for his overthrow. A full parliament of the three Estates met in 1321, the magnates appearing in arms. Pembroke made some show of acting as mediator; but a series of charges were formulated against the favourites, one being that the younger Hugh had declared allegiance to be due not to the person of the king but to the Crown, and that if the king sought to do wrong the subject's duty to the Crown required him to constrain the king to do right —a doctrine which the Ordainers themselves appear to have adopted at an earlier stage. The peers passed sentence of exile and forfeiture on the Despensers, who took to flight; but with their downfall the *raison d'être* of the coalition against them disappeared, and the coalition itself collapsed. Edward, of course, was bent on recalling the exiles.

Coalition against the Despensers, 1321.

A blundering insult to the queen on the part of Lady Badlesmere, the wife of an associate of Pembroke's, created a reaction in the king's favour. The marchers sided with Badlesmere, Pembroke sided with the king, and Lancaster, who hated Badlesmere, stood aside. Consequently Edward was able to compel most of the marchers to submission, and on the strength of his success recalled the Despensers at the beginning of 1322. Then Lancaster, joined by Hereford and some other marchers in person, took up arms and moved against the king in the north, where the Scots were again raiding the border, the two years' truce having come to an end. But the marcher levies had been put out of action, and could not join the rebel lords. When the royalists marched for the north, Lancaster and the barons retreated before them till their way was blocked at the passage of the river Ure at Boroughbridge by Andrew Harclay, the commandant of Carlisle. Harclay held the north bank with dismounted men-at-arms and archers. Lancaster's attempt to force the narrow bridge and the neighbouring ford failed disastrously; Hereford was killed, and his followers dispersed; a contingent from

Royalist reaction.

Boroughbridge, 1322.

York cut off the Lancastrian retreat, and Lancaster and the rest of the leaders surrendered. The prisoners were dispatched to Pontefract, where the king was lying. A court consisting of the king himself and the earls and barons who were with him, passed sentence of death upon Lancaster unheard; the earl was beheaded; a score of barons and knights suffered the death penalty; Audley and Roger Mortimer were thrown into prison, from which the latter escaped and made his way to France. So perished the most powerful subject and the most dangerous enemy of the king of England; a man who had proved himself devoid of statesmanship and generalship; who had set at naught the word of honour; who to humiliate the king had almost, if not quite, played the traitor in his relations with the king of Scots; who had displayed no redeeming qualities in his arrogant and incompetent selfishness. And yet by a strange irony Thomas of Lancaster obtained credit as a martyr of patriotism and the cause of liberty, and was popularly canonised as a saint.

The royal triumph was complete; although, true to their traditions, the Despensers gave it a popular form. Six weeks after Lancaster's execution a full parliament of the three Estates was assembled at York, the only one before the reign of Henry VIII. to which representatives from Wales were summoned. The parliament revoked the ordinances, though it re-enacted some of them and confirmed the charter. It was expressly declared that 'The matters which are to be established for the estate of our lord the king and of his heirs, and for the estate of the realm and of the people, shall be treated, accorded, and established in parliament by our lord and king, and by the consent of the prelates, earls, and barons and commonalty of the realm, according as hath been heretofore accustomed'; in effect that is, it disqualified any assembly of magnates apart from the commonalty of the realm from assuming the authority of a parliament. It was comparatively of little moment that the formal ground of the revocation of the ordinances was that they were contrary to the royal prerogative.

The Constitutional Parliament of 1322.

The pacification after Boroughbridge was followed by the usual

display of incompetence in dealing with the Scots, who swept over the northern counties with fire and sword. A force was marched into Scotland, but found no one to fight and nothing to capture except fortresses which defied attack. The expedition withdrew ignominiously and was followed by another Scottish raid, in which the earl of Richmond was taken prisoner, and the king himself barely escaped capture by hasty flight. Despairing of protection from the government, the men of the north began to make terms for themselves with the Scots; Andrew Harclay, whose conduct at Boroughbridge had won him the earldom of Carlisle, took matters into his own hands, and arranged for a peace which should recognise Robert as king of Scotland; but this was an acknowledgment of defeat for which the king and the barons were not prepared. Harclay was arrested and executed as a traitor. Five years later the independence of Scotland was to be formally acknowledged by treaty, but not till then. Meanwhile a thirteen years' truce was arranged. Robert procured from the Pope the long-deferred recognition of his title, and was able to devote the last years of his life to the organisation of the State whose liberty he had won.

The Scots.

There ensued in England a period of comparative peace. Lancaster's earldoms passed to the Crown by his treason, though they were in part restored to his brother Henry with the title of earl of Leicester. With Pembroke's death in 1324 his earldoms also lapsed to the Crown; the earls of Hereford and Warwick were boys. There was no one left to play the part either of Lancaster or of Pembroke himself. The Despensers were supreme, but on every side they were stirring up enemies, amongst whom not the least dangerous was the queen Isabella, who bitterly resented her own want of influence with her husband and the humiliations to which she was subjected. She soon found an opportunity for weaving her own designs at a distance from the Despensers.

The rule of the Despensers.

Edward's troubles in England had enabled the successive kings of France to carry on their old policy of covert aggression in Gascony. In 1322, the third of the sons of Philip IV., Charles IV., succeeded his brother on the throne. Edward delayed

to do homage to his new suzerain, not without reasonable excuses; but Charles found for his own part an excuse, in the conduct of one of his vassals and of the seneschal or governor of Gascony, for sequestrating Gascony, and rapidly gave effect to the sequestration by force of arms. At the end of 1324 little remained in the hands of the king of England's officers beyond a portion of the Gascon coast-line. Arms and diplomacy had availed equally little, till Queen Isabella proposed that she should herself go to France and exert her influence to persuade her brother to restore the duchy and make peace, in the spring of 1325. To France she went, and after some months' delay Charles agreed to restore Gascony after he should receive Edward's homage; in the meanwhile Bayonne alone was to remain in the hands of the king of England—the rest of the English garrisons were to be withdrawn. Still Edward did not wish to pay homage, and the Despensers did not wish him to go to France out of reach of their personal influence. Thereupon Isabella suggested that the young Prince Edward should be invested with the duchy of Aquitaine and the county of Ponthieu, and sent over to her to do homage for them to the French king. The boy accordingly joined his mother at the French court. But Charles now professed that his promise was fulfilled by the restoration merely of that remnant of Aquitaine from which the English garrisons had just been withdrawn. Edward II. in great disgust declared himself governor of Aquitaine on behalf of his son the duke; whereupon Charles again took possession, meeting with no resistance.

The French aggression in Gascony.

Queen Isabella in France, 1325-1326.

But meanwhile the queen had surrendered herself body and soul to Roger Mortimer, who had broken prison and escaped to France a year earlier. Guided by Mortimer, Isabella refused to return to England so long as the Despensers ruled. The Prince of Wales was in her control. She became the centre of conspiracy among exiles and malcontents, including even the king's younger brothers, Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk, and Edmund, earl of Kent, the sons of Edward I. by his second wife. Charles of France withdrew his countenance from his sister on account of

her notorious relations with Mortimer; but she found a useful ally in William, count of Hainault, who controlled the ports of Holland and Zealand. The price of this alliance was to be the marriage of the Prince of Wales to William's daughter Philippa.

In September 1326 Isabella and Mortimer landed on the east coast with a small body of Hainaulters, proclaiming that they had come to procure the removal of the Despensers, and to right the wrongs of the dead Thomas of Lancaster. No one would move on behalf of the king, whose brothers, as well as Henry of Leicester and gathering numbers from the eastern counties, joined the invaders. The king fled to the west, finding no support save from Arundel and Warenne. No resistance was offered to the westward progress of the queen's forces; Edward became a fugitive, and the elder Despenser was forced to surrender at Bristol, where he was promptly put to death without trial as a traitor. Then the king, Arundel, and young Despenser were caught; the two latter were executed as traitors, and Edward himself was consigned to the charge of Henry, earl of Leicester. The brother of Thomas of Lancaster displayed no vindictiveness, and Edward was treated well enough so long as he remained in the earl's custody. But already Bishop Orleton of Hereford, a personal adherent of the Mortimers, had implied in a sermon that something more was to be looked for than the overthrow of the Despensers. A parliament was summoned, which met in January 1327. The prelates, with only four exceptions, had now associated themselves with the victorious party; not one of the baronage desired or ventured to speak for the king, when Orleton invited the Estates to declare whether they would have for king Edward II. or his son the 'Duke of Aquitaine.' The London mob clamoured for the duke; but even Mortimer hesitated to depose the king in set form. The same end would be better attained by his abdication. At first Edward offered a stubborn refusal; then he yielded. On 25th January Edward III. became king of England, and the control of the government passed into the hands of Queen Isabella, 'the she-wolf of France,' and her paramour Roger Mortimer.

Fall of the Despensers, 1326.

Deposition of Edward II., Jan. 1327.

There could be no excuse for killing the king, but while he lived Isabella and Mortimer could not feel secure, and while he remained in the hands of Henry of Leicester he was safe from foul play. So he was taken away from Leicester and handed over to custodians who for several months endeavoured unsuccessfully to kill him by every means short of actual murder. At last it was announced in September that he had died at Berkeley Castle, and his body, which bore no obvious marks of violence, was exposed in order to quell suspicion. No one has ever questioned the truth of the popular belief that he was inhumanly slain with hot irons; for the hapless victim's shrieks were heard outside the castle walls. The tragedy of Thomas of Lancaster's fall had made of the dead earl a miracle-working saint; the same fate befell Edward of Carnarvon; although, on the other hand, there were many who believed that the deposed king was not dead but had escaped, and that the exposed corpse had not been his at all.

Murder of Edward.

Immediately after the deposition of Edward II. the young Edward III. was crowned; but the few years that passed before the young king broke free from the control of his mother and her paramour belong to the same period of endless and aimless misgovernment as the reign of his father. The parliament placed the administration in the hands of a council, setting nominally at its head Henry of Leicester, who was now reinstated in his brother's earldoms and became Henry of Lancaster. But Lancaster, though public-spirited and honourable, was not a commanding personality, and the majority of his colleagues on the council were creatures of the real rulers, Isabella and Roger Mortimer. Mortimer in times past, and especially when acting in Ireland, had shown vigour and capacity; but now he set before himself no object except personal aggrandisement. He made no attempt to deal with the task of raising England out of the abyss into which she seemed to have sunk in the latter days. The responsibility for failing in so thankless a business was to be laid upon others, while he added estate to estate, and made himself supreme lord of the marches. But though he assumed no official position of responsibility, his will

The minority of Edward III.

and the queen's controlled the government, which remained of precisely the same character as the rest which had prevailed for twenty years past.

The internal administration then was mainly directed to extending Mortimer's territories and influence on the marches and in Ireland, culminating in the bestowal upon him of the new title of Earl of March in the autumn of 1328. This almost resulted in a fresh civil war between Mortimer's partisans and those of Lancaster, who seemed at last to have been roused to active opposition. But a peace was patched up, and then Lancaster was smitten with blindness, which ended any prospect of excessive activity on his part. Edmund of Kent threatened to become troublesome, but was inveigled into a sham plot for the restoration of the non-existent Edward II., which was made an excuse for beheading him early in 1330. In the meantime the management of French and Scottish affairs had continued as inefficient as ever. In France, upon the accession of Philip of Valois, Isabella put forward a claim[1] in favour of her son; but the principle of the male succession had been virtually established by the last two reigns. On the hypothesis that the succession might descend through but not to a female, Edward's claim was good; for at this date there were no grandsons of Isabella's elder brothers. But it was good on no other hypothesis, and the French lawyers declared in favour of the old law of the Salian Franks, which insisted on inheritance by and through males only. At the time nothing came of the young king of England's claim. But there was a formal though only partial restitution of Gascony.

The Mortimer tyranny.

The French succession, 1328.

As concerned Scotland, the regency were at last driven to accept facts. Although King Robert was now almost worn out with disease, generated by the hardships of his earlier days, the chaos in England tempted the Scots to a breach of the truce. English troops were mustered to march against them, taking the young king along with them; but the campaign was merely a particularly inglorious repetition of all those which had been attempted of recent years. At no

The Treaty of Northampton, 1328.

[1] See Genealogical Tables, VIII., *France, the later Capets.*

other time in English history have English troops been afraid to face half their own number in the field; but this was now literally the case, so desperate was the demoralisation. The English government resolved to throw up the struggle, to the intense indignation of the English people; by the peace of Northampton —the 'shameful peace' Englishmen called it—the independence of Scotland and the title of King Robert were formally acknowledged, and the English claim to suzerainty was entirely withdrawn.

Bruce had accomplished his task. He had not indeed consolidated the lowlands, the highlands, the islands, and the Scandinavian north into a homogeneous nation, but he had for ever secured his kingdom against a foreign domination. The lords who had been disinherited for their adhesion to England were not reinstated, not absorbed into the state which Bruce had made, and troubles were to spring therefrom in the future. The heir to the throne was a child who was to show none of his father's capacity. The baronage, who had learnt devotion to the person of the great king, were to develop all the disintegrating characteristics of an unrestrained feudalism. But under Bruce's guidance Scotland had taken her place among the nations who have fought for their national freedom against heavy odds, and won.

The end of King Robert, 1329.

In 1329 King Robert died, leaving the regency of Scotland in the capable hands of Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray. While Moray lived Scotland was safe. In England the rule of Mortimer, made trebly unpopular by the treaty of Northampton, was already tottering. The destruction of Edmund of Kent in March 1330 convinced Lancaster and others that their own turn would soon come unless the earl of March were struck down. Young King Edward, now in his eighteenth year, was already chafing at the tutelage under which he was held. He had married his bride Philippa of Hainault, at the time of the treaty of Northampton, and the birth of an heir to his throne in June 1330 emphasised his opinion that he had reached man's estate and was quite capable of ruling the country himself; the magnates found him eager to share their designs. In October

parliament assembled at Nottingham. Mortimer's suspicions were awakened, and he prepared himself for attack at Nottingham Castle, where he lay with Isabella and the young king. But he had not counted on treachery within the walls. During the night an armed band was admitted into the castle, was joined by Edward, and surprised and seized Mortimer, despite the unavailing entreaties and tears of the queen-mother.

Fall of Mortimer.

The parliament was transferred to Westminster, where the earl was tried by his peers, was condemned unheard as a traitor, after the evil precedent set in the case of Thomas of Lancaster, and since then habitually followed, and was hanged. Isabella remained unpunished, treated always with respectful courtesy by her son, but compelled to live in privacy, though amply endowed, during the eight-and-twenty years of life which still remained to her. With the close of the year 1330 the actual reign of Edward III. begins.

CHAPTER X. THE REIGN OF EDWARD III.
1330-1377

I. Before the Hundred Years' War, 1330-1338

With the fall of Mortimer began the revival of England. It may safely be said that for three-and-twenty years no single public event had reflected credit upon the Crown, the barons, or the people of England. Throughout that period there had appeared only one figure having the promise of a great character, that of Gilbert of Gloucester. The young earl who fell at Bannockburn when he was only twenty-three years of age had played his part with a moderation, intelligence, and self-restraint which might well have had noble development had he not been prematurely cut off. The best that could be said of Pembroke and Henry of Lancaster was that they were respectable; for all the rest it is impossible to find a word of praise save for the two survivors of an earlier generation, Lincoln and Winchelsea. It seemed as though there was hardly a living Englishman who understood the handling of troops, so that disgrace had constantly attended upon the English arms. The one constitutional advance of the reign, the definite pronouncement after Boroughbridge that the commonalty formed an integral part of parliament, was almost an accident, the outcome of a royalist victory over the party which would have called itself constitutional if the term had been known. Civil wars, private wars, and Scottish raids, famine and pestilence, had wrought perpetual ravages.

Gloom of the past reign.

But now came a transformation. English captains became the acknowledged masters of military tactics unmatched in any other country; English soldiers took it as a matter of course that they should win battles against enormous odds. English

sailors established a complete fighting supremacy of the seas. English commerce and English wealth developed enormously in spite of the devastating visitations of the Black Death. The political power of the Commons became firmly rooted without resort to civil wars or revolutions; civil broils passed out of the land. And before the close of the reign England had asserted herself intellectually. English speech had found utterance with William Langland; an Englishman, John Wiclif, had kindled the lamp which after many years was to blaze forth in the beacon light of the Reformation; and the first works of Geoffrey Chaucer were revealing the birth of a great English poetry. England had become articulate.

Progress in the new reign.

From the outset, dissensions and feuds seemed to disappear. Of the old baronial leaders, none were left save Henry of Lancaster, no one with dangerous ambitions either to lead a faction like a Thomas of Lancaster, or to excite hostility like a Gaveston or a Despenser. Lapsed earldoms were revived; the title of duke was for the first time introduced, when the infant heir to the throne was created duke of Cornwall. Edward found a useful chancellor in John Stratford, bishop of Winchester, who succeeded to the primacy when it became vacant. Men were weary of misrule, even as after the anarchy of Stephen, and soon settled into order when there was no one engaged in encouraging disorder for petty personal aims. The parliaments which assembled were now regularly gatherings of the three Estates until the uncertain date when the clergy ceased to attend the representative chamber. The division into two chambers—one hereditary, save that it comprised the prelates, the other consisting of elected representatives—was established in 1333. No extravagant demands were made upon their generosity; such demands as were made were met easily and without reluctance. The young king had all the qualities which make for personal popularity: good looks, a splendid physique, a ready tongue, and unfailing tact. Also he had a genuine desire to be famed as a great king; and if military glory occupied an extravagant share in his conception of kingly glory, that was the fault of the age, and in the popular judgment told altogether in his

Dawn of a new era.

favour. At the first it is true that evil traditions made the officers of his household greedy and violent in their exactions; but that was an evil which was presently remedied.

When Edward assumed the reins of government, it seemed that there would be peace from external as well as from internal broils. Ostensibly the outstanding questions had been definitively, if unsatisfactorily, settled both with France and with Scotland by the regency. Though Isabella had made her protest against the accession of Philip of Valois in France, Edward had duly performed homage to his cousin for what was left to him of Aquitaine. This comprised, roughly speaking, the coastal provinces between the Charente and the Pyrenees, extending about a hundred miles inland. Nevertheless Edward had not admitted that his claims were limited to this region, while the king of France had not admitted that there could be any claim outside it. But a private interview between the two monarchs in the spring of 1331 appeared to confirm them in perfectly friendly relations.

Relations with France.

With Scotland, on the other hand, peace ought to have been assured by the Treaty of Northampton, which had been ratified by the marriage of the six-year-old crown prince of Scotland, who was now King David II., to Joanna, the seven-year-old sister of the king of England. But the treaty was so unpopular in England that the young king was ready to seize any plausible opportunity for avenging the humiliations of the last twenty years. In 1332 the opportunity was given by the 'disinherited' barons of Scotland, Edward Balliol, the son of the luckless King John, kinsfolk of the Comyns, and others whose lands had been absorbed by the adherents of King Robert. Of Bruce's great captains, one, Lord James Douglas, had fallen fighting the Saracens in Spain; the other, Randolph, was regent; but if he died there was no one to take his place and hold Scotland on behalf of the boy king. Edward Balliol and 'the Disinherited' prepared for an invasion of Scotland, in order to recover their inheritance. Edward III. allowed them to raise troops and to sail from an English port, although he would not permit an advance by land over the English

Scotland and the Disinherited, 1332.

border. Randolph's death gave the Disinherited their opportunity. In August their picked troops landed in Fifeshire.

Dupplin Moor, Aug.

The new regent Mar was incompetent; still with a much larger army he met the Disinherited at Dupplin Moor. The experiences of recent years were reversed. The English—for Balliol's force was practically English—adopted that formation which was to prove so invincible in wars with France and Scotland for the next hundred years. The heavy armed troops were dismounted and fought on foot, only a small squadron of cavalry being held in reserve. On the flanks the archers were thrown out and forward, but so that they could readily fall back. The Scots fought as usual in masses of spearmen, but they had no archers of their own and no horse to launch on the English archery as at Bannockburn. Confident in the weight of superior numbers, the Scots pressed forward to crush the English centre; but their ranks were shattered by the storm of arrows from either flank. The battle became a slaughter, and then a panic-stricken flight. The victory brought over a number of magnates to Balliol's side, and in September he was crowned king of Scots at Scone.

Edward had not broken the Treaty of Northampton, but held himself at liberty to make what terms he chose with the new king; so in November Balliol acknowledged the suzerainty of the king of England, and promised to hand over Berwick to him. But Scottish patriots had no mind to throw away the fruits of Bannockburn. A few weeks later a party of them surprised Balliol, cut up his followers, and all but captured himself, though he succeeded in escaping to England. But now Edward had no scruple in endeavouring to reinstate the king who had admitted his overlordship. By the early summer (1333) Berwick was being blockaded, and Edward himself was at the head of an English army engaged on the siege. In July a large relieving force of Scots was approaching when Edward took up his position at Halidon Hill, adopting the formation of Dupplin Moor, but on a larger scale. There were three 'battles' or battalia of heavy-armed infantry strengthened by the dis-

Edward Balliol acknowledges Edward III.

Halidon Hill, 19th July 1333.

mounted cavalry, among whom Edward himself fought, a small number of mounted men being held in reserve. Each battle had its squadron of archers thrown out and forward on either flank. Again the Scots advanced in three masses, but this time the flanking fire of the archers shattered their ranks before they came to close quarters; the slaughter and the rout were more overwhelming than at Dupplin, because the forces engaged were much more numerous. Again the battle was decisive for the time. Berwick opened its gates; the Scottish patriots hurried off King David and his little queen to France, where they were welcomed by King Philip. Halidon Hill had practically effected an English conquest. Balliol had been palpably restored by English arms. By the Treaty of Newcastle, concluded in June of the following year, 1334, King Balliol not only acknowledged the overlordship of England, but surrendered to him practically the whole of Lothian and half the rest of the lowlands.

Treaty of Newcastle, 1334.

Edward made the mistake, fortunate for Scotland, of humiliating the vassal king and making him powerless in Scotland, instead of strengthening his hand and relying upon combined honour and interest to ensure his loyalty. Balliol, thwarted and humiliated by his overlord, was loathed as the betrayer of his country by the Scottish people, while he was unable to restrain the quarrels which broke out among the Disinherited, who alone had a real interest in maintaining the new order. The patriots fell back on the old system of guerilla warfare, which had proved irrepressible even in the days of Wallace and irresistible in the days of Bruce. When Edward made expeditions into Scotland he found no one to fight; when his back was turned the English garrisons were perpetually harassed. Successive campaigns year after year proved fruitless; and by 1338 the king of England was making up his mind to an enterprise more magnificent, though hardly more difficult, than the subjugation of the kingdom which had defied his grandfather. When the whole might of England was no longer directed against them, the Scots patriots, like Bruce thirty years before, attacked and reduced the fortresses one after

Recovery of Scottish Independence, 1335-1341.

another. Balliol, distrusted by his overlord, was recalled to England in 1339. Before the end of 1341 Berwick alone remained in English hands, and David returned with his queen from France, once more indubitably king of Scots.

Edward's ambition.

The enterprise which distracted Edward from attempting to complete the conquest of Scotland was what we may call provisionally the conquest of France. Nominally Edward put forward nothing less than a claim to the French throne. Actually he was determined to recover the whole Aquitanian inheritance, to hold it in full sovereignty, and to recover as much as he could besides of the Norman and Angevin dominion; the claim to the crown was put forward partly to secure the alliance of the Flemings, and partly on the diplomatic principle of claiming so much that large concessions could be made when an actual bargain was being struck. We have now to trace the circumstances which led up to the opening of what is called the Hundred Years' War with France, the war which began in 1338 and was only brought to a final conclusion with the expulsion of the English in 1453.

Rational basis of the French War.

It can sometimes be said with truth that a war has been forced on by the deliberate wanton aggression of a prince ambitious for martial glory, or of a power bent on aggrandising itself at the expense of its neighbours. But even where the aggression seems wanton, it will usually be found that behind it there is some fundamental antagonism of interests, an impossibility of reconciling opposing claims which to the respective parties appear to be indubitably just, whereby the powers are driven inevitably to appeal to the arbitrament of arms. Inevitably, unless both display a patient persistence in endeavouring to reconcile differences, to recognise grievances, and to discover points which can be conceded. It is easy enough to account for the Hundred Years' War on the hypothesis that the king of England wanted another crown; that he wished to occupy a turbulent baronage with their favourite pastime abroad, lest they should indulge in it within the four seas; or, on the other hand, to attribute it to persistent inexcusable aggression on the part of the French king. But, in fact, though such

considerations are to be recognised among the motives which brought about the war, the real causes lay deeper. The fundamental difficulty lay in the fact that the king of England was at the same time a French baron. As a French baron he sought to preserve the independent power possessed in the past by the great French feudatories, a power which no king of England had ever permitted any English feudatories to acquire. That power was incompatible with the organisation of France as a homogeneous state controlled by a strong central government. It would be equally unreasonable to blame the feudatories for their reluctance to resign their traditional and legal rights, or the Crown for its determination to enforce the supremacy of the central authority. From the national point of view the victory of the Crown was eminently desirable—was, in fact, the condition necessary to the creation of a compact state. But the trickery by which the Crown pursued its ends supplied an additional moral justification for the resistance of the feudatory. Where the feudatory was able to back his claims with the forces and resources of his own kingdom, which in its turn would derive very considerable benefits from his success, the time was certain to come when the appeal to arms would be made; and that time had now arrived. Aquitaine must either be independent of the French Crown or be absorbed under its dominion; and the continuous process of gradual absorption could only be stopped by war.

The French Crown and its great feudatory.

If the preservation of what was still unabsorbed, and the recovery of what had been from the English point of view stolen, could only be attained by war, there were strong enough reasons for expecting material advantages to England from the war. Not only was there a valuable trade with Gascony itself, which was in danger of being ruined, but there was a still more valuable trade with Flanders which was being threatened. The count of Flanders was a French feudatory, but in close alliance with the French Crown. The citizens of the great Flemish trading towns were dependent upon England for their supplies of wool, the raw material of the manufactures from which they derived their wealth. To them

Prospective gains for England.

friendship with England was of vital importance, whereas they were very far from being attached either to their count or to the king of France. The trade with Flanders was not only a source of English wealth but of revenue for the Crown. If the Flemish cities were detached from the domination of the French Crown, the threatened Flemish trade would be secured. It was this consideration more than any other which induced Edward to give prominence to his own claim to the French crown. The Flemings would find warrant for throwing off their allegiance to their own count and to Philip of Valois, on the hypothesis that Edward, not Philip, was their lawful suzerain; if the quarrel was one merely between the king of England or the duke of Aquitaine and the lawful king of France, they would be in plain rebellion if they supported Edward.

The Flemish trade.

The claim itself to the French crown is not to be set aside as merely frivolous. There was no uniformly recognised feudal law of succession; the practice varied in different regions, and there was much uncertainty as to the rule which applied to any particular crown. According to modern ideas, one of two rules habitually prevails; either the crown descends through the male line only, or it descends to and through a woman, a daughter having priority to a brother, though a brother has priority to a sister. But we have seen that proximity of blood might be held to give a stronger claim than primogeniture; as John succeeded Richard in preference to Arthur of Brittany, though a like plea was rejected in favour of John Balliol as against the elder Bruce. The plea on which Edward relied was that the crown descended through, though not actually to, a female. So in England itself the crown had descended to Henry II., not to his mother the Empress Maud; so also a century and a half later Henry Tudor claimed the crown for himself, not for his mother the Lady Margaret, through whom he claimed; and the Yorkists, whose claim was through the female line, did not claim the crown for the daughter of Edward IV., but for his brother's son. In parts of France the rule was familiar. Until the accession of Philip of Valois there had been no precedent implying that it was not valid in the case of the French crown;

The claim to the French crown.

and it might even be said that the house of Capet had backed its own pretensions by claiming descent in the female line from Charlemagne. It so happened that there had been no failure of a direct male heir of the body of a French king since the first Capet until the death of Louis X. in 1316. It was then declared that Louis's daughter could not succeed, and the crown passed to his two brothers in succession. When Charles IV. died, the only male descendant of Philip IV. was Edward of England; and it was only then that the French lawyers and the French baronage pronounced in favour of Philip of Valois, not because the law was unmistakably on his side, but because they wanted a French king not an Englishman. Edward could claim with reasonable justice that his rightful pretensions had then been set aside, and his own consent obtained only because he was too young to defend his own just cause. His real weakness in 1338 lay in the fact that the cause had already been decided by the French Estates; still it was not yet fully established even in England that the Estates could decide the course of the succession without appeal. Edward therefore was not without warrant in putting forward a tenable technical plea to buttress his case against Philip of Valois, or, as he himself put it, to serve as a shield against his enemies.

In 1331 there was an appearance of differences having been reconciled; but, in fact, Philip's officers continued their insidious methods in Aquitaine, and the relations between the two monarchs were not improved when the French king helped the cause of Scottish patriotism by harbouring young King David II. in France. Edward responded by receiving in England Robert of Artois, the French king's brother-in-law, who was bitterly at feud with Philip, and had been deprived of his possessions and expelled from France. Robert undoubtedly worked his hardest to foster ill-feeling between the kings. It became increasingly certain that war was approaching, and on both sides allies were sought. Edward succeeded in attracting to his camp his brothers-in-law, the counts of Hainault and Gelderland, and most of the princes of the Netherlands, whose suzerain was not the king of France but the emperor. Brabant

Alliances formed.

was won by the hope of displacing the Flemish towns in the English trade. Flanders being still under control of its count, commerce between the two countries had just been in effect cut off. At this time the emperor was Lewis of Bavaria, who was at enmity with the Avignon pope, Benedict XII., and therefore antagonistic to France; also his wife and Edward's queen were sisters; and he somewhat ostentatiously joined the circle of Edward's allies.

For Philip this was tantamount to a declaration of war. But though he once more declared Gascony and Ponthieu forfeit (1337), and the sailors of both countries entered upon hostilities in the Channel, the Pope restrained him from further action. Edward pushed forward his preparations, and in October formally renounced his allegiance and asserted the claim to the French crown put forward on his behalf by his mother nine years before. Papal legates visited Edward on a mission of pacification; he pretended to listen but continued to arm. Meanwhile the Normandy seamen were gaining the upper hand in the Channel, and making ominous attacks on the south coast. Soon after midsummer 1338 the English preparations were ready, and King Edward crossed over to Antwerp. In September he met the emperor at Coblenz, where Lewis appointed him vicar-general of the empire, and swore to aid him against the king of France, the lords of the empire following suit; and the forfeiture of fiefs held by the king of France within the empire was pronounced. The meeting at Coblenz may be regarded as the opening of the Hundred Years' War.

War, 1338.

II. The Years of Victory, 1338-1360

Although we may date the beginning of the war from 1338, another year elapsed before fighting began in earnest. For this the responsibility lay partly with the papal legates, who continued their pacific efforts for some time longer. Edward himself was held inactive from lack of sufficient funds to satisfy the demands of his allies of the

The first campaign, 1339.

Netherlands, each of whom had in view personal objects other than the cause of King Edward. However, in September 1339 he had brought together a considerable force, for the most part hired from his German allies in Brabant. In October he pushed across the French frontier, and set about ravaging. Philip sent him a challenge, characteristic of the age, to arrange for a pitched battle in open ground; but though Edward twice selected his ground in accordance with the challenge, Philip would not face him on either occasion, and at last Edward retired in disgust to winter quarters at Brussels. The king of England had got no practical good out of the imperial alliance. But in 1340 he came to terms much more advantageously with the Flemings. They had suffered so severely from the cessation of trade with England, that the embargo had been withdrawn by Edward, partly in return for substantial loans, and on condition that Count Louis and the French king should agree to the neutralisation of Flanders. The count found himself dominated by the burgesses, led by James van Artevelde of Ghent, who had obtained the concession from Edward. But the neutrality could hardly be maintained, and Edward could bid higher for Flemish support than his rivals. He would recover for Flanders towns and districts which previous French kings had torn from them, and he would give large commercial privileges. The Flemings were quite ready to accept the terms if he would formally declare himself to be the lawful king of France, so that they might declare themselves to be the followers of their liege lord. Count Louis, finding resistance vain, betook himself to France; the three great towns of Ghent, Bruges, and Yprés took the oath of allegiance to Edward as king of France, and he formally assumed the royal arms which combined those of France and England.

The Flemish alliance, 1340.

Edward, already heavily in debt to the Flemings, went back to England to collect a great army and fleet. His return to Flanders was signalised by the great sea-fight of Sluys: here the rivalry between English and Norman mariners was decisively settled. Each side had assembled a fleet of two hundred vessels, the great majority of the French being Norman.

Sluys, 24th June.

The art of manœuvring navies was not understood. In what was then the great harbour of Sluys, the French were gathered to challenge the passage of the English. On the morning of Midsummer Day the English bore down upon the French, who had lashed their ships together a mile or so outside the harbour. The first attack proving unsuccessful, the English fell away; the Frenchmen cut loose, and started, as they supposed, in pursuit of the fleeing foe; whereupon the English turned, the ships on both sides grappled, and there was a furious battle, in which the English were completely victorious, capturing the greater part of the Norman fleet. It would seem that Edward applied at sea what was beginning to be the base principle of English fighting on land, and that the English archery did much to cripple the Frenchmen before the actual hand-to-hand fighting began. The victory gave England a complete and decisive command of the sea, and the army, which had suffered little loss, was landed and welcomed by the Flemings.

Nevertheless, the land campaign which followed was entirely futile. Philip would not fight a pitched battle, and Edward wasted his time in unsuccessful sieges. The methods of chivalry were again illustrated by Edward's challenge to Philip to decide this quarrel by single combat, a proposal which Philip professed himself willing to accept, provided the crowns of both countries were the stake, not the crown of France alone. The aimless hostilities were suspended in September by the truce of Esplechin, to hold good for a year; afterwards it was extended for four years longer.

A five years' truce.

The truce was followed almost immediately by the emperor's desertion of Edward. A new pope induced the counts of Hainault and Brabant to declare themselves neutral. Artevelde lost his ascendency over the Flemings and was murdered, after which England could no longer rely upon active Flemish support. When war again broke out, the Netherlands could not again serve as Edward's base of operations.

Immediately after the armistice Edward took a hasty midnight flight to England, in order to escape his Flemish creditors. He was in a very ill-temper; his first step was to dismiss ministers

and judges, denouncing them as traitors whose malversations and misconduct were responsible for his financial difficulties. But the special object of his animosity was Archbishop Stratford, formerly chancellor. The archbishop took sanctuary, and there was an unseemly war of sermons and manifestos. Stratford demanded trial by his peers. He was called upon to attend, under safe-conduct, a parliament summoned in April 1341, and was then ordered by the king to answer the accusations against him before the Court of Exchequer. The barons supported him in refusing to answer before any court except that of his peers in full parliament. Edward found himself helpless. Before he could get the grant of which he was gravely in need, he was obliged not only to reconcile himself with the archbishop, but also to accept a statute requiring that ministers should only be appointed after consultation with the Estates, and should vacate office with the meeting of each parliament. The further effect of the whole quarrel was to unite the clerical party with what may be called the popular opposition.

Archbishop Stratford, 1341.

Within six months the king repudiated the statute, on the amazing ground that the sealing of it was merely a piece of necessary dissimulation. A later parliament, however, actually repealed the Act, in 1343.

Though the French war was suspended, hostilities broke out in a new field. The death of John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, left the Breton succession in dispute between his half-brother John of Montfort and his niece Joan (daughter of his whole-brother), the wife of Charles of Blois, nephew of King Philip. Philip for obvious reasons supported Charles of Blois, and the English, as a matter of course, supported John of Montfort; though the grounds on which the succession was claimed were a practical reversal of those on which Philip and Edward respectively reposed their claim to the crown of France. Montfort was taken prisoner; but his wife, another Joan, stood at bay and secured the support of the king of England by offering homage to him as king of France. England and France were not at war, but English and

The Breton War of Succession.

French troops were very soon fighting as allies of the respective claimants.

At an early stage of the war of succession in Brittany, the earl of Northampton, a younger brother of the Humphrey de Bohun who had recently become earl of Hereford, won at Morlaix a notable victory against great odds, by applying for the first time on French soil the methods which had proved so successful at Dupplin Moor and Halidon Hill. It is to be remarked that at least until the Welsh wars of Edward I. the English longbow had not superseded the crossbow; the effectiveness of what was to be the peculiarly English weapon was not fully demonstrated before Falkirk; and Falkirk was the only pitched battle where it came into full play before Dupplin Moor, since at Bannockburn the archery had been paralysed. But from this time forward almost every English victory of importance was won by the longbow, a weapon which none but English or Welsh ever learnt to manipulate. The crossbow matched against the longbow was something like the muzzle-loader matched against the breechloader; there was not much difference in the force of flight of the crossbow quarrell and the cloth-yard shaft, but the speed of discharge of the longbow was incomparably greater. The crossbow could never have been used like the longbow for the wrecking of cavalry charges.

Battle of Morlaix, 1342.

Apart from Morlaix, nothing decisive came of the fighting in Brittany. Though both the kings took the field, neither would challenge a pitched battle. At the beginning of 1343 both sides agreed to an armistice, but its terms were not scrupulously kept; and at last, in 1345, Edward denounced the truce of Esplechin and open war was renewed. It was at this stage that Edward very nearly ruined the city of Florence, by repudiating his enormous debts to the Florentine banking houses of the Bardi and the Peruzzi. The Flemings had already learnt to be extremely shy of repeating the advances which had in effect financed the earlier campaigns; and Edward was now forced to rely for loans upon English merchants. The credit and resources of the English merchants were an inadequate equivalent, and therefore the king was further forced to depend

Repudiation of the Florentine debt.

upon the goodwill of parliament for procuring the necessary supplies for carrying on expensive campaigns. Parliament, holding the purse-strings, found itself in a position to bargain, and thus to increase its control over policy and administration.

It has been noted that a change in the attitude of the emperor and of the princes of the Netherlands, as well as of the Flemings, made it impossible now for Edward to use the Netherlands as his base of operations. When the war was renewed it opened with campaigns in Gascony under the command of Henry, earl of Derby, who in the course of the year became earl of Lancaster, in succession to his blind father. Edward had already succeeded in winning over to his side many of the Gascon nobles, who were guided by their personal interests in taking the part of the duke of Aquitaine or of the *de facto* king of France. The towns also in general favoured the king of England. In 1345 and 1346, Lancaster made three vigorous campaigns or raids. In the first he practically recovered Perigord; in the next he recovered Aiguillon, at the junction of the rivers Lot and Garonne. In the third he raided Poitou and successfully stormed Poictiers. But by this time his successes had already been eclipsed by Edward himself.

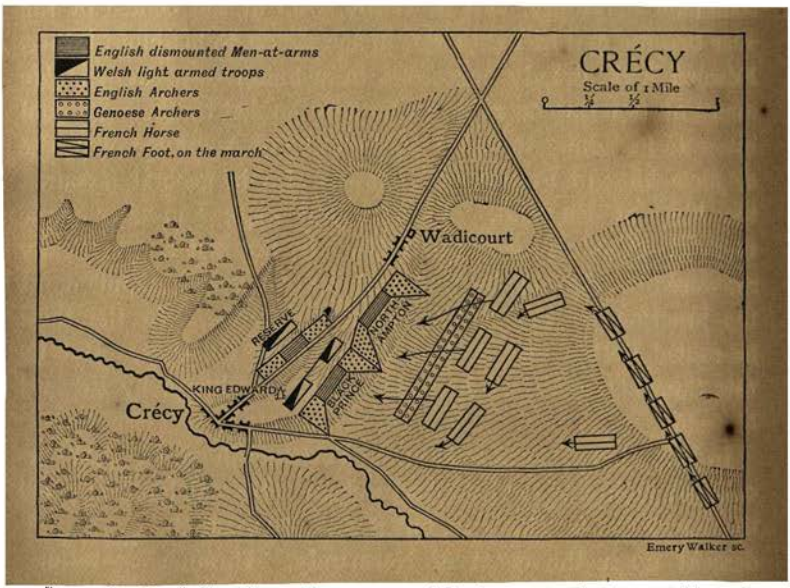
The war renewed, 1345.

In July 1346 Edward sailed from Portsmouth with a great[1] armament, including ten thousand archers. He may have intended the expedition for Gascony, but it actually made its descent upon the coast of Normandy. Through Normandy it marched ravaging, and meeting with little resistance; Caen was captured, and Edward advanced so far that his troops wasted the country up to the very walls of Paris. Philip had gathered a large force, but did not venture upon an attack; and Edward, who was not in a position to lay siege to Paris, began a retreat towards Flanders dogged by the French army, which barred the passage of the Somme. Near the mouth of that river, however, a ford was found, 'Blanchetaque,' where the English effected the crossing; and Edward being now in Ponthieu, determined to stand and give battle at Crecy, though

The Crecy campaign, 1346.

[1] See Note VI., *The Plantagenet Armies*.

the pursuing French had more than thrice his numbers. The tactics of Halidon Hill and Morlaix were applied in a battle on an unprecedented scale. The English troops, dismounted, formed two solid 'battles' of heavy-armed infantry, under the command of the young Prince of Wales and the victor of Morlaix. A third was held in reserve under the king's own command. Archers were thrown out on the flanks of each battle, while a host of light-armed Welshmen lay behind the lines, ready to do their own particular work. A few mounted men were also held in reserve.



Late in the following afternoon, 26th August, the great French force arrived after a weary march; nevertheless the chivalry of France insisted on an immediate attack. A large body of Genoese crossbowmen was thrown forward to open the proceedings, but they were outranged and shot down by the English archers. They were at a disadvantage, also, because the evening sun was in their faces and a driving storm of rain had damaged the bow-strings, which, unlike those of the English, were unprotected. The Genoese broke in hasty retreat; the French knights, full of that misplaced confidence which had proved so fatal at Bannockburn and Courtrai,

The battle, 26th Aug. 1346.

expected to sweep away the small force of footmen by a furious cavalry charge. In two dense columns they galloped over the Genoese to hurl themselves upon the two English battles which were facing them. A storm of arrows poured upon both flanks of each column, huddling them together, and rolling over man and horse. The confusion was increased by the terror of the horses at the otherwise harmless thunder of three primitive cannon which the English had for the first time brought into the field. The charging hosts hardly reached the English lines save on the English right, where for a short time the Prince of Wales was hard pressed. The Welshmen dashed out from the English ranks, stabbing and slaying the fallen men-at-arms. The French recoiled and hurled forward again time after time, only to be time after time swept down by the pitiless arrows. When night fell pursuit was impossible, but already the English victory was overwhelming. The losses of their army were trivial; but the field was thick with the dead bodies of the flower of the barons and knights of France.

Two months later another decisive victory was won on English soil. The young king David of Scotland, anticipating little resistance, swept into the north of England as the ally of the king of France; but at Neville's Cross he was completely defeated with very heavy loss, and was himself taken prisoner and carried to the Tower of London.

Neville's Cross, 17th Oct.

After Crecy Edward himself was too exhausted to intend more than the continuation of his march to the Flemish coast, whence he purposed to make sail for England. Yet he changed his plans and sat down before Calais, which he determined to capture; partly because the town had made itself particularly obnoxious, and partly because he awoke to the immense advantages which would accrue to him from its possession. Crecy had secured him from attack by the French army, and he proceeded to starve out the garrison. Through the winter he succeeded with great difficulty in maintaining the blockade, making a sort of town of his own camp; as the spring of 1347 advanced, and English fleets held the seas in force, his grip tightened. In June Northampton completed the mastery of the

Capture of Calais, 3rd Aug. 1347.

channel by the naval victory of La Crotoy. Philip at last threatened an attack, but still would not venture; and on 3rd August Calais surrendered. The story of Queen Philippa and the burgesses does not require to be retold. Most of the French population were deported, and the town was planted with an English colony. For two hundred years Calais remained a gateway through which English troops could be poured into France, and the looms of the Flemish weavers could be supplied with English wool.

Six weeks before the fall of Calais, the success of the English candidate Montfort in Brittany appeared to have been secured by the decisive defeat of Charles of Blois, who at La Roche was himself taken prisoner, and was sent over to England. But Edward was exhausted by the effort which had won Crecy and captured Calais. He yielded to the mediating pressure of the Papacy, and a truce was signed at the end of September. There was reason enough from the English point of view, but England's withdrawal left the security of Brittany incomplete.

A nominal truce, Sept.

The truce lasted nominally for eight years. But the continued attempts of the popes, Clement VI. and Innocent VI. who succeeded him, to procure a definitive peace, broke down altogether in 1354. Edward at that stage was prepared to withdraw his claims to the French throne on condition of receiving in full sovereignty, not as a vassal of the king of France, the whole of Guienne and Gascony, along with Ponthieu, Artois, and the Calais Pale, the district extending from Calais to Guisnes. The English parliament emphatically endorsed the king's readiness for peace. But the French would not resign the overlordship, and mainly on that point the negotiations collapsed. The English parliament in the spring of 1355 was no less emphatic in sanctioning the active renewal of the war. Between 1347 and 1355, however, fighting had never really ceased either in Brittany or in the Calais district, where, in 1352, Guisnes was unofficially captured, and nominally sold to the king of England by its conqueror. Along the borders of the Gascon dominion there was perpetual raiding, and a piecemeal absorption of the outlying

The Partisan War.

regions went on steadily. In Brittany the fighting was of a particularly miscellaneous character. The duchy was under the governorship of the English soldier Dagworth, who had captured Charles of Blois, acting on behalf of the boy John de Montfort, whose father had died in 1345. Lordships were sold to various adventurers, chiefly English, who spent their time fighting for pastime and for booty; and it was in these years that young Bertrand du Guesclin acquired the training which was presently to make him the most formidable warrior in France. The whole informal war encouraged the development of the bands of mercenary soldiers or free companies, who were ready for fighting or loot where a chance of either was to be had.

The years of truce are important in England for reasons distinct from the war. In 1348 the terrific visitation of the plague known as the Black Death visited Europe, entirely depopulating some districts, and cutting off probably not much less than a third of the population. When it broke out in England it brought with it similar devastation. The records show that about half the parish clergy were carried off, so that it is likely that at least a quarter and perhaps a third of the population perished. The destruction among the labouring classes for the time being ruined the agricultural system; the fields were left untilled, famine was added to pestilence, and the price of food rose enormously. The labourers who remained refused to work except for immense wages, and in 1349 the Crown intervened with an ordinance, afterwards confirmed by parliament in the Statute of Labourers, fixing the price of bread and the rate of wages; though, as we shall presently see, having little effect upon either. Three years after the Statute of Labourers came, in 1354, the Ordinance of the Staple, regulating the sale and export of the staple commodities, of which wool and leather were the chief. The further discussion, however, of these important subjects of economic interest is deferred to another chapter.

The Black Death, 1348-1349.

In the same period legislation was active in other fields. In 1352 the Statute of Treasons gave a crude definition to the law of treason. Particular acts were specified as treasonable: compassing

the death of the king, the queen, or the heir-apparent, slaying the king's ministers or judges, counterfeiting the coinage or the Great Seal, joining with the king's enemies. The definitions, however, left it possible for the judges of later times to bring under the same category offences implying a treasonable intent, offences which were not overt acts of treason, but were construed as treason. Distrust also of the Avignon Papacy, as the abettor of French designs, combined with the time-honoured jealousy of papal claims and an awakening spirit of religious unrest to produce the Statutes of Provisors in 1351, and Praemunire in 1353, in restriction of papal pretensions. The former statute denied the right of the Papacy to make appointments to benefices, and imposed heavy penalties upon any one who accepted such an appointment. The statute was based upon one adopted by a parliament at Carlisle in the last year of the reign of Edward I., though in fact it had not then actually become law, because at the moment the king had been anxious to avoid a quarrel with the ruling pope. The Statute of Praemunire imposed forfeiture and outlawry upon any one who sued in foreign courts for matters cognisable in the king's courts. Both statutes amounted at the time to little more than the enunciation of a pious opinion; both were to be reaffirmed later, with somewhat increased stringency. These measures were partly the outcome of antagonism between Church and Crown, partly of the growth of anti-clerical sentiment, in spite of the alliance between the churchmen and the popular opposition.

Statute of Treasons, 1352.

Anti-papal legislation, 1351-1353.

In 1355 the war was renewed. The Black Prince, who had distinguished himself at Crecy when only sixteen, was dispatched to Gascony; the king himself had intended to make a campaign, with Calais as his base, but was recalled from the expedition which he had undertaken, to keep the Scots quiet. The Black Prince from Gascony harried the French territory to the south-east as far as Narbonne, returned to Bordeaux, and passed the spring chiefly in preparations for a summer campaign northwards. Meantime his father had fallen upon the Scots, recovered Berwick, the capture of which had drawn him

The war renewed, 1355.

back to England, and carried fire and sword into southern Scotland in the raid which is remembered as the Burnt Candlemas. But though Edward Balliol handed over to him his own hypothetical rights to the Scottish throne, and Edward chose to call himself king of Scotland, the Burnt Candlemas had no other practical result.

1356, The Burnt Candlemas.

In the summer (1356) Lancaster led an expedition into Normandy; but the serious interest of the year attaches to the campaign of the Black Prince. With a raiding force of seven thousand men he struck north-eastward through French territory, till the news that Philip's successor on the French throne, King John, was with a great army on the Loire, made him wheel towards Tours. John, however, crossed the river somewhat higher at Blois, and marched southward. Southwards too marched the Black Prince, intending to bring the superior French army to battle. When the two armies actually came to close quarters near Poictiers, the prince's forces, more Gascon than English, and comparatively ill-supplied with archers, seemed to be so greatly outnumbered that an attempt at negotiation was not immediately rejected. The prince took up his position on sloping ground broken by vineyards and hedges, which he lined with archers. The details of the battle are obscure. The French adopted the English fashion of dismounting and fighting on foot. They were arrayed in four successive battles, the first having with it a few mounted men. These were driven off, partly by the archers, and the second great mass of the French endeavoured to force their way up the slope. The bowmen were apparently unable to accomplish much. But at the same time that the prince was bringing up his reserves to support the front ranks, a small party of horse under his lieutenant, the Captal de Buch, which had turned the flank of the French, fell upon their rear; a panic ensued, the great French army was shattered, and King John and his youngest son Philip were taken prisoners. The result of the great triumph was a truce for two years.

Poictiers, 19th Sept.

With the kings of both Scotland and France in his hands, Edward was in a strong position for negotiating. David was

released in October 1357, under a treaty by which Scotland was to pay the ransom of one hundred thousand marks, an enormous amount for so poor a country. The subsequent failure to pay the instalments with regularity reduced David to accepting in 1363 the proposal that either Edward or his second son Lionel should succeed him on the throne of Scotland, regardless of the rights of his nephew Robert the Steward, the son of Robert Bruce's daughter. The Estates, however, in a most unmistakable manner, refused to give such a scheme any consideration whatever. In due course Robert ascended the throne in 1371, as the first of the line of Stewart kings.

David II. released, 1357.

Immediately after the 'Treaty of Berwick' the captive King John also agreed to terms of peace, though he had no power to conclude a definitive treaty on his own responsibility. Meanwhile, however, France had been in wild disorder. The Paris Commune, led by Stephen Marcel, was making a struggle for power, the commune meaning in effect the bourgeois class. It had successfully dominated the young regent, Charles, duke of Normandy—the title of the heir-apparent to the French throne, which had not yet been regularly superseded by that of 'Dauphin.' Behind this anti-aristocratic revolutionary movement was the sinister figure of the young king Charles of Navarre, the owner of great estates in Normandy, and the grandson of Louis X. But for the fact that he was born only in 1330, two years after the first formal claim had been put in on behalf of Edward III., Charles of Navarre would have had a stronger title to the French crown than that of Edward himself, on the same principles. Probably he was scheming at least for some sort of compromise with Edward which would have divided France between them. In the course of his intrigues he had acquired sufficient popularity to enable him to avert the acceptance of the treaty which would have allowed John to return to France early in 1358. During the year Stephen Marcel was overthrown, and Charles of Normandy recovered the royal ascendency; but the sufferings of the unhappy country, devastated for twenty years by perpetual wars, and more recently by the horrible ravages of

Difficulties of the French.

the Black Death, were increased in this year by the savageries of the peasants in the rising of the Jacquerie, and the not less terrible savagery with which that rising was suppressed.

Again in the beginning of 1359 John attempted to buy peace by the wholesale submission of the Treaty of London. The whole of the ancient dominions of Henry II., together with Calais and Ponthieu, were to be surrendered to the English king in full sovereignty, while an enormous ransom was to be paid for the French king. But such terms were past bearing. The French rejected the treaty, and at the end of the year Edward opened a new campaign. He marched upon Rheims, besieged it unsuccessfully for a few weeks, advanced upon Burgundy which bought him off, and then turned upon Paris. But while he lay before Paris, the ill-success of his operations induced him to listen to the advisers who urged him to accept a peace such as France could bear; and in May the preliminary Treaty of Bretigny was signed by the Prince of Wales and the Dauphin. Though finally ratified some months later by the Treaty of Calais, the settlement is always known as the Peace of Bretigny. The whole of Aquitaine, together with Ponthieu, the Calais Pale, and the Channel Islands, was to be ceded in full sovereignty; but not the northern half of the dominion of Henry II. Edward, on the other hand, was to withdraw his claim to the French crown. But in the definitive Treaty of Calais this clause, with the corresponding surrender of the French king's claim to suzerainty over the ceded districts, was suspended for later ratification, which was never formally given. A ransom equivalent to half a million sterling, about eight times as much as the normal revenue of England, was to be paid for King John. The alliances were to cease between France and Scotland, and between England and the Flemings. The Bretons were to be left to settle their own quarrel.

Treaties of London, Bretigny, and Calais, 1359-1360.

III. The Years of Decadence, 1361-1377

We need not concern ourselves with the exploits of the captains of free companies who continued to wage a partisan warfare in

Normandy and Brittany. Their day came to an end when Charles of Blois was killed and the Montfort candidate was recognised in 1365 as duke of Brittany. In accordance with the Treaty of Bretigny, he did homage to the French not to the English king. The free companies were dispersed to carry the fame of their prowess into other countries, and especially, under the celebrated Sir John Hawkwood, into Italy. Their doings no longer affected English history. In 1364 the chivalrous but somewhat incompetent King John of France died in an honourable captivity in England, whither he voluntarily returned upon failure of the payments of his ransom. Edward's own evasions were responsible for the omission to ratify the suspended clauses of the Treaty of Bretigny.

The free companies.

John was succeeded by his son Charles v., called the Wise, who set himself to a systematic reorganisation of his shattered kingdom. One of his difficulties lay in the groups of mercenaries who had played on the French side a part corresponding to that of the English free companies; it was in order to get rid of them that he joined in the war which broke out in Spain between Pedro the Cruel of Castile and his bastard brother Henry of Trastamare, who had been moved by Pedro's iniquities to make a bid for the crown. The companies were dispatched under the command of Du Guesclin to fight for the pretender. Pedro appealed for help to the Black Prince, whom Edward had instituted prince of Aquitaine; and in an evil hour the Black Prince was persuaded to aid him. In the winter of 1366-7 he carried an army into Spain. In April he won at Najera a decisive victory, commonly named from the neighbouring Navarrete, which even the skill and courage of Du Guesclin failed to retrieve. Pedro was restored to the throne of Castile, but he made no attempt to repay the vast debt which he owed to the English prince. Prince Edward returned to Bordeaux with the fragments of an army shattered by sickness, having himself contracted a mortal disease, and with a treasury not only exhausted but heavily in debt.

The Spanish War, 1366-1367.

His rule in Aquitaine had been magnificent and conciliatory. In his great principality, Gascony itself, and especially the cities

thereof, had been constantly loyal; but to Gascony had been added by the treaty regions which for a long time past had owned the French not the English allegiance. Edward had only partly succeeded in winning the favour of the new vassals and the new districts, in which he sought to establish his own authority, partly by extending the privileges of the towns to the detriment of the great barons. Now in his financial straits the prince imposed a hearth-tax. The great lords, already plotting a return to the French allegiance which had kept their privileges uncurtailed, seized the opportunity to appeal against the hearth-tax to King Charles as their suzerain. Charles accepted the appeal, on the ground that the renunciations of suzerainty had never been confirmed, and cited the Black Prince to his court. The king of England replied at the beginning of 1369 by resuming the title of king of France, and again the war broke out.

The Black Prince in Aquitaine, 1367-1368.

Very different was the course which it followed from that of the previous years. King Charles had re-established order, system, organisation. His armies were commanded by Du Guesclin and Oliver de Clisson, men who had learnt the art of war from their English adversaries. The diplomacy of Charles won for his brother Philip, on whom the French duchy of Burgundy had recently been bestowed, the hand of Margaret, daughter of the count of Flanders and widow of the last duke of Burgundy, who brought with her the counties of Burgundy—which was not French—and Artois. The other princes of the Netherlands had also become French partisans. The German emperor was hostile; the Pope was hostile; and in the interval even Pedro of Castile had lost his life and his throne, which Henry of Trastamare had finally obtained for himself. The English had no allies, and half Aquitaine had resolved to throw off the English allegiance. The Black Prince was paralysed by his increasing sickness; and the only English success was the capture of the rebel town of Limoges, followed by a ghastly massacre of its inhabitants—the one great blot on the chivalric fame of the Black Prince. Early in the next year, 1371, the prince himself returned to England, leaving the control

A disastrous war, 1369-1372.

to his incompetent brother John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster. Notable among the captains of the French was Owen of Wales, a great-nephew of Llewelyn.

The French arms progressed, and in 1372 a very serious blow was struck by sea. John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, on whose father the earldom vacated by the death of Aymer de Valence had been conferred, was sailing for Aquitaine with an army to take John of Gaunt's place. Henry of Trastamare, the Spanish ally of France, sent out a fleet which met and defeated him off La Rochelle, destroying the English fleet and taking Pembroke himself prisoner. The command of the sea was lost, and reinforcements could now reach Aquitaine only by land. Before the end of the year nearly all Poitou was lost, and an English parliament refused supplies on the ground that the navy had been ruined by maladministration.

La Rochelle, 1372.

Once more in 1373 an English army of invasion was launched across France from Calais under the command of John of Gaunt. Du Guesclin, never giving battle, hung on the rear of the army, cut off its supplies, and harassed it ceaselessly. Though Lancaster ravaged the country as he went he could accomplish nothing more, and it was only with the wreck of an army that he at last reached Bordeaux. The partisans of England were almost entirely cleared out of Normandy and Brittany, and when at last a truce was signed at Bruges in 1375, the English, though in possession of the Calais Pale, actually held in Aquitaine less than at the time of Edward III.'s accession.

John of Gaunt's fiasco, 1373.

With the sole exception of the Black Prince's brilliant but meaningless campaign in Spain, the foreign wars after the Treaty of Bretigny present a melancholy record of almost unvarying failure. Though Edward III. himself was not yet fifty at the time of the treaty, his powers began to fail soon afterwards, and he was to show no more of the brilliant if superficial talent which made the men of his own day rank him among the greatest of kings. Collapse did not set in until about the time of the renewal of the war in 1369. During

Domestic affairs, 1360-1370.

these years there is little else of political importance to record. In 1365 there was a renewal more stringent in form, though not in effect, of the Statute of Praemunire; for the practices condemned continued unabated. Perhaps the most notable event of the time was an attempt to strengthen the English domination in Ireland, whither Edward sent his second son Lionel as governor in 1361. The Statute of Kilkenny was intended to prevent the blending of the Norman and English families with the native Irish. Intermarriage and the adoption of Celtic language and customs were strenuously prohibited; but the statute was of no real effect, and the Normans continued to become 'more Irish than the Irish themselves' in their attitude towards England and the English control.

Of importance, however, to the future dynastic problems by which the realm of England was to be torn, were the marriages and the accumulated honours and estates of the king's sons. Lionel acquired great estates in Ireland by his marriage with the heiress of the earl of Ulster, Elizabeth de Burgh, a descendant of the Clares of Gloucester; whence he received in 1362 the title of duke of Clarence. No son was born to him, but his daughter married Edmund Mortimer, earl of March, who also had great estates in Ireland; and consequently the Mortimers, and the house of York which descended from them, were always assured of strong support on the west of St. George's Channel. The death of Clarence in 1368 increased the importance of the third brother, John of Gaunt, who had wedded Blanche, the heiress of Lancaster, in 1359, and like Clarence received the title of duke in 1362. After the death of Blanche of Lancaster, Duke John married a daughter of Pedro the Cruel, which gave him a very insubstantial claim to the throne of Castile. The three earldoms of the house of Bohun—Hereford, Essex, and Northampton—passed by marriage to John of Gaunt's son Henry and to Thomas of Woodstock, the fifth of the king's sons, who married respectively the two daughters of the last Bohun. The fourth brother, Edmund of Cambridge, afterwards duke of York and progenitor of the house of York in the male line, alone gained nothing by his marriage with Isabella of

King Edward's sons.

Castile. King Edward had carried to a much further extent the policy of his grandfather in enlarging the estates of members of the royal house. The danger of that policy had been made manifest in the reign of Edward II., and was to be exemplified still more disastrously in the future.

Anti-clerical activity.

After 1369 parties and politics in England become extremely complicated. The clerics, with William of Wykeham as leader, had absorbed the administrative offices, and, as a matter of course, the bad news which came from France was attributed to their inefficiency. An anti-clerical party developed, of which John of Gaunt on his return to England was to be the leader; but its first mouthpiece was the earl of Pembroke, who very soon afterwards was to meet with disaster at La Rochelle. Early in 1371 parliament petitioned for the removal of the clerics, and the substitution of laymen in all the high offices of State. The king cheerfully acceded to the petition, and the lay ministers forthwith proved their own incompetence by basing arrangements for a subsidy on an enormous miscalculation of the number of parishes in England. Repeated disasters brought fresh demands for supplies, and in 1373 the exasperated Commons would only make a small grant on condition of its being strictly applied to the war. Up to this point the Black Prince, who was slowly dying, does not appear to have taken an active political part; but the return of John of Gaunt in 1375 was followed by an active antagonism between the two brothers. Possibly the Prince of Wales suspected the duke of desiring to supplant his son and heir Richard in the succession. The old king had fallen into a state of premature imbecility, or something not far removed from it. The duke assumed the leadership of the court and anti-clerical party, who called in the aid of the Oxford scholar, John Wiclif, who was identifying himself with doctrines extremely distasteful to clericalism. On the other side Edmund Mortimer joined the Black Prince in associating himself with the clericals, who at the worst had provided a better administration than their supplanters. That party also was traditionally associated with constitutionalism.

The Black Prince and Lancaster.

Parliament had not met for three years when it was summoned in April 1776. The new or Good Parliament forthwith attacked the administration as its immediate predecessor had done, but with much greater effect. A committee of the Estates was appointed, in effect to draw up a policy of reform, with Mortimer and Courtenay, the bishop of London, at its head. Their attack upon the chamberlain, Lord Latimer, for peculation and other misconduct, is accepted as the first example of impeachment—the method by which officers of the Crown or other public servants were brought to trial before the peers by the House of Commons. At this juncture the Black Prince died, and John of Gaunt showed his own hand by inviting the parliament to declare that the succession to the crown of England could not pass through a female. The heir-apparent was the Black Prince's son Richard; but next to him the heir-presumptive was young Roger Mortimer, son of Edmund and of Edmund's wife, the daughter of Lionel of Clarence. If Lancaster's proposal had been adopted, Roger's claim would have been set aside and Lancaster himself would have become Richard's heir-presumptive. The parliament which now looked upon Mortimer as its leader, refused to consider the question; the throne was not vacant, and there was a prince whose right of succession was indisputable. They went on to draw up a petition against a number of grievances, and insisted on the appointment of an advisory committee of twelve peers nominated by parliament, without whose assent the king could not act. Lancaster had to give way, and the parliament separated.

The Good Parliament, 1376.

Lancaster at once assumed the control. The provisions made by the parliament had not been given a statutory shape. The council was dismissed, and William of Wykeham was frightened into abject submission. A new parliament was called with a carefully packed House of Commons, and the Acts of the last parliament were promptly reversed, while a poll-tax was granted of a groat per head.

Lancaster dominant.

The convocation of the clergy of Canterbury proved less amenable. They refused to discuss a grant in the absence of the bishop

of Winchester, Wykeham. Lancaster called up Wiclif to denounce clerical worldliness and wealth. The bishops summoned the doctor to answer for his opinions at St. Paul's. There was a riot in the cathedral between the Lancastrians on one side, led by the marshal Henry Percy, and on the other the Londoners, who supported their bishop, the effective leader of the churchmen. The mob proved too dangerous for Lancaster, who made a show of giving way. Counsels of moderation prevailed, and the attack on Wiclif was suspended. The crisis was postponed till Edward's death four months afterwards, in June 1377.

CHAPTER XI. ENGLAND UNDER THE EDWARDS

I. COMMERCE

THE thirteenth century, culminating in England with the reign of Edward I., was a period of increasing prosperity in spite of the complaints of heavy taxation and the troublesome interlude of the Barons' War. There was indeed no other country where war operated so little to disturb the avocations of ordinary men. After the first twenty years, France shared with England a practical immunity from foreign invasion; but England actually suffered less from civil strife than her neighbour, because, except on the Welsh marches, private wars between the barons had ceased from the land. Without the vigorous development of a free peasantry, small occupiers of the land who were not in a state of serfdom, that yeoman class could not have been produced which, in the middle of the fourteenth century, supplied English captains with invincible hosts of archers; and rural prosperity fostered also the effective emancipation of large numbers of the villein class, and their transference to the social status of the small freeholders, by the substitution of payment for compulsory agricultural services.

Thirteenth-century progress.

The growing prosperity of the towns was marked by a multiplication of the charters which carried with them powers of self-government, immunities from external control, and the authoritative constitution of the gilds-merchant. But while the activity of Edward III. in the encouragement of trade has caused him to be styled the father of English commerce, it was actually in the thirteenth century, in the reign of Edward I., that the Crown began to recognise commerce as an object with which statecraft was materially concerned, and set about fostering and controlling commerce with ends of its own in view.

The Crown intervenes.

By the time of Edward I.'s accession there was already active trade within the country. Within the boroughs at least crafts were already becoming sharply differentiated and subdivided, a state of things which can only operate where trade is brisk. The crafts were close bodies, in the sense that they did not permit each other to transgress the dividing lines. The maker of boots and the mender of boots were forbidden to trench upon each other's duties. The maker of bows must leave the making of arrows to the fletcher. The desire to limit competition doubtless had something to say in the framing of such regulations; but the theoretical ground of them was the mediæval doctrine that it was the business of authority to protect the public at large by maintaining the quality of the goods on the market; and the intention was to secure the quality of goods by very literally making the cobbler stick to his last. The differentiation of trades developed the craft-gilds, the separate organisation of the members of the several crafts; and presently the more powerful crafts captured or displaced the gild-merchant and appropriated the controlling authority over the trade of the borough. But in the reign of Edward I. the craft-gild was in a subordinate position; the control lay with the gild-merchant, the body of the burgesses in their mercantile capacity reinforced by such non-burgesses as they chose to admit into their numbers for adequate consideration. It does not appear that there was normally antagonism between this body and those craft-gilds of which burgesses were the dominant members. Where such antagonism arose, there is some presumption that the craft-gild was an alien body of non-burgesses. This may be said with some confidence to have been the case with the associations of weavers and fullers, which were looked upon with an unfavourable eye by the burgess authorities. These probably originated with the colonies of Flemish clothworkers who had been imported as early as the reign of William the Conqueror, and were permitted to practise a necessary trade which the English themselves had not yet taken up. Though the alien was a necessity, he remained nevertheless an object of jealousy. The outsider was permitted to trade only

Differentiation of crafts.

Craft-gild and gild-merchant.

at the regular markets and fairs, partly because the fees and tolls were a valuable source of revenue to the borough or to the market town's lord of the manor; partly also because only at markets and fairs could the authorities exercise an adequate control, and detect or penalise dishonest dealing. To the fairs the alien brought his goods for sale, paying for the privilege, and upon condition of buying to the value of what he sold; for money was a commodity not to be readily parted with, and by no means to be carried out of the country. There was a perpetual drain of bullion, in the form of Peter's pence and other papal perquisites, to the papal coffers, and it appeared necessary to prevent its export by strict regulations. The modern view, that the exchange of treasure, that is the precious metals, for goods rights itself automatically, was unknown.

Fairs and markets.

The English trader had not as yet become a seeker after foreign markets overseas. The foreign trade was for the most part in the hands of foreigners who brought their imports into England to sell, and themselves exported the English goods they bought. The era was dawning when this was no longer to be the case; when English merchants sent out their own 'argosies,' and did their own trading in the commercial centres of the Continent. But at present the extension of foreign trade was the work of the associations of the commercial cities, chiefly of the Empire, who were shortly to develop as the Hansa, the Hanseatic League. By the reign of Edward I. certain of these towns had already been permitted to form a joint association with quarters of their own, enjoying privileges with the sanction of the Crown for which the Crown got its price, but subject also to strict regulation. What the foreign trader brought was mainly manufactured goods—wines from Gascony, cloths from the Low Countries. What the English had to sell for export was for the most part raw material or prepared material; wool and wool-fells, hides, leather, with some lead, tin, and copper. The prevailing idea was still what may be called that of maintenance as opposed to that of commercial profit. The borough, the district, the nation, wanted to meet its own requirements by its own products, without any burning anxiety to produce more than

Foreign trade.

it wanted for itself in order to accumulate wealth by selling to the outsider. It sold to the outsider chiefly in response to the outsider's unsolicited demands, and because, not being altogether self-sufficing, it was only by doing so that it could get the goods which it could not produce at home in sufficient quantities, but of which it stood in need. Nevertheless, the idea of producing for profit was making active way by the second half of the thirteenth century.

Now Edward I. was the incarnation of the national idea. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that hitherto the 'Nation' had been not much more than an aggregate of local units, boroughs, shires, districts. For Edward the Nation was itself the unit; and he applied that doctrine to the treatment of commerce, which heretofore had been looked upon hardly as a national matter. The conception was that of a statesman; but it was inspired by the financial necessities of the Crown. The Exchequer wanted supplies; the richer the nation, the larger the supplies which the Crown could reasonably hope to obtain from the goodwill of the people. But apart from the voluntary contributions of the Estates, most great landholders already derived a substantial proportion of their income from tolls upon markets; the Crown more than any one else, because the Crown was the greatest landlord. The expansion of commerce would increase those revenues. One of Edward's earliest statutes, the Statute of Westminster I., was directed, among other things, to giving a definite permanent shape to a group of the tolls which the Crown was in the habit of exacting—the toll on exports at the ports, which from that time became known as the 'ancient customs.' The toll was not in itself a novelty, but its statutory regulation brought the whole subject into the sphere of national concerns, involved the improvement of the organisation for the collection of customs and inspection of goods, and, by substituting regulated for capricious action, gave a security which was in itself an encouragement to trade. It must always be borne in mind that in mediæval times individual enterprise was not checked but encouraged by supervision and control, because the individual was not strong enough by himself to protect himself against fraud and violence.

Edward I. nationalised regulation.

In another way Edward's financial necessities led him to encourage a national as against a local conception of commerce. To avoid appeals to the Estates, the king on sundry occasions made bargains with the merchants, treating them as a body with common interests instead of as individuals in rivalry with each other, or as local groups in rivalry with other local groups. In the course of time the Estates awoke to the fact that if the Crown were free to make sectional bargains, or to extend the powers formally recognised by the Statute of Westminster, they would themselves lose that control of the purse of which they were just becoming conscious; they forbade such sectional bargaining, and limited the Crown to the 'great and ancient customs.' But the king's device had been both a witness and an encouragement to the development of the national as opposed to the local conception of commerce among the mercantile community.

Merchants treated as a national group.

Until the reign of Edward I. it had been the custom of the Crown to seek relief from pressing necessities by negotiating loans from the Jews, whom it kept under its protection. For a long time the Jews were the only body who devoted themselves to the accumulation of treasure and the financing of their neighbours, because popular as well as ecclesiastical ethics prohibited usury, the lending of money at interest, as contrary to Christian principles. Latterly, however, their monopoly had been trenched upon by the wealthy houses of the cities of Lombardy. The Jews had been objects of resentment not only to the populace, but to such liberal-minded men as Bishop Grosseteste and Simon de Montfort. They were objects of jealousy also because of the relief which they gave to the Crown. No act of Edward's reign was more applauded than the expulsion of the Jews in 1290. It was indeed so popular that it undoubtedly facilitated the grants made to the king by the Estates in that year. Edward was probably actuated honestly by conscientious motives. The Jews could have escaped expulsion by accepting baptism, though their own consciences made them refuse that alternative. Edward, too, was at least careful, when expelling them, to protect them from popular resentment or injustice; and he obtained

Jews and Lombards.

credit for doing something very much to his own disadvantage. But, as a matter of fact, perhaps from conscientious scruples, he had made little use of them himself; the Lombards established in England were very soon doing all that the Jews had done before them; and before long became the objects of a hardly less acute detestation. The hiring of capital for commercial purposes was not to be recognised as legitimate for another century; the aliens, Lombards and later on Germans, who helped the Crown to get on without parliamentary grants were objects of jealousy and resentment. But the time was approaching when there would be Englishmen rich enough to displace the aliens; and with the accumulation of wealth was to come its employment in financing businesses other than that of its owner.

The considerations which caused Edward I. to turn his attention to the development of commerce were still more potent with his grandson, whose very heavy war expenditure was joined to a love of costly display, from which the treasury suffered. The double motive of Edward III.'s commercial policy is even more conspicuous than in the case of Edward I. The king repeatedly endeavoured to obtain supplies in an extremely illegitimate manner. He borrowed vast sums from the Florentines, and then ruined his creditors by announcing with a light heart that he was unable to meet his obligations. He borrowed from the Flemings as much as they would let him have. He attempted at home to exact tallages, though he soon found this too dangerous. He made, like his grandfather, private bargains with English merchants and with foreign merchants. But he made the development of the commerce both of England and of Gascony a very definite object of policy; and he directed the State control of it to the increase of the revenue. At the same time, he also employed the control of commerce as a means to political ends. Thus he sought to sever the count of Flanders from his association with Philip of France, by cutting off the commerce between the Flemish cities and England, and procured for himself political as well as financial support from the same cities by restoring it; as also he obtained the adhesion of Brabant by the promise of com-

Edward III. fostered commerce, for political ends.

mercial privileges to the cities of that county. If the first and fundamental motive of the great war with France itself was the desire to obtain complete sovereignty over his dominions in France, the secondary motive was the security of the Gascon and Flemish trade rather than the mere desire for military glory or any real hankering after the French crown.

A genuine care for commerce and industry is to be discovered in the king's encouragement of foreign trading and of foreign industrial settlements in England. The foreigner traded only under severe restrictions. Except as a member of an association he might not trade at all; he was allowed to reside in England for only forty days, and while there he was assigned as a guest to the charge of a host who was in fact a custodian. Anything except food he was allowed to buy or sell only in bulk. To get his goods into the country at all, he had to pay toll at the ports. It was by no means easy for him to recover his debts, though here his position had been improved by Edward I. with the Statute of Merchants or Acton Burnell in 1283. Edward III. sought to relax these restrictions, but was obliged to give way to the pressure of public opinion. Anything which suggested to the mind of an Englishman that the foreigner was insidiously competing with him in the market was not to be endured. The foreigner was admitted not as a competitor but only because he could supply something which the Englishman could not produce. Edward failed to overrule the popular prejudice, though associations which, for sufficient reasons, had received special privileges—such as the merchants of the Hansa—were not deprived of them. The hostile attitude of the English mercantile community, as well as of the mob, is partly to be explained by the corresponding difficulties which the foreign commercial centres put in the way of the English merchants, who were by this time actively engaged on Continental commercial operations on their own account.

The foreign trader in England.

More successful were Edward's efforts to plant on English soil industries to which Englishmen had hitherto declined to apply themselves. The English had hitherto been content to make only the roughest of cloths, and to depend for anything of a superior

character on the looms of Flanders and Brabant. The general rule had in some degree been modified by the intermittent introduction of colonies of Flemish cloth-workers. Edward more systematically than before encouraged these settlements of Netherlanders, with the new result that Englishmen were inspired to enter into competition with them on their own account; with such success that the English woollen trade was before the end of the century challenging that of Flanders itself in the European markets. When the English took to weaving, the home demand for English wool became so great that, in the interest of the manufacturers, the export of wool was made almost prohibitive by the imposition of heavy export duties.

Cloth working.

In spite of this, the most prominent feature in the commercial institutions of this reign was the establishment of the Merchants of the Staple. In the reign of Edward I., or possibly of Henry III., English merchants had formed an association for the export of the 'staple' products of the country—the wool and wool-fells and other articles to which the 'ancient customs' of the Statute of Westminster applied; although it was still the case that the bulk of the export trade was in the hands of the foreigners. The regulation of the customs, and the bargaining of the king and with the merchants, helped to the transfer of the trade from the alien to the English merchant, and encouraged the English merchant to push his business on the Continent. This tendency was given a new force when, in the reign of Edward III., the monopoly of export of the staple goods was conferred upon the association of the Merchants of the Staple. The association was not a close corporation; that is to say, admission to it was upon the payment of fees, and continued membership was contingent upon obedience to the regulations which the association was empowered to make. The members traded each on his own account. But behind the individual was the organisation to secure him the fair play and recognition of his rights which he could hardly have obtained as an individual, and also to be in some sort his surety as a 'lawful' man. Membership was open to aliens, but obviously the general effect was to increase the number of English merchants.

The Staple.

The Ordinance of the Staple in 1353 fixed upon ten English cities, each having its corresponding port, as the staple towns, the only places where the staple goods might be bought and sold. In each of those towns the Merchants of the Staple had their own official organisation for the inspection of goods and the enforcement of the company's regulations. After some experiments in establishing a staple at different towns in the Low Countries, the Continental monopoly was fixed at Calais, the recently acquired possession of England. In return for the monopoly, the Crown received from the company a secure revenue, while the English traders through the association obtained that security which they would have lacked as individuals, and the foreign buyers had the corresponding guarantee of the standard and quality of the goods and the good faith of the traders.

The Ordinance of the Staple.

II. The Rural Population

We saw that at the beginning of the thirteenth century the rural population fell into two divisions: those who were technically in a state of serfdom, and those who were not. The fundamental distinction lay in the fact that the lord had a control over the persons, the families, and the goods of the villeins or serfs on his property, but not over those of the freeholders. The villein with his family was bound to the soil; neither he nor they could change their quarters without the lord's permission. His daughter could not be married, his sons could not enter Orders without the lord's leave. In theory, though not in practice, his goods were his lord's property, and were liable to seizure by him; he could not buy his own freedom, because whatever he had was already his lord's; hence there was a curious form, in accordance with which the purchase of emancipation was nominally effected by a third party. The only escape from the condition of villeinage was by such purchase, by voluntary emancipation conferred by grace of the lord, or by residence in a chartered borough for a year and a day. It is not clear, however, whether in this latter

The villein.

case residence was sufficient, or it was necessary for the escaped villein to have acquired and enjoyed burgess rights for the period.

Liability for agricultural services did not of itself imply serfdom. Commutation of such services for payment, whether in money or in kind, did not necessarily imply emancipation; and many, perhaps most, of the freeholders owed some degree of service. But there was a vague presumption that the man who in practice owed no services was a freeman. The small holders in Kent, for instance, although in the Domesday classification they belonged to the category of *villani*, paid rents, and at the later stage, when villein and serf had become equivalent terms, ranked not as serfs but as freemen. Now the generally increasing prosperity through the thirteenth century and the first half of the fourteenth probably led to a considerable amount of actual emancipation. Prosperity and the increasing use of money together led on the one hand to commutation of services for rent, and on the other to the substitution of hired labour paid by wages for the forced labour which had been commuted for rent. Thus there was developed a large class of labourers, paying perhaps a small rent and owing some services, but working chiefly for wages for the larger holders, villeins or freemen, or on the lord's demesne; or permitted by their easy-going lords to drift away and find employment as journeymen in the boroughs or elsewhere. It can be affirmed with confidence that the tendency for rent and wage-paid labour to displace obligatory services was in active operation from the middle of the thirteenth century to the middle of the fourteenth; and in a less degree, for men to pass out of the status of villeinage into that of freemen. That the freemen were a large and substantial body is witnessed, as we have already noted, by the regiments of archers serving for pay in the French wars. But precisely how far the movement had gone it is not possible to say.

Progress of commutation.

Labour for wages.

But in the middle of the fourteenth century this normal course of development was broken in upon by the visitation of the Black Death. A quarter of the population perished, if not more,

in the great outbreaks of 1348-1349, and those, somewhat less virulent, of 1361 and 1369. In the first years whole villages were wiped out, and in others there were only a few survivors of the pestilence. The harvests were left rotting and the fields were untilled. There was no relief from outside sources, because Europe suffered as England suffered. Inevitably the price of food rose enormously, since the supply of it was altogether inadequate to the demand. In the scarcity of labour its price also went up enormously; there was no competition in the labour market, and men would only work on their own terms; they must at least have wages corresponding to the increased cost of provisions. The government attempted to deal with the emergency, and in 1349 issued an ordinance to that end. The argument is not difficult to follow. Food must be provided at reasonable prices, and it could not be provided at reasonable prices if unreasonable wages were paid for producing it. Reasonable prices and reasonable wages were those which had prevailed before the visitation. For those prices then food must be sold, and for those wages labourers must work. He who had food or labour to sell must sell for those prices and those wages. He who demanded more or paid more was to be penalised. To facilitate the compulsion, the law which forbade the villein to leave his lord's manor—a law greatly relaxed in practice during the years of prosperity—was to be rigidly enforced. The king's ordinance was transformed into the Statute of Labourers two years later, in 1351.

The Black Death.

The Statute of Labourers, 1351.

This legislation was imposed by parliament. The peers and prelates were landlords, the knights of the shire were landlords, the burgesses were free landholders. We naturally jump to the conclusion that the legislation was actuated by class interest. In a sense, no doubt, this was the case. Ordinary humanity, without conscious selfishness, identifies the interests of the community with its own, and a governing class will always see bare justice in the protection of its own interests. But the Statute of Labourers was not a piece of tyrannical legislation intended to crush into servitude the labouring class struggling for legitimate freedom. It was an honest

The defence of the Statute.

if futile attempt to provide food at a reasonable price for a population which was threatened with starvation. The fixing of the price of food was as essential a part of the law as the fixing of the price of labour. The authoritative regulation of prices and wages was universally admitted as sound in principle; no one ever questioned the propriety of such regulation by the gilds-merchant. The modern theory of competition had not come into existence. In the view of mediæval ethics, there was a 'just price' for everything, including labour, and nobody had a right to take advantage of his neighbour's necessities to extract more than the just price. What the Statute of Labourers aimed at was simply the fixing of the just price for food and for agricultural labour; and nobody doubted that the doing so was a legitimate function of government. The difficulty was that those who had food to sell, and those who had labour to sell, did not accept the government's view of a just price.

Failure of the Statute.

It was after all only to a very limited extent that the legislation could be actually enforced. Men might be compelled to work, but they could not be compelled to work efficiently. There were plenty of ways by which the penalties for exceeding the regulation rate could be evaded. The labourers continued to get all they could, and it is scarcely surprising that many of the lords fell back upon their legal rights, and demanded unpaid labour from their villeins wherever there was no documentary proof forthcoming that a legally valid relief from forced labour had been granted. There was obvious justification, so long as the landlord was acting in good faith. Services had been commuted for payment, on the assumption that the payment was at least an equivalent. It had been an equivalent when labour was cheap; but it ceased to be an equivalent when labour was dear. There was no reason why a terminable arrangement made in one set of circumstances should not be terminated when the circumstances were altogether changed. Besides, from the landlord's point of view, it was the villein who had forced him, by wantonly aggressive action, to insist upon the full measure of his rights.

The landlord's point of view was not without justification, for

the labourer had taken a full advantage of his opportunity to extort the uttermost farthing when he could name his own price and get it. On the other hand those villeins who were not, and never had been, wage-earners, who had obtained immunity from forced labour by what they regarded as a permanent bargain for rent, who worked their own holdings, and perhaps employed labour themselves, now suddenly found themselves recalled to the position of labourers owing obligatory and derogatory service. To them, even more than to the labourers who were being baulked in their attempt to reap a rich harvest for themselves, the action of the lords presented itself as a tyrannical breach of faith. The seeds were sown of a class hatred of a kind not previously known, different from the old hostility between the conquered English and the conquering Normans. To each side it appeared that the other was the aggressor. From the pages of *Piers Plowman* it is easy enough to see that the faults were not all on one side. There was a great deal of flagrant oppression on the part of the lords' reeves or bailiffs, perhaps more than of the lords themselves, illegal violence for which the unfortunate peasant could get no redress. The peasant, on the other hand, according to the moralist, was extravagant, idle, and thriftless. When he had money in his pocket he would do no work, and fared sumptuously, if coarsely, till his money was exhausted. He was much readier to abuse the rich than to correct his own vices; and so it was also with the rich, *mutatis mutandis*. Matters were not improved by the presence of the discharged soldiery back from the French war—the peasant soldiery who had wrought havoc among the chivalry of Europe. And after the peace of Bretigny, knights and nobles, pikemen and archers, doubtless came back with tales of the Jacquerie, which stirred their hearers as more than four centuries afterwards men were stirred by the stories of the oppression of the peasantry in France and of the horrors of the French Revolution. And there was a corresponding intensification of class antagonism.

Class-hatred generated.

Supplementary causes.

In the ground thus prepared fresh seed began presently to be sown by the followers of John Wiclif. The new preaching was

directed primarily against ecclesiastical wealth and luxury, but it was easily translated into an attack upon wealth and luxury in general. Doctrines which insisted upon apostolic simplicity and the corrupting character of the riches of the world could pass by an easy transition into diatribes against those who were endowed with this world's goods; and contrasts between proud prelates and the fishermen of Galilee into a denunciation of class distinctions. Presently the highest-born politicians were themselves for their own anti-clerical ends making use of the learned doctor's theories concerning Divine grace, which laid it down that authority exists only in virtue of the Divine sanction; hence authority which is misused has *ipso facto* forfeited the Divine sanction, has no longer a right to be obeyed, and may rightly be set aside. An opposition may use such an argument in its efforts to overthrow a government; but it does so at its own peril, since the same argument may be used against it in its turn. For practical purposes it amounts to an assertion of the right of all discontented persons to rebel against authority on the very intangible ground that it has forfeited the Divine sanction. If it is open to the individual to defy authority whenever, in his opinion it is misused, the obvious result is anarchy. However Wiclif himself might defend his views from such an interpretation, that was a light in which they could be very easily represented to persons who found the established authority deaf to their grievances, and were beginning to believe themselves strong enough to take the law into their own hands. Before Edward III. was in his grave, England was becoming ripe for a social upheaval.

Wiclif.

III. Social Conditions

The fact that at the end of the third quarter of the fourteenth century a social upheaval was at hand does not mean that the country was in an abnormally miserable condition. On the contrary, until the coming of the Black Death it had been for more than a century particularly prosperous, in spite of the political anarchy of the years following

General prosperity.

Edward I.'s death. The position of every class of society had been improving until the sudden check caused by the pestilence. The peasantry found themselves rolled back to a position from which they were emerging, and from which they were again to emerge in the natural course of economic evolution as the country recovered from the shock of the great catastrophe. But for the progress which had been made before the Black Death the conditions after it would not have appeared intolerable. The peasantry themselves had shared appreciably in the conspicuous material prosperity of every other class in the community.

The moral progress was not on a par with the material progress. The age which produced St. Louis in France, Grosseteste, Montfort and Edward I. in England, Wallace and Bruce in Scotland, was greater than the age whose heroes were Edward III. and the Black Prince. But this was the grand age of chivalrous pageantry glorified in the pages of Froissart, when in the upper ranks of society valour and courtesy were the supreme virtues. These were the days when the Prince of Wales served in person at the table of the royal captive of his own bow and spear; when one king could challenge another with apparent seriousness to decide upon the fate of a kingdom by single combat; when a lady's love was to be the reward of the valiant knight who for a year and a day held the Castle Dangerous against the wiles and stratagems of the Black Douglas. How superficial much of this chivalry was is illustrated by such conspicuous examples as that of the flower of French knighthood riding down the Genoese crossbowmen in their reckless charge at Crecy, or the Black Prince, the mirror of chivalry, ordering the hideous massacre of Limoges. Chivalry was for those of gentle blood; it had little enough consideration for men or women of humble birth. Unique was the action of the Bruce, who on one occasion in Ireland, when retreating before a superior force, stayed the movement of his whole company rather than leave uncared for an unprotected and helpless 'lavender,' a mere washerwoman, in her hour of travail. The trappings of chivalry were very much in evidence; its spiritual intensity was already in decay. Still,

Decadence of chivalry.

in spite of its decadence, the true chivalric type had not wholly passed; else had the portrait of Chaucer's

'Verray parfit gentil knight'

never been drawn.

The development of English nationalism, and of Scottish nationalism also, has already been emphasised; it is nowhere more conspicuous than in the literature of both countries. In the first half of the fourteenth century a vernacular literature was springing up at last; the English language was about to establish itself as an instrument of literary expression. Even now it had not superseded French, the French of the Norman aristocracy, in polite circles. As late as the reign of Richard II. the 'moral' Gower was writing in French and in Latin before he could learn to believe that English would serve his purpose equally well. For a long time polite literature continued to consist mainly in the French romances of Charlemagne, Alexander the Great, King Arthur, and other more or less historical heroes whose actual doings had very little connection with the romantic mythology. But the fiery war-songs in which the north countryman Laurence Minot celebrated the wars of Edward III. were a genuinely popular product; and the ballads of the Robin Hood cycle, on which those which have come down to us are based, were already coming into being. Sir John Mandeville wrote his highly imaginative book of *Travels* first in Latin and then in French; but as early as 1356 he considered it worth his while to render it into English 'that every man of my nacioun may undirstonde it.'

Literature.

English ballads.

About 1362 but not earlier came the first edition of what may be fairly called the first great poem in the English language, William Langland's *Vision of Piers the Plowman*. Langland wrote in his own dialect, that of the western midlands, which was very soon to be driven out of the field as the standard of literary English. English it is, but still except to the expert very nearly unintelligible. The *Vision* pictures the vices of the whole social order, of every rank from top to bottom of the scale, with unsparing condemnation. Moralists

William Langland.

such as Langland see the evil that surrounds them in very glaring colours: we can no more reconstruct the England of his day from his delineations, than we can reconstruct imperial Rome from Juvenal; but both provide us with invaluable materials for such a reconstruction. The present point, however, is that Langland's poem, with Mandeville's *Travels*, mark the point where a demand has arisen for a literature in the English tongue; when work intended to be popular must thenceforth be written in the language of the people; when the language of the people, though with dialectic variations, has become the language of the whole people, the national language. It is interesting to note that this is precisely the moment when a statute ordained, in 1362, that the vernacular is to be the language of the law courts, although for centuries afterwards the lawyers preserved a peculiar jargon of their own.

Almost immediately afterwards the dawn broke fully. John Wiclif was beginning his great work of rendering the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue; choosing at first his own York- **John Wiclif.**
shire dialect, but very soon finding his purpose better served by adopting that of London and the more cultured districts of the south-east, the dialect which was to dominate the rest and to become the English of literature. In Scotland, the northern dialect, which had been that of Minot, held its own; and the story of *Bruce*, of the Scottish war of independence, the poem of Bishop Barbour of St. Andrews, holds to Scottish **Barbour.**
literature a position corresponding to that of the fourteenth-century creators of English literature. Nevertheless, one of these, and the greatest of them, was for a century and a half after his own death to find his truest disciples not in England but in Scotland. Geoffrey Chaucer's masterpiece, the *Canterbury Tales*, was not actually written till the reign of Richard II., **Chaucer.**
as some of Shakespeare's greatest plays were written when James I. was king. But as Shakespeare was essentially an Elizabethan, so Chaucer was essentially a child of the Edwardian age. In the master's hands, English suddenly displayed its true character as a consummate vehicle for poetry. In England at least he was not to be followed by another master till many years had

passed; but he made his own language the inevitable language of English literature. And he not only made the national language, but his works have left to us a picture of English society, vivid, human, and utterly convincing, hardly to be paralleled outside Shakespeare. There are aspects of the later mediæval life delightfully set forth by the Frenchman Froissart; but it is to Chaucer that we must turn to see the live Englishmen and Englishwomen of his day—knight and squire, parson and ploughman, merchant and cook, prioress and wife of Bath—the healthy folk of a healthy nation: every one of whom may be met any day of the week in the twentieth century.

CHAPTER XII. THE GRANDSONS OF EDWARD III

I. The Minority of Richard II., 1377-1384

Lancaster had retained a precarious ascendency while the old king was still lingering on. His enemies had imagined or pretended that he had immediate designs on the throne, but he never said or did anything that could fairly be construed as disloyal to the Black Prince's son. What he actually had sought was to secure for himself and his offspring, instead of for the Mortimers, the reversion of the crown in case Richard should die without heirs. When the old king's life flickered dolefully out the duke made no bid for a dictatorship; although there was an uncomfortable atmosphere of distrust and want of confidence, no one was anxious to precipitate a crisis.

An orderly accession.

The first act of the reign was the appointment by the assembly of magnates of a council which was in effect a council of regency, for the king himself was only ten years old. On it the parties were very carefully balanced. For greater security, none of the king's three uncles was a councillor; the leader of Lancaster's own party was the earl of Arundel, that of the opposing party was the earl of March. The bishop of London was balanced by the bishop of Salisbury, and Lord Latimer, whom the Good Parliament had impeached, by Lord Cobham. There was probably a like division among the half dozen knights who completed the council. Among the 'coronation honours' it is to be noted that the king's youngest uncle, Thomas of Woodstock, was made earl of Buckingham, Mowbray became earl of Nottingham, and Lancaster's ally, Henry Percy, became earl of Northumberland. Lancaster himself was the only duke: it was not till some years later that his brothers Edmund of Cambridge and

Thomas of Buckingham were made respectively dukes of York and Gloucester.

Nearly four months passed between Edward's death and the assembling of Richard's first parliament in October. They had been months of disaster. The moment demanded a particularly strong and efficient administration, and the composite council was not at all efficient. The truce of Bruges had run out, and Du Guesclin's armies were overrunning Aquitaine. Since the alliance of France with Castile, and Pembroke's defeat at La Rochelle, the English had completely lost the command of the narrow seas. In the late summer of 1277 Franco-Spanish fleets were making descents upon the English coast, and ravaging from the Isle of Wight to the Thames estuary. Parliament when it met showed that its temper was very much that of the Good Parliament of the previous year. It demanded and obtained a reconstruction of the council, which was accordingly very nearly cleared of its Lancastrian members; and, with direct reference to John of Gaunt's abrogation of the acts of the Good Parliament, it demanded and obtained recognition of the principle that no Act made in parliament should be repealed except by the consent of parliament. Parliament and clergy then both voted substantial subsidies for the war; but the vote was accompanied by an admonition that it was to be regarded as quite exceptional; that with sound management the normal revenue ought to have been sufficient; and that sound management must now be guaranteed by the appointment of two special treasurers to supervise its expenditure. The treasurers named were two prominent London citizens, William Walworth and John Philipot. The houses even asserted successfully for the time the principle that the great officers of State should be directly appointed by parliament.

The first parliament, 1377.

The reorganised council set about raising a great fleet to recover the command of the seas, and displayed its anxiety to avoid partisanship by somewhat injudiciously appointing Lancaster to the command—for the duke's military record was one of invariable failure. In 1378 the new fleet was indeed strong enough to drive the French off the narrow seas;

The war continues.

but land operations, notably an attack on St. Malo, failed ignominiously. The one real success was achieved not by the government but by the enterprise of John Philipot, who on his own account equipped a fleet which dealt effectively with the mixed fleets of privateers or pirates, Scots or French, who continued to give trouble on the high seas.

The money was spent with hopelessly inadequate results; and parliament, meeting in 1379, voted a poll-tax ranging from fourpence up to ten marks for the duke, according to ranks. It produced only about half of the revenue expected; and the fleet which was equipped was shattered in a gale. The disgusted parliament, which met at the beginning of 1380, abolished the council, appointed a number of new officers, and voted fresh subsidies, but the money was again wasted on a futile expedition in France which accomplished nothing. Again in the autumn a parliament had to be called; again it denounced mismanagement, but admitted that the money must be raised, and again it elected to raise it by a poll-tax in preference to the ordinary subsidy, the 'tenths' and 'fifteenths' assessed upon land and goods. The propertied classes were of opinion that the labouring classes were taking more than their share of the national wealth, and defraying less than their share of the expenditure. The poll-tax was to be a shilling a head; every township, that is, was to pay a shilling for each individual over sixteen years of age, except beggars; but within the township the charges were to be graduated, no one paying less than one groat or more than sixty. The carrying out of the arrangements for the tax devolved upon a new treasurer, Sir Robert Hales.

1379, a graduated poll-tax.

1380, a new poll-tax.

The poorer the township, the more hardly the tax pressed upon its poorest members. The average of a shilling a head had to be collected, and if there were no well-to-do families paying on a higher scale, everybody had to produce his or her whole shilling. The result was that to evade the tax false returns were made all over the country, but especially in the north and west, of the number of taxable adults. The commonest plan was to return hardly any names except those of

Evasion and enforcement.

married couples. In Yorkshire, Cornwall, and Devon, the population had apparently dropped to less than half since the collection of the last poll-tax. The fraud was palpable, and commissioners were appointed to investigate the facts, extract the full tax, and punish resistance. The arrogance and violence of the conduct of the officers in carrying out their necessary task kindled the spark which broke into a flame of insurrection.

The peasant revolt, June 1381.

According to tradition, a tax-collector insulted the daughter of Wat the Tiler of Dartford, who slew him; the peasants gathered to the aid of their comrade; from Dartford the excitement spread, and half Kent was immediately in arms. Wat of Dartford may be a mythical person; at any rate he is pretty certainly not to be identified with the Wat Tyler who actually led the Kentish insurgents, who appears in some documents as being from Maidstone and in others as a Colchester man. The legend is at best doubtful, though it probably represents accurately enough the way in which the inquisition was carried on. Violent riotings had already begun in Essex before 1st June; through the first ten days of June the Kent men were gathering into a substantial army with the indubitable Wat Tyler as their captain. By the 11th they were marching on London; on the 12th they were distributed between Blackheath and Lambeth; they had mobbed the king's officers, lawyers and unpopular landlords, broken prisons, and burnt Archbishop Sudbury's palace. Their wrath was especially directed against the men whom they supposed to be responsible for government—the Archbishop, the Treasurer Hales, and John of Gaunt. They could not get to London because the mayor had pulled up the drawbridge of the London Bridge over the Thames. Meanwhile the Essex men had been behaving in very similar fashion, and were now gathered in force on the other side of London at Mile End.

The young king, or at least the magnates in the Tower of London, seem to have been fairly paralysed: the boy was very soon to show that he was the best man among them. Manifestly the London mob was in sympathy with the insurgents; two at least of the aldermen, John Horn and Walter Sibley,

were in collusion with them. On the 13th Sibley admitted them over the drawbridge. They burnt Lancaster's palace of the Savoy unchecked; they attacked the Temple, the home of the lawyers. They burnt the prisons of the Fleet and Newgate. They did not loot; they professed and believed themselves to be loyal to the king, and determined to punish the men whom they called traitors: as yet they observed a considerable discipline.

The insurgents enter London, 13th June.

That night the magnates in the Tower made up their minds to negotiate. In the early morning proclamation was made that Richard would meet the commons at Mile End. Thither the king went accompanied by a few of the magnates and an excited mob. At Mile End his conference with the insurgent leaders lasted long. The demands they there put forward were for the abolition of compulsory services and for free tenancies at a uniform rate of fourpence an acre. There was to be a general amnesty; but for the time being the king would not commit himself as to the punishment of 'traitors.' Clerks were set to work copying and distributing these 'charters.' Before the king went back Tyler had slipped away, joined the band of insurgents who had been left on guard at the Tower to prevent the escape of Sudbury and Hales, and broke into the Tower itself. Nobody ventured to resist them. They hunted out their victims, dragged them off to Tower Hill, and cut off their heads. That night witnessed many scenes of violence, several murders, and notably the massacre of sundry Flemings, who were special objects of aversion. As the insurgents and the London mob got more out of hand, respectable citizens were becoming anxious to organise resistance. Nevertheless, it was resolved that Richard should once more try negotiation.

The Mile End meeting, 14th June.

The insurgents were invited to meet him this time at Smithfield, whither he went with a retinue, many of them wearing concealed armour. Tyler had drawn up his men in ordered ranks. As to the details of what followed after the king's arrival, accounts vary It is clear, however, that Tyler rode out to confer with the king, and probable

The Smithfield meeting, 15th June.

that he formulated a new series of demands in addition to those which had been conceded on the previous day—an exceedingly comprehensive programme of reforms. But as to the climax there is no doubt. Tyler made some movement which caused the mayor William Walworth, who was at the king's side, to draw his dagger and strike at the insurgent leader, who was then cut down by one of the king's squires. The peasants saw their leader fall; the cry ran through the ranks: 'Treason! They have slain our captain.' There was a sudden bending of bows; in another moment the royal party would inevitably have been shot down, but the boy king dashed forward towards the rebel ranks before any one could stop him, crying, 'I will be your chief and captain; follow me to the fields without'; and with amazing presence of mind began to walk his horse towards the open meadows. The insurgents in a sort of fascination began to stream after him, joined by some of the royal retinue; but Walworth hurried back to the city, and before an hour had passed was returning to Smithfield with a large force at his back. The citizens were ready enough to answer a call to arms as soon as the authorities ventured to make it; Walworth would have done so himself at an earlier stage had his counsel not been overruled. They arrived on the scene while Richard was still parleying with the insurgent leaders. Precisely what promises he had made, or was making, remains uncertain; but it is perfectly clear that the bulk of the men who had been assembled believed that the king was going to right their wrongs, and that they could disperse to their homes in safety. Under that delusion the horde broke up.

Verbal promises and the written charters, which had been issued in considerable numbers on the 14th, the day of the Mile End meeting, were waste breath and waste paper. A commission with arbitrary powers was forthwith appointed to deal with London; several of the rebel leaders were seized and hanged. When the Essex men understood that no concessions at all were going to be made, they rose in arms again, but were easily dispersed. Kent submitted. In both counties special assizes were held, at which about a hundred of the ring-

The word of a king.

leaders were tried and condemned. The punitive proceedings were all over ten weeks after the insurgents had entered London.

Apart from Kent and Essex, the only region where the peasant insurrection took an acute form was East Anglia, Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge, with the immediately neighbouring shires. In the north, in the Midlands, and in the west, there were merely isolated disturbances. East Anglia was peculiarly characterised by the presence among the rebels of members of the upper classes. In the eastern counties the risings were very largely directed against the monastic landlords, under whom it would seem that a specially large proportion of the tenants were holders in villeinage, those being counties where in general free tenants were numerous. Whatever the reason may be, the subsequent history of these regions points to the fact that the monasteries there had a very much worse reputation as landlords than those in other parts of the country. They were certainly now the object of special popular animosity. The risings there began at the moment when news from London gave the impression that the peasants of Kent and Essex were achieving a decisive victory. In the three counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge, the rebels during the first week appeared to have made themselves master of the situation; in another week the vigorous soldier-bishop, Despenser of Norwich, who knew his own mind and was a hard fighter, had shattered one body after another of the insurgents, captured and hanged several of their leaders, and in effect completely suppressed the risings.

The rising in East Anglia.

The last act of the peasant revolt is reached with the parliament which assembled at the end of the year. That parliament was invited to declare that the charters issued by the king had been *ultra vires* and void, and had been properly repudiated as having been extorted under duresse. The Commons were emphatic in their approval, as well as the Peers. No one had power to make such concessions without the consent of parliament, and on no consideration whatever would parliament have granted them. After this declaration they were satisfied with drawing up a list of nearly two hundred ringleaders, who still deserved to be punished, and petitioned

The parliament of 1381.

for a general amnesty for the rest. An indemnity was of course granted also to persons like Walworth and the bishop of Norwich, who had taken upon themselves the responsibility for hanging rebels without legal authority. Nothing was conceded of all that the peasants had demanded.

The peasant revolt is the most picturesque episode in the course of a reign which abounded with dramatic incident. Its most picturesque feature is the conduct of the boy king at Smithfield; its most painful side is to be found in the repudiation of his promises, promises which he may perhaps be excused for making with the knowledge that it was beyond his power to ensure their being carried out, but the spirit of which he was bound in honour to observe to the utmost of his power. It is to be noted that at the time of the crisis his three uncles were all absent, Lancaster being in Scotland, and Buckingham on the Welsh marches. This may to some extent account for the paralysis with which the government was affected when the swarms of insurgents from Kent and Essex rolled down upon London.

Our accounts hostile to the peasantry.

All the accounts that we have of the peasant revolt are from the pens of writers who were entirely hostile; they were on the side of the monasteries, on the side of the archbishop, on the side of the landlords; and they were particularly opposed to the whole popular movement so far as Lollardy, Wiclifite ideas, could be associated with it. It may be assumed therefore that there was a good deal more honesty of intent, a good deal more real reason among the leaders of the revolt, than they were credited with by the chroniclers. Even the chroniclers are disposed to excuse the peasantry as the dupes of wicked demagogues; and we may legitimately suppose that they exaggerated the wickedness of the demagogues. Consequently some modern writers seem to have been urged to the opposite extreme of retaliating by exaggerating the iniquities of the governing class and attributing the whole business to the monstrous incidents of villeinage.

Now it is to be remarked that nothing more than a small local disturbance was to be found anywhere outside the nine south-eastern counties—that is Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Kent, and the

five counties next to them, Cambridge, Hertford, Middlesex, Surrey, and Sussex, the group of counties forming the most prosperous portion of the kingdom, the most populous, and, south of the Wash, the portion in which there was the greatest amount of free tenancy. The revolt began simultaneously in Kent and Essex, spreading afterwards to the other counties named. It is true that the Essex men clamoured that they should be no longer called bond but free. But the Kent men actually were free, not villeins, not bound to the soil but always, or nearly always, rent-paying tenants, with no liabilities for ignominious services. It is not to be supposed that the Kent men led the revolt out of sympathy with the villeins in other parts of the country, while the districts where villeinage was most prevalent were not moved to rise at all. The villeins of the eastern counties doubtless felt the hardship of their own case the more by contrast with the numerous freeholders; but, though their first demand was for deliverance from villeinage, they were extensively joined by people whom villeinage did not touch. Moreover the leaders, Wat Tyler himself and those in East Anglia, were credited with a highly revolutionary programme of communistic democracy; the fanatical and entirely honest priest John Ball was pretty obviously looking for a communistic millennium; and the mobs which broke into the Tower of London and besieged Norwich, were clearly under the impression that there was going to be a general subversion of the system of government, whereby the peasantry would become the rulers. The London mob which sided with the insurgents did not consist of villeins; and in the lists of ringleaders which were drawn up, one half were Londoners, a considerable number were beneficed clergy, and there was a sprinkling of names belonging to the gentry. It is clear that the Essex leaders were acting in collusion with the Kent leaders, even if Tyler himself was not actually an Essex man; it is clear that the rising of East Anglia was an organised product of the initial success of the organised rising of Kent and Essex. We are forced to the conclusion that the organisers or prophets of the revolt were not in the first place concerned with

Character of the rising.

Villeinage was secondary.

the particular grievances of villeinage, but were revolutionaries who utilised the grievances of villeinage to secure the support of the whole villein class. Of their followers, indeed, three-fourths wanted only cheap land and free tenancy, with the right of alienation and the abolition of all monopolies and privileges enjoyed by the owners of the soil. With the town mobs the appeal was to the class which had grown up to a great extent during the last hundred years, of journeymen who had no hope of becoming master-craftsmen, and of small men who found that the town government had become a monopoly of the big men. The whole movement had the character of a rising of the poor against the rich, born of a class antagonism, intensified by the recent insistence of the richer class upon their technical rights and privileges, and by their partial success in checking through legal machinery the immense rise in wages, which but for that machinery would have been the outcome of the pressing demand for labour consequent upon the Black Death.

Subsequent disappearance of villeinage.

The last efforts of armed revolt were completely suppressed within three months of its first conception. The landowners had won. But the revolt had only failed to produce at a blow the results which normal economic causes were tending to bring about; results which but for the Black Death might very probably have already arrived. However strenuously landlords might insist upon their rights to forced labour when paid labour was abnormally costly, they found as they had been finding before the Black Death that paid labour was more efficient than forced, and money rents more serviceable than service rents. In the course of the next half century villeinage very nearly disappeared. When the demand for labour ceased to be in excess of the supply, wages sank automatically to their normal level; and the adjustment took place the more quickly because landowners, instead of bringing back under the plough much of the land which had gone out of cultivation, began to perceive that they could make larger profits at less cost by turning it into pasture for which little labour was demanded. This was a development which was hardly felt at first, but began to assume a serious character a hundred years

later. Here, however, the point to be emphasised is that the disappearance of villeinage is not to be attributed to the peasant revolt at all but to the normal operation of economic causes when normal economic conditions were restored.

In January 1382, when Richard became fifteen, he married Anne of Bohemia, the sister of King Wenceslaus, who was also emperor designate. The alliance might have been valuable if Wenceslaus had not proved a particularly incapable prince. Some three years earlier the Great Schism had begun. In 1378 the papal election was once more held in Rome, not at Avignon, because Pope Gregory was in Rome when he died. The French cardinals did not venture to resist the election of an Italian, Urban VI., as Gregory's successor; but six months later they repudiated the Roman election, and chose a Frenchman who was called Clement VI. Urban and Clement each claimed to be the true pope: France, Scotland, and Castile supported Clement, while England as a matter of course supported Urban. Wenceslaus having taken the same side there were hopes that the forces of the empire and of the legitimate papacy would back England in her quarrel with France—a hope which was, however, doomed to disappointment. The Schism was the occasion of a melancholy fiasco—the Flemish crusade of the bishop of Norwich in 1383. In 1382 the count of Flanders was expelled by the burghers, led by Philip, the son of James van Artevelde, and appealed to young King Charles VI., who had just succeeded Charles V. on the French throne. Philip van Artevelde naturally appealed to England; but while the English procrastinated the French attacked the Flemings and crushed them at the battle of Roosebeke. The political issue was veiled inefficiently enough by the pretence of a crusade on behalf of the orthodox Flemings against their schismatical suzerain; the command was taken by the warlike bishop who had suppressed the insurrection in East Anglia; voluntary contributions poured in; but unhappily when the bishop went to Flanders in 1383 his campaigning failed disastrously, and in five months he was back in England.

The Great Schism, 1378.

The Flemish Crusade, 1383.

In the same year ended the life of John Wiclif. The teachings

of the father of the Reformation had not been recognisably heretical until his repudiation of the accepted doctrine of tran-substantiation in 1380. His theories of Divine grace, ecclesiastical poverty, and other matters which had aroused the wrath of the clergy, were questions of politics rather than of orthodoxy, attractive as being anti-clerical without being alarming as heretical. A vigorous campaign against the new doctrine, which had frightened off Wiclif's old protector, John of Gaunt, was opened by Archbishop Courtenay, Sudbury's successor at Canterbury, in 1382; though Wiclif, shut out of Oxford, was allowed to pour forth political and theological pamphlets from his rectory at Lutterworth till his death in December 1383. The basis of Wiclif's teaching is to be found in that belief in the direct personal relations between the individual and his Maker, the rejection of an intermediary authority, which was to be the root principle of Protestantism. But Lollardy, the sum total of the views associated with the name of Wiclif, had three aspects. One was the anti-clericalism which gave it its initial hold upon the laity. The second was the communism which Wiclif did not preach directly, but for which a logical basis could be found in his teaching—a social theory which appealed to the poor, while it appeared outrageous to persons of property. The third was its rejection of theological doctrines universally recognised as orthodox, whereby it appealed vividly to a few audacious and inquiring spirits, but scandalised the great majority. Anti-clericalism had been active at intervals from time immemorial; it had been strengthened by the Avignon Papacy; it was strengthened still more by the Great Schism; and possibly it derived some additional strength from Lollardy; but it did not spring from Wiclif's teaching. Lollardy, identified with the revolutionary doctrines of John Ball, was sternly condemned by all the forces of respectability; and Lollardy as a positive religious movement, was condemned alike by the clergy and by the vast majority of the laity, who were never opposed to its persecution. The seed was sown; it was never eradicated, but the harvest was not yet.

Lollardy.

With 1384 the young king entered upon his eighteenth year.

He had just succeeded in getting rid of the domination of the earl of Arundel, and in raising Michael de la Pole to the Chancellorship. From his eighteenth year we may date the beginning of his personal rule.

II. The Rule of Richard II.

Though Richard had been but ten years old when he came to the throne there had never been a formal regency or a formal 'minority.' He had been given as tutors Lancaster's ally the earl of Arundel, and Michael de la Pole. Michael's father and uncle were Hull merchants, who had in effect purchased an entry into public life by large loans to the government in the early years of Edward III. Michael himself was the first member of such a family who was raised to a place among the baronage. He was a capable, honest, and experienced official, whom all parties perhaps regarded as a safe man, who would not attempt to usurp an undue authority. Relying upon, and possibly incited by him, Richard wished to shake himself free of domination and to assume an effective control of government. Others upon whom he relied were the prominent London merchant Nicholas Bramber, and the Chief Justice Tressilian—to whom was to be added the young earl of Oxford, Robert de Vere, who was little older than Richard, and was the one member of the greater aristocracy whom the king counted as a friend—unhappily a very worthless one. Such a group could give but very inadequate support to a youthful and impulsive prince if he chose to quarrel with the principal magnates of the realm.

The king's friends, 1384.

The dismissal of Arundel and the elevation of Pole to the position of chancellor did not lead to an immediate breach. But Pole's policy, though sound in principle, was unpopular. He wanted peace with France on reasonably honourable terms, and administrative reforms at home. The king's uncles on the other hand wished to assert John of Gaunt's claim to the throne of Castile, which was hardly compatible with the real termination of the French war; they did not want

Richard and Lancaster.

administrative reforms, which would take the domination out of their own hands; and they had behind them a popular opinion not at all eager to make peace with France till the repeated failures of the last fifteen years were in some sort compensated.

Still after the Flemish crusade Lancaster himself negotiated a French truce. But in the meanwhile the Scots lords, over whom the Scots king, Robert II., exercised no effective control, raided the north of England. John of Gaunt in retaliation marched to Edinburgh, and then marched home again without having found any Scots army to fight, in strict accordance with the now established rule of Scottish warfare. When a parliament met in May there were unseemly altercations between the young king and Arundel. The relations between Richard and Lancaster became exceedingly strained, and each apparently began to suspect the other of aiming at his life. Pole obtained authority with difficulty to negotiate a peace with France, but the negotiations failed.

A sort of reconciliation, however, was patched up between Richard and Lancaster at the beginning of 1385 when another Scots raid, accompanied by a considerable contingent from France, caused the king himself, accompanied by Lancaster, to invade Scotland. Again the Scots avoided battle. The English indulged in the usual work of destruction, burning Edinburgh itself, and then marched back again. Meanwhile the throne of Portugal had become vacant, and was being contested for by King John of Castile and the Portuguese prince, who presently established himself as King John I. of Portugal. For the sake of the English alliance, and in order to destroy his own rival, this King John was ready to help John of Gaunt to the throne of Castile. The result of this situation was that when the English parliament met in the autumn of 1385, a substantial grant was made for an expedition to Portugal under the command of Lancaster. Consequently during the next critical years in England Lancaster himself was out of the country, and the ambitions of his younger brother Thomas, recently created duke of Gloucester, had free play. The unambitious Edmund of Cambridge

Richard invades Scotland, 1385.

Parliament, 1385.

had at the same time been made duke of York. This parliament is notable for a quarrel between the clergy and the Commons, who presented a petition suggesting that the temporalities of the Church were a suitable subject for confiscation by the State. The Commons, in fact, were disturbed by the expenditure, and sought to extract from the king promises to curtail his personal extravagance, and to submit his household to control, which he refused; following up the refusal by making a particularly large gift to the earl of Oxford, whom at the same time he created marquis of Dublin.

Before another parliament met in the autumn of 1386 Lancaster was out of the country, and there had been a very serious scare of a French invasion which had, however, collapsed after great preparations. Pole, now earl of Suffolk, asked for subsidies; parliament, led by Gloucester and Arundel, refused to discuss supply until the king dismissed his ministers. The king made Oxford duke of Ireland, and declined to dismiss so much as a scullion at the bidding of parliament. In the debates which ensued ominous references were made to the deposition of Edward II. Gloucester personally interviewed his nephew, with the result that Richard yielded and consented to the dismissal of Suffolk, who was then impeached on various charges, and in spite of a very adequate answer on every point was condemned to forfeiture and imprisonment. When parliament went on to appoint a commission which should in effect control both the State and the king's household, Richard ventured to dismiss them with defiant words, released Suffolk, and betook himself to the Midlands, where he hoped to raise support for himself; while the government remained in the hands of the newly appointed council with Gloucester, Arundel, and his brother Bishop Arundel of Ely at the head of it.

The quarrel of 1386.

Richard summoned to his side most of the judges, and procured from them a pronouncement known as the Opinions of Nottingham, declaring that the late proceedings were contrary to the royal prerogative, and that the persons responsible for them were guilty of high treason. In spite of very plain warnings even from loyalists, and of the impossibility which was soon

obvious of raising the shire levies in his support, Richard employed Oxford to raise a mercenary force. Gloucester and Arundel were also collecting troops, though neither was doing so openly. In November the king returned to London; Gloucester and Arundel with their partisans assembled at Waltham and issued a declaration appealing of treason five of the king's advisers—Oxford, Suffolk, Tressilian, Bramber, and the archbishop of York. With Gloucester and Arundel was now associated the earl of Warwick, and immediately afterwards the two young earls, Thomas Mowbray of Nottingham and Henry of Derby, the eldest son and at present the representative of the absent duke of Lancaster. The group were subsequently known as the Lords Appellants.

The Lords Appellants, Nov. 1387.

Of the five who had been appealed four retreated out of reach or, at least, out of sight; Oxford hurried to Chester where he raised a considerable force. But when he marched south his troops dispersed without fighting as soon as they came in sight of an opposing army at Radcot Bridge. Oxford himself escaped to France.

The king was helpless, and the Merciless or Wonderful Parliament, which met in February 1388, entered upon a vindictive programme. Gloucester, followed by the rest of the Lords Appellants, demanded before parliament the condemnation of the five so-called 'traitors' on a long and detailed indictment, which naturally the accused did not present themselves to meet. The Lords pronounced the procedure to be regular and legal. Four of the five traitors were forthwith condemned to suffer the full penalties of treason; the archbishop of York escaped with his life in virtue of his sacred office. Bramber and Tressilian, who had been caught, were promptly executed; but Oxford and Suffolk were out of reach, and afterwards died in exile. Gloucester and his allies added several other victims to the list in spite of some protests from both Henry of Derby and Edmund of York. Parliament was not dissolved until Gloucester and the Arundels had duly rewarded themselves, the bishop taking the place of the 'traitor' archbishop of York. No statute had been passed, no formal alteration made

The Wonderful Parliament, 1388.

in the constitution; but the recently appointed council had succeeded in making itself decisively supreme.

Among English monarchs there are three whose characters present us with problems of perennial interest to the psychologist, because their personalities are puzzling as well as arresting. Richard II., Henry VIII., and Elizabeth are all enigmas by reason of their apparent contradictoriness. However we may attempt to solve them it must always be with a consciousness that we may have gone completely astray. For Richard, a brain specialist could make out a very good case for insanity of a subtle order, based upon his sudden irrational outbursts of passion, the abnormal ingenuity of his cunning, and the violent alternations between what the Greeks called *hybris*—very inadequately rendered by 'arrogance' or 'pride'—and helpless despair. Richard only reached the age of twenty-one in January 1388. At the age of fourteen he had shown at the instant of an emergency courage and presence of mind which would have done credit to the most experienced diplomatist and man of action. That might have been attributed to the lucky audacity of a self-confident boy, if it had not been accompanied by a cynical contempt for honour and good faith not often conjoined with the frank audacity of boyhood. There is little to be discovered save an extravagant self-confidence in the struggle with Gloucester and Arundel, which has just been described: when the actual crisis came, and De Vere was in arms, Richard himself displayed merely impotence. Yet, during the next nine years of his early manhood, from twenty-one to thirty, the young king displayed an unfailing moderation and self-restraint, and at the same time an intelligent boldness, which would have left him with the character almost of a model constitutional monarch if a kindly fate had but cut him off at the beginning of 1397. Nevertheless, during those years the king must, it would seem, have been all the time secretly cherishing the thought of revenge, steadily working out the design of establishing his own complete supremacy, and overwhelming his foes at a blow. But then when the blow had been struck *hybris* became master. With sheer blind folly Richard rushed upon his own doom. It is possible to

Character of Richard.

see in his queen, Anne of Bohemia, the influence which taught him self-control, which but for her untimely death might even have prevented the later sinister developments. It is interesting to note that there were at least three English kings who seem to show a certain moral deterioration after the death of a wise and tender wife who had never been politically obtrusive: Edward I. after the death of Eleanor in 1290, Richard after the death of Anne of Bohemia in 1394, and Henry VII. after the death of Elizabeth of York in 1503.

In 1388 Gloucester and Arundel were supreme. The Merciless Parliament had wrought their vindictive will and rewarded them lavishly; but when they had won power they did not use it with wisdom. The narrowness of the most oppressive type of aristocrat was displayed in the legislation of their next parliament, held in the autumn of the same year. Wages were to be rigidly kept down, and the labourer rigidly confined at least to his own hundred. He was forbidden to possess arms; his sons were forbidden to enter any craft. The Scots raided the north unpunished and carried off the earl of Northumberland's son, Harry Hotspur, a prisoner from the moonlight battle of Otterburn, though their captain, the earl of Douglas, was slain. Posterity was the gainer, since the fight was commemorated in the immortal ballad of the 'Hunting of the Cheviot.' Negotiations were reopened by the French for a permanent peace, or a truce which might have been a stepping-stone to a permanent peace, including Castile and Scotland; but the proposals were wrecked by the obstinate insistence of Gloucester's government on a clause affirming the obsolete English claim to the Scottish suzerainty.

The rule of Gloucester.

But in May 1389 a quietly effective *coup d'état* overthrew the Gloucester government. At a meeting of the council, Richard asked his uncle, 'How old am I?' On Gloucester's replying that he was two-and-twenty, he remarked that in that case he was old enough to choose his own ministers, dismissed the chancellor Archbishop Arundel and the treasurer, and appointed in their places not partisans nor favourites, but old and tried ministers of Edward III., who for long had

Gloucester dismissed, 1389.

taken no political part, William of Wykeham and Bishop Brantingham. It was a sheer impossibility to find fault with the king's action, yet it was a perfectly effective assertion of the king's supremacy, a deposition of Gloucester and Arundel.

The next step was still more conclusive. Lancaster was invited to return from Spain, and resume his position as the natural and most trusted counsellor of the king. Lancaster's return entirely relegated Gloucester to a subordinate position, without any direct attack whatever being made upon the younger duke. John of Gaunt's recall was a simple matter, because he had by this time learnt the hopelessness of his attempt to secure the Castilian crown for himself in right of his second wife, Constance of Castile. Had he won the crown, the heir to it would have been not his son Henry of Derby or his daughter Philippa, the children of his earlier marriage with Blanche of Lancaster, but his daughter Katharine, the child of Constance. The door was open, however, still to secure the Castilian crown to her because King John of Castile had proposed that she should be wedded to his own son and heir Henry. Not only was this contract carried out, but Lancaster's elder daughter Philippa was married to King John of Portugal; and thus it came about that three of the duke's children occupied ultimately the thrones of three kingdoms. When the duke himself returned to England, Richard consistently cultivated his friendship and was supported by his loyalty for the rest of his life.

Lancaster recalled.

At the beginning of 1390 yet another ingenious stroke made Richard's constitutional position still more impregnable. William of Wykeham and the other officers whom Richard personally had appointed voluntarily resigned, and invited parliament to pass judgment upon their tenure of office. Their conduct had been impeccable; parliament said so, and invited them to resume their functions, which they accordingly did. Richard crowned this piece of work by adding Gloucester as well as Lancaster to his council. The younger uncle was completely muzzled. Less than two years afterwards the spirit of forgiveness carried

Richard's constitutionalism, 1390-1396.

Richard so far that Archbishop Arundel was restored to the chancellorship, on the final retirement of William of Wykeham. In the years from 1390 to 1393, parliament again displayed its anti-papal spirit by strengthening the Statutes of Provisors, of Mortmain, and of Praemunire. The measures hardly proved more effective than before, but they testified to the general trend of public opinion which had not yet severely condemned Lollards, at least if they were persons of any importance. The king's visit to Ireland in 1394-95 had a pacificatory effect in that country where Anglicising influences were now virtually restricted to the Pale, and the Pale itself had contracted to very small dimensions. The young earl of March, Roger Mortimer, the heir-presumptive to the throne, and already officially recognised by the king as such, was left behind as lieutenant, whereby the traditional association of his house with Ireland was strengthened.

Personal matters, 1390-1397.

But, unless we except the Irish episode, the most important events of these years were of a personal character: the bestowal of Guienne upon Lancaster for life, almost as an independent principality; a quarrel between Lancaster and Arundel which permanently estranged them; a quarrel between Richard and Arundel on the death of Queen Anne in 1394, which may have re-awakened the long-repressed spirit of vengeance in Richard's breast; the death of the duchess of Lancaster; and the subsequent marriage of the duke himself to his mistress Katharine Swynford, the mother of his four illegitimate children who bore the name of Beaufort, leading up to the formal legitimation of those children by the royal authority at the beginning of 1397.

Peace with France, 1396.

Future relations with France were materially affected by the brain malady which for the first time attacked Charles VI. in 1292, a malady which always affected him much more acutely in summer than in winter. But the extent to which he was incapacitated by it delivered France over to the fierce rivalries of his uncles, his brother, and his cousins, which developed into the struggle between the two parties ultimately known as the Burgundians and the Armagnacs. More immediately, however, it put an end to the aggressive designs

which the French king had been inclined to cherish, and made France readier to come to terms with England. The result again was a treaty by which both countries deferred the settlement of disputed points for thirty years and accepted the actually existing position for the interval, while the peace was to be confirmed by Richard's marriage to the seven-year-old French princess Isabella.

Now ever since the Merciless Parliament, from 1388 to the beginning of 1397, Richard's conduct had been irreproachable, with a single exception. At the moment when he was unhinged by the death of his dearly loved queen, he had burst out with unseemly violence against Arundel who had provoked him by a most indecent insolence. In February 1397 came another outbreak of passion. The Commons sent up a petition complaining of certain grievances, among them the extravagant expenditure of the court. This clause touched Richard's sensitive point; he angrily demanded the name of the member who had proposed the clause, a cleric named Haxey—for the clergy had not yet absolutely severed themselves from the representative chamber. The House made no attempt to protect the privilege of free debate: Haxey was given up, and was condemned by the Lords to die as a traitor, though he was ultimately pardoned by the king at the petition of Archbishop Arundel. It seems possible to believe—the question is one for psychologists—that the king's reformation had been genuine, that he had not through all those years kept revenge before him as his goal, that his moderation had not been a mask, but that his nervous temperament was really unhinged by his wife's death, and he thereafter became gradually obsessed with the idea of revenge.

Haxey's case, 1397.

This, however, is mere speculation. The two definite facts stand out: that at the beginning of 1397 Richard had lost, or was losing, the self-mastery which he seemed so suddenly to have acquired nine years before; and that in the spring of the same year he had resolved to strike at his old enemies. The blow was prepared in July. The king had taken into his confidence his half-brother John Holland, earl of Huntingdon; his contemporary, sometime playmate and

The coup d'état of 1397.

sometime enemy, Thomas Mowbray of Nottingham; and John Montague, earl of Salisbury; with sundry men of the younger generation: Edward of Rutland, son of the duke of York; Thomas Holland the younger, earl of Kent; John Beaufort who had been made earl of Somerset after his legitimation, and others. Gloucester and Arundel and Warwick, the three original Lords Appellants, were invited to a banquet. Warwick came and was arrested; the suspicions of the other two had been aroused, and they did not come, but Arundel thought it wise to surrender himself next day. That night Gloucester himself was arrested at one of his own castles, and was dispatched to Calais, of which Nottingham was the 'captain.' There two months later he was put to death secretly after a confession of treason had been extorted from him. Gloucester, Warwick, and Arundel were appealed before parliament after the precedent which they had themselves set; but before the day came it was announced that Gloucester had died; all that was necessary was the reading of his confession. Arundel was condemned and executed; Warwick's life was spared by the king's grace; Archbishop Arundel, whose name had been added to those of the accused, was deprived and banished.

Honours distributed.

Dukedoms were scattered among the earls who had helped in the *coup d'état*, and earldoms among those of lower rank. The duke of York was passive, and the duke of Lancaster presided at Arundel's trial. Of the former Lords Appellants, Derby and Nottingham, now made dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, had been drawn over to his own side by the king; even at the outset they had acted to some extent as checks upon Gloucester and Arundel. Now Norfolk, the murderer of Gloucester, seemed irrevocably pledged to Richard; and the old duke of Lancaster's one real virtue, of loyalty to the Crown, from which he had never swerved, gave at least present security against danger from Henry of Hereford (whose familiar name of Bolingbroke was derived not from any title but from his birthplace).

Richard was not satisfied with vengeance; he meant to have all that he had ever dreamed of royal power. Parliament—

packed after a fashion started by John of Gaunt in 1377—was gathered at Shrewsbury in January 1398. The second group of Lords Appellants, those who had appealed the first group, invited the Houses to petition the king to revoke or denounce everything that had been done by the Gloucester government before the *coup d'état* of 1389. Then the Houses endorsed the Opinions of Nottingham, a constitutional pronouncement which incidentally limited parliamentary discussion to questions laid before the Houses by the Crown. But the Shrewsbury parliament had not finished denuding itself of power. It half surrendered the power of the purse by granting the king for life the subsidy on wool; and finally it delegated all the powers of parliament to a committee of the king's closest supporters, eighteen in number, among whom Norfolk and Hereford were not included. Among the twelve lords were the king's two uncles, his cousin and heir-presumptive the earl of March, seven of his confidants in the *coup d'état*, and the two Percies, earls of Northumberland and Worcester. The committee was simply an instrument in the king's hands, and it had received its powers from parliament itself.

Parliament of Shrewsbury, 1398.

There were two men who might be dangerous—Norfolk and Hereford; and they delivered themselves, or rather Hereford delivered them both, into the king's hand. Norfolk's suspicions had been aroused: that they were warranted is very nearly proved by the exclusion of the two dukes from the 'parliamentary committee' of government. He confided his anxiety to Hereford, Hereford betrayed his confidence to the king (1398). Norfolk gave him the lie; the king referred the decision to the committee of government, the committee of government referred it to a court of chivalry, since there was no evidence at all except the word of the two dukes; and the court of chivalry ordained that the question should be settled by wager of battle. The king assented; a great concourse assembled at Coventry, where the lists were prepared (16th September); the antagonists were facing each other with lance already in rest when Richard suddenly stopped the proceedings—he was undoubtedly a lover of dramatic effects. He summoned the dukes

Norfolk and Hereford.

before him, announced that he had resolved to judge the quarrel himself, and proclaimed his singularly illogical award that both were to be banished, Hereford for ten years and Norfolk for life; though immediately afterwards the period of Hereford's exile was reduced from ten years to six.

Banishment of the dukes.

Norfolk's conduct throughout is intelligible enough. He and Hereford had been associated with the original Lords Appellants, who had just been condemned not upon new charges, but for their proceedings ten years before. He had very ample ground for feeling insecure, and for expecting Henry of Hereford to take the same view. As for Henry it can only be supposed that he thought himself too strong to be in peril, but having rejected Norfolk's overtures had anticipated the risk of being himself accused of treason by accusing Norfolk. That he acted out of pure loyalty is not to be believed. But Richard's action is almost inexplicable. Doubtless he supposed that he would have no more difficulties if once the two dukes were out of the way; yet he did not see what should have been obvious—the danger of giving an award which could not conceivably be called just, which had absolutely no pretensions to justice. If he believed Hereford's charge against Norfolk there was no excuse for penalising Hereford as well as Norfolk. If he did not believe it there was no excuse for penalising Norfolk at all. Probably there was hardly any one who doubted the truth of Hereford's accusation, simply because Norfolk's conduct was precisely what might have been expected in the circumstances; consequently the banishment of Hereford immediately and inevitably aroused for him a very strong public sympathy as the victim of injustice. However for the moment Richard could feel that there was no one left in the country round whom an opposition could be gathered.

Richard's despotism, 1398-1399.

The king now started upon a career of arbitrary and capricious despotism, while the committee of government endorsed his proceedings. There was nothing bloodthirsty about his actions. He put nobody to death, but he exacted loans, fines, and tallages right and left, with none to say him nay; he announced that half the counties of

England had been guilty of treason ten years before, and imposed on them a heavy fine, the payment of which was not immediately demanded, but was to be exacted whenever he should think fit. In February 1399 the duke of Lancaster died. Hereford, his son and heir, had forfeited none of his rights by his banishment; nevertheless Richard now confiscated the whole of Lancaster's inheritance, and extended Henry's banishment for the term of his life—always with the assent of his committee which made parliament superfluous. Manifestly he had come to believe that his power was irresistible. He had no suspicion that this last monstrous act of injustice to his cousin involved danger to himself; and apparently without a qualm he sailed at the end of May for Ireland, with a considerable army, leaving to protect his own interest no one more efficient than his feeble uncle of York and the recently elevated Scrope, earl of Wiltshire, one of his confidential group.

Vigorous action was required in Ireland, where, in spite of Richard's last visit, a rebellion of sundry native chiefs had broken out in 1398, and Roger Mortimer had been killed in battle. Roger had been Richard's heir-presumptive, and his death left between the banished Lancaster and the throne only Roger's infant children and his brother Edmund.

1399, Richard goes to Ireland.

Most of the magnates accompanied Richard to Ireland, but not the Percies of Northumberland, who excused themselves as having too much to do on the Scottish border. For six weeks Richard and his army marched through the disturbed districts, finding no one to fight, and gradually reducing themselves to starvation, when news was brought over that Henry of Lancaster had reappeared in England accompanied by two other exiles, Archbishop Arundel and his nephew the earl of Arundel's son and heir, and that the whole north was rallying to his standard. Salisbury, the best man and the greatest magnate among Richard's supporters, hurried back to England to raise the ever loyal county of Cheshire. It was not till a fortnight later that Richard himself and some part of his army got back to Milford Haven.

Henry had now been three weeks in England. On his first arrival, York had called up the levies of the south, but very soon found that they were not at all inclined to fight against Henry, who was making the most solemn professions that he had come merely to claim the Lancaster inheritance, of which every one felt that he had been despoiled by an utterly inexcusable act of arbitrary injustice. York made for the west, hoping to join the king's army when it got back from Ireland. Lancaster made for the west to prevent any such junction. When the converging forces came within striking distance, nearly the whole of York's troops deserted, and he himself after his feeble fashion very soon followed suit and joined Henry. The bishop of Norwich, suppressor of the East Anglian insurrection and figure-head of the Flemish crusade, tried to fight, but was taken prisoner. Wiltshire and some of Richard's most obnoxious agents and supporters fled to Bristol, but were promptly handed over by the townsfolk to a pursuing troop of Lancastrians, who put them to death without trial. Richard deserted his force from Ireland at Milford Haven, and hurried off to join Salisbury in Cheshire; the Irish army and its commanders promptly went over to Lancaster; and when Richard reached the earl of Salisbury he found him in Conway Castle with only a remnant of the troops at first levied, most of which had already melted away.

Richard's fall.

The game was hopelessly lost for the king. He sent the Hollands, whom he had made dukes of Exeter and Surrey, to negotiate with Lancaster at Chester. The duke responded by sending Northumberland and the archbishop to Conway. To them Richard surrendered, the terms requiring that he should in effect, though not in form, abdicate, that Henry should be made Grand Justiciar, and that sundry of Richard's adherents, including Salisbury and the Hollands, should be tried before parliament on the charge of responsibility for the murder of Gloucester. The fallen monarch was conducted to Flint, where he was met by Henry with a mocking pretence of courtesy and a promise to help him to rule better than he had succeeded in doing during the last twenty-two years.

Richard surrenders.

But there was scarcely a pretence that anything was intended but Richard's deposition. From Flint he was conducted to London to meet a parliament which had been summoned in his name; but the royal honours were reserved for the duke.

Richard was lodged in the Tower, where on Michaelmas Day he was required to sign a deed of abdication, as one who had proved himself incapable of rule. On the next day the parliament assembled: by the reading of the Act of Abdication the throne was declared vacant; Henry of Lancaster rose and claimed the crown as the lineal heir, and incidentally by right of conquest. Archbishop Arundel, who had taken the leading part in the proceedings and had already reinstated himself at Lambeth, led Henry up to take his seat on the throne; and parliament acknowledged him as the lawful king of England.

Deposition of Richard.

As to the character of Henry's title, it was possible to urge that he was next heir to the throne on the principle in accordance with which the Valois was king of France. That theory had been put forward by John of Gaunt while Edward III. was still alive; on which occasion the parliament had contented itself by declaring that there was no question of succession to discuss. It had not formally condemned the theory itself. In view, however, of Edward III.'s claim to the French throne the argument could scarcely be maintained seriously in England. But if that claim were not valid the lineal representative of Edward II. was the child Edmund Mortimer, the great-grandson of John of Gaunt's elder brother Lionel; and Richard had formally recognised the boy's father, Roger, as heir-presumptive. It was apparently in order to avoid raising this question that Henry described himself as being king in right line of descent, not from Edward III., but from Henry III.; referring to a baseless legend that Edward I.'s younger brother Edmund, the progenitor of the house of Lancaster, was really the elder brother who had been set aside on account of a personal deformity which caused him to be nicknamed Crouchback. There was no truth whatever in the legend: it had simply been invented to account for the name of Crouchback, which had really been bestowed

Henry IV.

on Edmund when he assumed the crusader's robe with a cross on the back. On the basis of this fiction, Henry professed to claim the throne, not through his father, but through his mother Blanche of Lancaster—a title too flimsy to be sustained for a moment. The plain truth was that Henry and every one else knew that he was king by election, in accordance with all precedent before the accession of Henry III. The right of the witan or great council to divert the succession from the direct heir, at least to another member of the royal family, had been repeatedly exercised; and that power was now recognised as being vested in the parliament. Parliament accepted Henry because, in the circumstances, no one could have proposed any other candidate with any chance of success. Two facts gave an unprecedented instability to the Lancastrian dynasty: it was instituted first through the recognition of the right of parliament to depose a king who trampled on the law, and secondly, through the recognition of the right of parliament to select the member of the royal house who was to succeed. Neither fact was acknowledged explicitly, but both were implicit in the whole transaction; and no king of the house of Lancaster could afford to forget it.

The Lancastrian title a parliamentary one.

III. Henry IV.

Richard II. lost his throne because of his recklessly capricious abuse of the arbitrary power which he had achieved; not because he was a Nero, but because he was unaccountable. His successor's title could only be maintained either by the terrorism to which some usurpers have resorted, usually with only a brief success, or by conciliating the good-will of the bulk of his subjects, and by a very close observation of hostile elements. Henry did not attempt the rôle of tyrant; but he died prematurely worn out, long before he was fifty, by the tremendous strain entailed by the alternative policy. He was altogether unheroic; not a great statesman, not a great soldier, not a figure in any way great; but he was competent in every capacity, practical, level-headed, tactful; unscrupulous whenever magna-

The two kings.

nimity or nicety appeared inexpedient; but not cruel unless cruelty seemed useful; not vindictive unless something was to be gained by vindictiveness. Therefore he preserved his throne and established his dynasty, when most men of a finer mould, and many men far more highly endowed, would have failed.

Assuredly the position in which the new king found himself was sufficiently difficult. So long as Richard lived there was a standing menace of attempts at a restoration. **Difficulties.** Archbishop Arundel more than any other man had helped to place Henry on the throne, and the archbishop's price was the suppression of Lollardy; it was not yet clear how far that policy would be popular. Richard's active supporters of every rank had been heavily endowed out of confiscated estates; and a process of restitution was inevitable, which, added to the necessity for rewarding Henry's own active supporters, was certain to cause complications, jealousies, and heartburnings. The coronation took place a fortnight after the deposition; and the same parliament which had witnessed that act was summoned again by the new king, and met immediately afterwards.

Henry's alliance with the churchmen was at once demonstrated by the enforced resignation of the Speaker elected by the House of Commons, on the suspicion of Lollardy. Then **Henry's first parliament.** the Houses proceeded to rescind all the Acts of parliament since the *coup d'état* of 1397, and to endorse the proceedings of the Merciless Parliament. Then they demanded an inquiry into the murder of Gloucester. The practical result of this was that after the peers had spent some time in hurling charges of treason at each other's heads, and gages of battle on the floor of the House, it was resolved that the six surviving Lords Appellants who had appealed the three original Lords Appellants should be impeached of treason, and also that the unfortunate Richard should be shut up where he could do no mischief. The whole six were duly condemned. But Henry did not wish to inaugurate his reign with what would have been treated as a display of bloodthirstiness. He contented himself with depriving them of all the titles and emoluments which had been bestowed upon them by way of reward; but they were given

to understand that the king's continued clemency was conditional upon their good behaviour. Parliament was dissolved after granting a moderate subsidy, and procuring, somewhat later in the day, an Act forbidding the bestowal of territory or of offices of emolument by the king without consent of the council. Obviously the more estates the king gave away the more difficult he would find it to 'live of his own,' as the Commons persisted in declaring that he ought to be able to do. But the king had already distributed his favours with a lavish hand; and demands for the resumption of royal estates were impracticable.

Henry had been carried to the throne on a flowing tide of popularity; Richard had made himself detested not so much by what he had done as by the fear of what he might be intending to do; yet his party, consisting chiefly of the lords who had just been condemned and then partly pardoned, were nervous enough to plunge into a conspiracy against the new king. The unsuspecting Henry was to be seized and put to death. But the plot was betrayed a few hours before it was to be put in execution by Rutland, who rarely failed to turn traitor at critical moments. When the conspirators attacked Windsor Castle they found that the bird had flown. After brief hesitation they themselves took to flight. Kent and Salisbury were killed by the mob at Cirencester, Despenser at Bristol, Huntingdon in Essex. Several of their adherents were caught, tried, and hanged. About six weeks afterwards it was announced that the captive Richard had himself died in his prison at Pontefract. That he did die of privation and harsh treatment is tolerably certain: it was declared that he had deliberately starved himself to death by refusing food, which is conceivably true, but it does not alter the indubitable fact that he was either actually murdered or deliberately driven to suicide. In spite of the exposure of the body, a belief prevailed that the captive had really escaped; and some time afterwards a pseudo-king Richard was at large in Scotland.

A plot crushed.

Death of Richard, 1400.

Richard died on 14th February 1400. In the course of the year Henry was sufficiently ill-advised to revive the English claim of sovereignty in Scotland, and to make an expedition to that

country, encouraged by the dissensions among the Scottish nobility. Robert III., who had changed his name from John to Robert for luck on succeeding to the throne, was a feeble ruler. His brother, Robert of Albany, his heir the duke of Rothesay, and the great earls of Douglas and March, were constantly intriguing and fighting for ascendency; and Henry's invasion was made almost at March's invitation. This was the last time that a king of England led an army into Scotland in person; and his experience was a mere repetition of the old story—ravagings and burnings, an enemy who persistently declined battle, failure of commissariat, exhaustion, and withdrawal. Henry had wasted much money and gained nothing whatever. **Scotland.**

On his way south the king found that Owen Glendower, a Welsh gentleman of large estate, who through his mother claimed descent from Llewelyn, was conducting a sort of private war against Lord Grey of Ruthyn in North Wales. Thither therefore the king turned aside, marched through the country while Owen took to the hills, confiscated the Glendower estates, and went home. The result was that a few months later Glendower was openly in arms as the leader of a Welsh national insurrection. In the late spring of 1401 the English in North Wales were almost shut up in the castles. Harry Percy—Hotspur—son of the earl of Northumberland, who held the office of justiciar in North Wales, but could extract no money from the king to pay his soldiers, threw up his office, and retired to the north. Owen assumed the title of Prince of Wales; and when Henry himself marched into North Wales, avoided battle after the Scots fashion, cut off the king's supplies, raided his communications, and as soon as his back was turned resumed operations against the fortresses. **Owen Glendower.**

Next year matters grew worse. Henry's impecuniosity, the calls on the public purse, and the economical spirit of the Commons, were undermining his popularity. In Scotland, Albany, who now wholly dominated the king his brother—the Crown Prince died or was murdered just at this time—got hold of a crazy impostor who professed to be the escaped King Richard; he sedulously fostered the rumour that this was really the

murdered king. Glendower was so active and his strength was so developing that he routed a considerable force under Sir Edmund Mortimer, and captured its commander. Mortimer was the uncle of the young earl of March, the legitimate heir of King Richard; he was therefore a person who might be dangerous. Glendower made the most of his captive. There was consequently another autumn campaign, futile as usual, in North Wales.

Glendower's successes, 1402.

Elsewhere, however, matters seemed to have been going more favourably. The Scots, led by the earl of Douglas and Murdoch, the son of Albany, conducted a great raid into the north of England. They were met and totally defeated by the Percies at Homildon Hill, a battle fought and won very much after the Halidon Hill fashion. There was a great slaughter and many noble prisoners were taken, including Douglas and Murdoch of Albany. Several of them were with much ceremony handed over to the king. But the victory was the cause of further troubles. The Percies, as Henry's most active supporters when he returned from exile, had become extremely powerful; the victory of Homildon increased their prestige. They were arrogant, and Henry may have thought that it was time to curb them. They had claims on his purse which he refused to recognise, and he now demanded that Douglas, as well as the other prisoners, should be handed over to him; and he set about preparing an army for the north, nominally to invade Scotland, really to coerce the Percies.

Homildon Hill, Sept.

In the meanwhile the king had consistently turned a deaf ear to Mortimer's petitions that he should be ransomed from Glendower; and while Henry was wrangling with the Percies there came the surprising news that Mortimer had married Glendower's daughter, and that he and Glendower had declared for the restoration of Richard if he was really alive, and if not for the deposition of Henry in favour of the true heir, the little earl of March. Hotspur's wife was Mortimer's sister. The Percies—Hotspur, Northumberland, and Northumberland's brother Thomas, earl of Worcester—declared for Mortimer. Accompanied by Douglas, no longer as a

The Percies' revolt, July 1403.

captive but as a comrade-in-arms, Hotspur made a rapid dash from the north upon Chester, hoping to join forces with Glendower, who was now pursuing a victorious career in South Wales. If Northumberland and the rest of the northern lords who favoured the cause, and Glendower from the south, could bring up their forces and join with Hotspur, the combined army would be extremely formidable. Henry resolved to strike at once at Hotspur before the junction could be effected. With such troops as he was able to collect at once, he marched upon Shrewsbury to intercept Hotspur on his way to join Glendower. There the two armies met; in the course of an exceptionally fiercely fought and bloody battle, Hotspur was slain, Worcester and the unlucky Douglas were taken prisoners, and the insurgent army was completely shattered. Worcester was executed; Northumberland, who had been delayed by his great rival in the north, Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, dismissed his troops and sued for a pardon, which was granted. Glendower, too late to take part in the operations at Shrewsbury, remained undisturbed to pursue his successful career in Wales. Before the end of the year the Welshman was completely dominant practically throughout the principality.

The one legislative measure of importance during the reign hitherto had been the Act establishing burning at the stake as the penalty for heresy, known as the statute *De Heretico Comburendo* of 1401. There had been burnings before now on the Continent, but not in England; until the development of Lollardy there had never been enough active heresy to attract persecution. But now Lollardy was active; there had been avowed Lollards in high places, among them the lately slain earl of Salisbury. Richard had been by no means zealous in their suppression, and Archbishop Arundel was determined to root out the pestilence. Apart from his orthodox zeal he remarked a dangerous connection between Lollard doctrine and the growing inclination of the Commons to emphasise the propriety of taxing or even confiscating ecclesiastical property; and he attracted the support of propertied laymen by insisting that the logical conclusion from

De Heretico Comburendo, 1401.

the Lollard premises was the abolition of private property altogether, not merely the spoliation of the Church. The argument gained ground. Convocation and the Commons petitioned for active measures against heresy, and the statute was framed on the petition of Convocation rather than that of the Commons. It is to be observed that at this time it was not yet the custom for the Houses to frame and pass Bills in a shape to which the Crown gave its assent; the form was for parliament to present a petition inviting legislation, on the basis of which the council framed and the king promulgated the statute, which was not necessarily in the precise terms of the petition. Some days before this statute was actually issued the first English martyr by law,

William Sawtre.

William Sawtre, was actually burnt at the stake at Smithfield, the death penalty being sanctioned under the common law; though public opinion would not have permitted its general adoption without special legislation.

But parliament was zealous to extend its power of control over the king, and especially over expenditure. The same assembly

The Commons assertive.

which was responsible for the Act against heretics protested against being allowed insufficient time for the discussion of royal proposals, complained because the council had issued an order to towns and shires on the seaboard to equip a fleet out of their own pockets, and propounded the theory that grievance ought always to be discussed before supply. In January 1404, six months after Shrewsbury, the Commons were grumbling again. The king could 'live of his own,' but for his pernicious habit of giving away estates and pensions instead of using his own revenues for his wars. They were with difficulty induced to assent to a grant which seems to have been an experimental variation on the customary tenths and fifteenths, which were based upon obsolete assessments, and were beginning to mean fixed sums. The new experiment was not apparently successful; the records of it were carefully suppressed, and it was not repeated. At the same time the king found himself compelled to cut down his household so as to bring his personal expenditure within an exceedingly narrow limit laid down by the council.

As a matter of fact, it was impossible for the king to meet the quite necessary expenditure out of the revenues granted. Glendower was daily growing stronger, and even made a treaty on his own account with France; while the English troops on the marches were mutinying because their pay was in arrear. A parliament was again called in the autumn; Henry tried to guard himself by instructing the sheriffs that no one was to be returned who had studied or practised the law. But the Unlearned Parliament, as it was called in consequence, was as captious as its predecessors; it was also very anti-clerical, going so far as to suggest that the ecclesiastical revenues for a whole year should be seized for the State—which the clergy called confiscation of Christ's patrimony. As the proposal was coupled with a demand for the resumption of all royal grants during the past forty years, the bishops had the support of the magnates in urging the willing king to reject the petition of the Commons.

The Unlearned Parliament, 1404.

Rutland had succeeded his father as duke of York in 1402. In 1405 he was mixed up with a new plot in favour of the innocent young Edmund of March. As a matter of course he betrayed it, or as much as he knew of it, and it was nipped in the bud. But three months later a very extensive conspiracy developed, of which the spoilt plot may have been merely a misdirected fragment. Northumberland had kept quiet ever since his pardon after Shrewsbury; but secretly he had been intriguing with several discontented persons, including the youthful earl of Nottingham, son of Norfolk who had died in exile, and Richard Scrope, the archbishop of York; who with some others of the conspirators was probably free from any personal motive, but had simply persuaded himself that an improvement in the administration could only be achieved by the appeal to arms, or, at least, by an appearance in arms. Before the end of May half the north was up and following the banners of Scrope and Nottingham. Westmorland, a thoroughgoing Lancastrian, raised some troops, and accompanied by the king's third son John marched to meet the insurgents. He tricked the simple-minded leaders of the insurgents into a conference, where they were treacherously

Plots in 1405.

seized, while their unsuspecting forces were suddenly charged by the royalist troops. The insurgents promptly fled. Ten days later, when Henry himself had arrived, Scrope and Mowbray were tried before a commission. Archbishop Arundel arrived post-haste, determined to save his brother prelate; but on this occasion Henry allowed anger to master policy. He made the archbishop believe that all would be well; but when Arundel had retired to rest he hurried the trial through and cut off the heads of his prisoners. Popular opinion, which promptly made a saint of Scrope, attributed to the Divine wrath the disease from which Henry shortly afterwards began to suffer—called by the chroniclers leprosy. Possibly he shared that belief himself. But he went on to complete the crushing of the northern rising. Northumberland fled to Scotland; to make one more desperate attempt nearly three years later, when he was killed at the battle of Bramham Moor. A dreary campaign in Wales ended the record of 1405.

Execution of Archbishop Scrope.

In the next year a very prolonged parliament grumbled continuously, but did very little beyond passing in the spring session two measures which it rescinded in the autumn. It closed its career, however, by requiring Henry virtually to delegate the royal prerogatives to the council; an arrangement to which Henry was prepared reluctantly to submit just so long as he was not strong enough to set it aside. His powers of resistance were greatly reduced for the time-being by his very bad health.

The Long Parliament, 1406.

Meanwhile, however, matters were improving in Wales, where the eldest prince, Henry, was training himself for the winning of future victories. He was now in his twentieth year, and had already shown his mettle as a boy in the fight at Shrewsbury. He was now proving himself an efficient and resolute captain in the Welsh command. While he was making steady progress in Wales a piece of good fortune befell the king in the capture of the young crown prince of Scotland, James, who had been heir-apparent since the death of Rothesay. Old King Robert, perhaps in fear of his brother Albany's ambitions, sent the boy off to France; but the vessel

Improving fortunes, 1407.

was captured by some English ships, and when the captors discovered the prize they had secured they sent him to the king of England. Though there was technically peace with the Scots, Henry had no scruple in retaining him, especially since his father's death made him technically king of Scotland about a week after the capture. Albany became regent of Scotland; and while Henry held in ward both the regent's son Murdoch and the young king, Albany at least could not afford to be troublesome. Murdoch was a hostage for his good behaviour, while he might find it very inconvenient to have James returned on his hands. France, too, was now ceasing to be a cause of anxiety, owing to the bitter feud between the king's brother Louis of Orleans and his cousin John of Burgundy, each of whom was anxious to secure the supreme power in view of the periodical insanity of the unhappy King Charles.

The tide of Henry's sea of troubles had really, though not very conspicuously, turned in 1406; during the next two years it set steadily in his favour, so that after 1408 he was disturbed principally by family jars and by his own painfully broken health. In 1407 an Act laid down as a rule of succession that a daughter's title should have precedence of a brother's, and also barred the Beauforts altogether. The Commons began their usual murmurs about expenditure, but were promptly silenced by Archbishop Arundel's offer to resign the chancellorship. Their scoldings had become almost a matter of form, but at bottom they were perfectly well aware that economy was being overdone. Still jealousy of their own privileges made them protest when the king named the amount of the supply which he thought would meet his necessities; the Commons said that was a matter for them to settle. Henry explained that he had merely offered a suggestion; it was for the Commons to grant supplies, and for the Lords to assent; he had no idea of questioning the principle that supply must originate from the Commons. Whereupon the satisfied Commons accepted his estimate, and granted what he desired. Three years passed before he again found it necessary to ask for renewed contributions for the revenue.

The Commons and Supply, 1407.

This was in part owing to the domestic troubles of the French. Though John of Burgundy and Louis of Orleans were ostensibly reconciled, Duke John procured the assassination of Duke Louis in November, and withdrew himself to his territories beyond the French frontier. The leadership of the Orleanists passed to the count of Armagnac, whose daughter was the wife of the new Duke Charles of Orleans; and from him the party derived the title by which it was known thenceforth. With civil war imminent, France was ready for an accommodation with England, and signed a truce which secured both Guienne and Calais from attack. Then, in 1408, Northumberland made his last unsuccessful attempt to raise the north, and was killed at Bramham Moor. In Wales Prince Henry continued his dogged operations against Glendower and Mortimer, until at the end of the year every Welsh fortress was in his hands with the exception of Harlech, where Mortimer still held out though he was being gradually starved. Early in January the struggle was ended by his death. Harlech surrendered; Mortimer's children did not long survive; and the claims of the house of Lionel of Clarence were reposed entirely in the young earl Edmund of March and his sister Anne, from whom no trouble was to be anticipated. Though Glendower himself survived till 1416, his power was completely broken, and he ceased to count as anything more than a perpetually troublesome outlaw.

Murder of Orleans.

Prince Henry in Wales, 1408.

Prince Henry, released from the stress of the arduous task which had kept him in Wales for the greater part of the past five years, now engaged himself actively in politics. The extent to which the king himself was incapacitated encouraged his heir's ambitions, if not his sense of responsibility. The council seems to have been divided into two factions, the one headed by Henry's chief counsellor throughout his reign, Archbishop Arundel; the other by the Prince of Wales and his half-uncles the Beauforts, Henry, bishop of Winchester, and Thomas, earl of Dorset. The Beauforts of the next generation were the children of the eldest and least important brother, John, marquis of Somerset, who died in 1410. The

Factions in the Council, 1409-1413.

Beauforts were doubtless jealous of Arundel, and allied themselves with the prince who was destined to be king, whom they encouraged to push his claim to an enlarged authority. There was also some ill-feeling between the Prince of Wales and the brother who stood next to him, Thomas, who became duke of Clarence; consequently Thomas was associated with the Arundel party. No particular political differences between the two parties can be detected, except that the heir to the throne was naturally somewhat more zealous in resisting encroachments on the prerogatives of the Crown which he expected to wear at no very distant date.

Arundel and the prince were equally stringent in their orthodoxy and their desire to suppress Lollardy, though Lollards such as Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, were among the prince's associates. Lollardy was so active, in spite of the heresy statute, that when a parliament was assembled in 1410, the Commons—at the instance, according to the clerical chroniclers, of the wicked Lollards among them—petitioned for an extensive confiscation of ecclesiastical property, and for a modification of the *De Heretico* statute. Though the Beauforts had succeeded in substituting Dorset for Arundel in the chancellorship, the only effect of the petitions was to increase the stringency with which the obnoxious Act was enforced, and the second Lollard, John Badby, was burnt at Smithfield.

Anti-clericalism aggressive.

Within two years Arundel was back in the chancellorship. At the end of 1411 the Beaufort party in the council went so far as to propose that King Henry should abdicate, on account of his hopeless ill-health, in favour of the Prince of Wales. The angry king replied by ejecting Bishop Beaufort from the council, reinstating Arundel as chancellor, and substituting Thomas of Clarence for the Prince of Wales as president of the council. The younger Henry professed, it may be honestly enough, to believe that he had incurred his father's ill-will through the machinations of his personal enemies on the council; but after a somewhat melodramatic scene he extracted from his father an assurance that his loyalty was not doubted, and there was some show of reconciliation.

The prince and the king, 1411-1412.

The demand for Henry's abdication was based on a breakdown in his health at a critical moment. France during these years was presenting an inviting field for English intervention; Burgundians and Armagnacs were fighting, and in July 1411 the duke of Burgundy invited aid from England, offering the hand of his daughter Anne to the Prince of Wales. The king resolved to take full advantage of the situation, and to carry a strong force into France under his own command, his health having recently shown signs of improvement; but a relapse followed on the strain of preparation, the great expedition was abandoned, and only a comparatively small force was dispatched. This was the Beauforts' excuse for suggesting his abdication.

Intervention in France, 1411-1412.

The English contingent returned home in December, having rendered Burgundy excellent service, and bringing with it satisfactory reports of French inefficiency. But it was followed by a bid from the Armagnacs which was sufficiently tempting to induce the Arundel party, now restored to power, to transfer its alliance. The Armagnacs offered in return for substantial but well-paid assistance to restore the entire duchy of Aquitaine. So in the late summer a new expedition sailed to help the young duke of Orleans, under the command of Thomas of Clarence. The expedition arrived only to find that it had nothing to do. King Charles had temporarily recovered from his insanity, and threatened to march in person against Orleans. The Armagnacs were not prepared to stand in arms against the king, and there was a general reconciliation. There was nothing left but to buy the English off again; and the English having got their pay came home.

But the king was dying; early in March he became so ill that he was carried out of Westminster Abbey to the Jerusalem chamber, where, on 20th March 1413, he died after a reconciliation with his repentant heir; and Henry V. ascended the throne unchallenged.

Death of the king.

CHAPTER XIII. THE CONQUEST AND LOSS OF FRANCE, 1413-1453

I. HENRY V. 1413-1422

THE Henry V. of tradition is the madcap prince who developed into the 'Star of England,' as depicted by Shakespeare; whose principal authority for his portrait is the late chronicler Holinshead. The king as he paints him is perhaps a more genial person than the real Henry V.; the comrade of Falstaff and Poins is more attractive in his light-hearted irresponsibility than the real Prince of Wales. There is a certain boyishness pervading the whole character from beginning to end which is not easy to reconcile with the actual records. Yet Shakespeare did not create the tradition, though he made it irresistibly permanent, and such kindly traditions do not readily come into being unless they have a substantial basis of fact. **Character of Henry V.**

There is no escaping the necessity for modifying Prince Hal. He was not a wild youth who until his accession only rose to a sense of responsibility at rare crises, and devoted the rest of his time to heedless frivolity. From the time when he was fifteen, the year before Shrewsbury, he took soldiering at least in earnest; with the sole exception of Edward I., no one before him could have shown such a record of successful warfare in Wales as he had won before he was two-and-twenty. His religion, too, he took seriously, even to the verge of fanaticism. The prince who dragged aside the faggots when the flames were devouring the Lollard Badby, to give him a chance of recantation and life, the prince who, when the steadfast martyr refused to recant, returned him to the flames, must have been at heart terribly serious. The prince who kneeled before his father, tendering his

sword, praying him to strike if he doubted his son's loyalty, was either very much in earnest, or as histrionic as Richard II.—and he indulged himself in no other histrionic displays. The prince who headed a party at the council board was not one who could only be extracted with difficulty from some tavern in Eastcheap. But the contemporary chroniclers, who idolised him as king, are quite emphatic in declaring that the prospect of his accession was viewed with considerable anxiety, and that his accession was itself accompanied by a change of demeanour which appeared almost miraculous. Hot blood, the signs of a fiery temper which might become vindictive, occasional bursts of dissipation, all these might be inferred from the language of the chroniclers; they are perfectly consistent with all that is known, and, if he had fits of irresponsibility which occasionally took a lively turn, that also is perfectly compatible with the more wisely directed energies of his youth.

Henry's accession.

From the very outset of his reign there is no doubt at all that Henry took his own kingship very seriously indeed, and that those who viewed his accession with something more than nervousness were very agreeably surprised. The change in his character, whatever it may have been, did not make him change his political friends; Bishop Beaufort took Arundel's place as chancellor. But no one suffered or was treated with disfavour by the king on account of past differences with the prince. The old legend that Chief Justice Gascoigne was magnanimously pardoned for the honest severity with which he had repressed the turbulent Prince of Wales, and was confirmed in his high office, must be abandoned. Gascoigne was, in fact, retired; but probably for no other reason than that he was too old to retain his position. The evidence very distinctly favours the view that the story of the prince's imprisonment by the chief justice appropriated to Henry V. an actual incident in the life of Edward II. Henry assumed the loyalty of his own kinsmen in spite of past antagonisms with Thomas of Clarence, and most conspicuously he displayed his trust in the young earl of March, who had just come of age; a confidence which was thoroughly deserved. Only in one quarter did it seem likely that the fears

aroused on his accession would be justified—the Lollards were warranted in anticipating that the new king would prove a persecutor. Only in one other quarter were there thoughts of treason, very inefficient treason, which was detected and suppressed almost at the moment of its inception.

In his sincere but narrow piety Henry was something of a fanatic. A fanatic who believed himself to be the chosen instrument of the Almighty; although, as with a good many other fanatics, it is difficult to understand how he could have persuaded himself that his methods were always in accord with the Eternal Righteousness. For such a man the rigorous suppression of heresy was almost a matter of course; but Henry carried his peculiar conception of his own position into politics, and persuaded himself that it was his mission to punish and to regenerate France as her conqueror; though he had to find an excuse for conquest of a more conventional type, and therefore fell back upon a claim to the crown of an unprecedented flimsiness; and he had no qualms whatever about achieving his ends by the help of the basest of agents.

Henry's fanaticism.

Henry's ambitions demand some further attempt at elucidation. No one can be satisfied with the theory that he engaged on the French war for no better reason than that he might distract the minds of the English baronage from the dubious character of his own title to the crown of England. Henry was far too intelligent to resort to such a futile expedient, of which the effects could never have been more than temporary. The one security for the Lancastrian dynasty lay in making its supremacy satisfactory to the country at large; and a war which restored the national self-confidence might indeed very well help in producing such an effect. As matters turned out, the Lancastrian dynasty would probably never have been seriously threatened if Henry had left an efficient son to succeed him. But, as a matter of fact, Henry at the time of his accession judged with perfect accuracy that there could be no grave danger to his throne unless the head of the house of Mortimer assumed the rôle of a pretender, and further that the head of the house of Mortimer would not lend himself to any

His impossible ideal.

such design. It is equally superfluous to condemn the policy of the French war in unmeasured terms. In the twentieth century we can see that the war was a sin against nationalism, that the amalgamation of France and England as one state was impossible, that the unions of two such distinct nationalities even as separate states under one crown—a quite reasonable ideal for England and Scotland—was impracticable. But it would hardly have seemed so to any one in mediæval times; and the chancelleries of Europe had hardly begun to realise either the dividing or the unifying force of nationalism till Henry had been in his grave for five hundred years. It is true that every ideal which took no account of nationalism was doomed to ultimate failure, but no mediæval statesman had a suspicion of the fact; on the contrary, mediævalism might almost be said to have rested upon two fundamental ideas which ignored nationalism altogether, the ideas of a Church of Christendom and an Empire of Christendom. In dreaming of an Anglo-French empire, Henry was beyond doubt pursuing a false ideal, false because it was rooted in a then universal misconception of facts; but that misconception being postulated, the dream was that of a statesman and an idealist. It appeared to be one accidentally difficult, but not essentially impossible, of realisation; and the triumph of the statesman lies in the conquest over accidental difficulties. But because the scheme was, in actual fact, essentially impossible of realisation, it broke down; and its breakdown involved the fall instead of the establishment of the Lancastrian dynasty in England.

Henry was not yet five-and-twenty when he became king. As the instrument of the Almighty he had before him two tasks, one immediate and obvious—the suppression of heresy; the other, not quite so obvious—the conquest and regeneration of France. The suppression of Lollardy came first. To Henry IV. it had been merely a means to conciliate his ecclesiastical allies, not an end to be pursued with rigour for its own sake. Not with such laxity was Henry V. to regard it. The evil thing must be stamped out. Henry struck at once at the greatest Lollard in the country, the one member of the sect who sat among the peers, a distinguished

The suppression of Lollardy, 1413-1414.

soldier and a man of learning to boot, Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham. Oldcastle was tried for heresy before Archbishop Arundel, Henry Beaufort of Winchester, and the bishop of London. He was condemned, handed over to the secular arm to be burnt, and shut up in the Tower. He escaped from the Tower, and organised among the Lollards a conspiracy to capture the person of the king and set up an anti-clerical government. Henry got wind of the plot and removed himself from Eltham, where it had been intended to seize him, to Westminster. Also he secretly collected troops; but there was no overt sign that he was on his guard. The conspirators planned a great midnight muster on 9th January 1414 in St. Giles's Fields, hard by. At dusk that evening companies of the king's troops seized and closed the gates of the city of London, so that the Londoners could not pass out; the principal force was ambushed about St. Giles's Fields to deal with the musters coming in from the country. When a sufficient number were assembled the troops broke in upon them and scattered them, capturing many and slaying a few. Of the prisoners, after trial, seven were burnt as heretics, between thirty and forty were hanged, and several more were fined or imprisoned. As an insurrectionary movement Lollardy was crushed, though Oldcastle remained at large. But the plot had stamped Lollardy as not only heresy but treason also, and the parliament which met in April applied the ordinary police organisation to help the clergy in the capture of heretics. Lollardy was not stamped out, but it was driven completely beneath the surface. When it re-emerged, after more than a hundred years, it was in a new form.

St. Giles's Fields.

The suppression of heresy being thus settled, Henry could give his full attention to France. In that unhappy country the young dauphin Louis had broken away from his cousin of Burgundy and joined the faction of his cousin of Orleans. When Henry and the Beauforts had the upper hand on Henry IV.'s council, England had helped Duke John of Burgundy, who in this year, 1414, made a private treaty with England for joint action against the Orleanists, 'Saving the rights of the king of France.' A week later,

France: Henry's demands, 1414.

on 31st May, Henry dispatched an embassy to the French king, who was now with the Orleanists. The extravagant character of Henry's claims is a sufficient proof that he was resolved upon war. He knew, that is, that the French government could not by any possibility accede to his demands. He claimed, as male heir of Edward III., to be the rightful king of France. That claim he would enforce, or would withdraw only at the price of the cession of all that Henry II. had ever claimed in France, with the addition of Ponthieu as inherited from Eleanor of Castile, a portion of Provence as inherited from Eleanor of Provence, and the suzerainty of Flanders, for which he did not even pretend to any pretext. Also he was to have the French king's daughter Katharine to wife. As to the claim to the French throne, it need only be remarked that Edward III.'s claim was good only if the French crown descended in the female line, and on that principle the lawful claimant to the French throne was the earl of March; that is, if Henry's claim was good as against the earl of March, it did not hold against the Valois; if it held against the Valois it did not hold against Edmund of March.

The envoys were naturally dismissed from France; thereupon Henry called another parliament in November to announce his intention of going to war with France, and his consequent need of money. Parliament voted supplies handsomely, but urged fresh negotiations as a preliminary to fighting. Henry accordingly sent a revised offer to France, which in effect simply substituted a heavy ransom for a portion of the territories first demanded. The French went so far as to offer two-thirds of Aquitaine, and one-third of the ransom as a dower for their princess. Henry refused with a great assumption of righteous indignation. All that he desired was peace and amity, with a view to the settlement of the Great Schism which Christendom was about to deal with at the Council of Constance. Great would be the guilt of Charles if he persisted in refusing Henry's eirenicon. Of course no alternative to war remained possible.

Parliament supports Henry.

By the midsummer of 1415 Henry had completed his preparations, and refused some advance made by the French upon their

earlier offers. Henry's expedition did not sail till 10th August. It was slightly delayed by a particularly fatuous conspiracy. The brother of Edward, duke of York, Richard, earl of Cambridge, who had married Anne the sister of Edmund Mortimer of March, concocted a plot along with three or four gentlemen of the north and of Wales, and perhaps Lord Scrope of Masham, to carry off Mortimer, proclaim him king, and raise the north and west in his cause. When Cambridge sounded Lord Scrope, the latter held his tongue, a reticence which cost him his life. When the young earl of March was sounded he carried the matter straight to the king. Cambridge and Masham were condemned by a court of their peers and beheaded, as well as their principal accomplice, Sir Thomas Grey of Heton. The conspiracy can have indicated no serious disposition in any quarter to revolt against the Lancastrian dynasty.

Cambridge's conspiracy, 1415.

Edward III. and the Black Prince had achieved high military fame not by any means as strategists, but by their splendid handling of troops in the field. All their campaigns were in the nature of raids. Henry's military genius was of a far higher order; he planned a systematic and steadily organised conquest. The first business was to be the establishment of a strategic base in Normandy, from which the country could be reduced and secured fortress by fortress. Conquest must be accomplished by a war of sieges, and by the organisation of government step by step with the military advance.

The scheme of conquest.

The first point of attack was Harfleur at the mouth of the Seine. No preparations had been made to prevent the landing of the English; Harfleur was invested, and surrendered after a month's siege. Those of the inhabitants who elected to do homage to Henry as king of France were allowed to remain; the rest were turned adrift with the clothes on their backs. But he had not counted upon the destruction wrought among his ranks by fever and dysentery. The force was in no condition to undertake new siege operations. The obvious course was to leave a garrison in Harfleur, and withdraw the rest of the army to England for the winter. Henry, however,

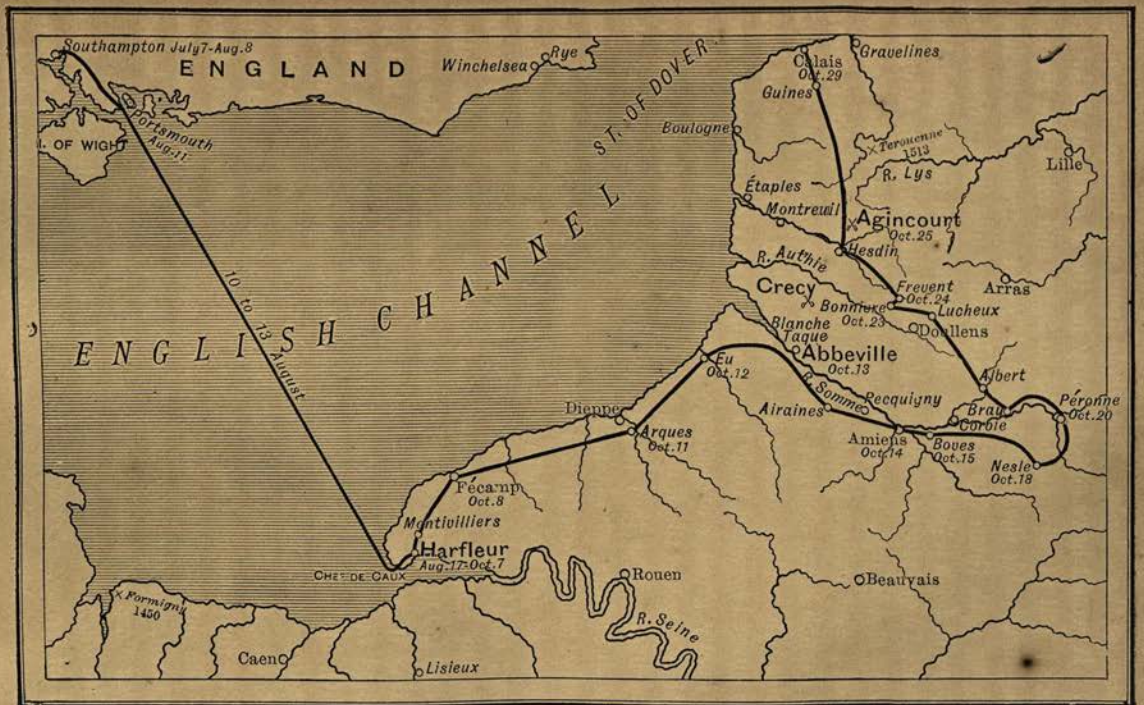
Harfleur, Sept.

elected instead to establish his garrison, to send home the sick, and to march himself with the rest of his troops to Calais. If, as he probably expected, no French army should attack him on the march, France would certainly lose the very little heart that it so far displayed. If he were attacked and won a victory, the English prestige would rise very much as after Crecy. That he might be attacked and annihilated was an alternative which Henry did not apparently contemplate at all.

The force which started from Harfleur probably numbered about six thousand men, five-sixths of them archers, many of them in no very good condition. They were provisioned on the hypothesis that they would reach Calais in eight days, the least time possible by the shortest route. The march was directed to the mouth of the Somme, with the intention of crossing the river after the example of Edward III. at Blanchetaque. But the ford was held in force, and the English had to march up the river again, searching vainly for a passage until the ninth day, when they were already in straits for provisions. A French army had been collecting. French troops had hitherto accompanied their march along the Somme, with the river between. When, however, the English army had found a crossing, the main French army started in pursuit. A fortnight after the march began the opposing host threw itself into Agincourt, blocking the advance to Calais. The English, on short rations, and already disposed to dysentery, had been reduced to a still worse plight by the evil weather of the last days. On the morning of 25th October the two armies were drawn up facing each other. There was open ground between them, but it was mostly plough land and exceptionally heavy because of the recent rains. But the open ground was narrow enough to secure Henry's extended line from being outflanked. The French end was narrower, compelling the French to form themselves in three masses, one behind the other, dismounted except for squadrons of cavalry on the wings and in the rear battalion. Each was probably as large as the entire English army, and two-thirds of them were 'lances.' As to the English, it would be more correct to say that

The march to Agincourt, Oct.

The battle, 25th Oct.



The Campaign of AGINCOURT 1415.

the archers were arrayed with three troops of men-at-arms between their regiments than that there were three 'battles' with archers on their flanks. The whole army was formed in a single line. It would have suited Henry for the French to make the attack; but at all costs he had to fight, and when the French stood immovable the English were obliged to advance, the archers carrying with them the stakes which they had been ordered to prepare to form a portable palisade. But when the English had advanced a quarter of a mile the French in turn began to advance, moving slowly over the heavy ground. Thereupon the English halted; the archers planted their stakes and bent their bows. The French horse charged, but were rolled over by the storm of arrows before they reached the English line. The mass of footmen pushed forward, their heavy armour making movement over the heavy ground exceedingly difficult. Still they pressed on till they reached the English, and by sheer weight began to carry them back. But they had no room to ply their weapons; the English archers, who being lightly armed, could move with comparative activity on the soil which clogged the movements of their opponents, fell upon them with axes and maces and hewed them down; and he who was once down had no chance of rising again. Then the English broke over the heaped masses of the fallen foe and fell upon the second phalanx, the main body of the army, smiting it in like manner. The third 'battle,' which had remained mounted (in order to pursue the English when put to flight), broke in a panic flight themselves instead, save for one squadron which made a desperate charge. A false alarm that a fresh force had fallen upon the baggage in the rear caused Henry to give the order that the prisoners were to be slain; he dared not risk the chance of his small and now exhausted force being overwhelmed, and the ugly business was partially carried out before it was discovered that the alarm was a false one.

Result of Agincourt.

The victory was as overwhelming and more astonishing than that of Crecy. According to the English accounts, only some hundred and twenty of the English were killed all told, including the duke of York, the earl of Suffolk, and a couple of knights. One French account multiplies the

English losses by twelve, but it is unsupported by any other record. Of the French there fell fifteen hundred nobles and knights, and nearly twice as many gentlemen; of all the slain only about a quarter were common folk; of prisoners there were more than a thousand even after the slaughter, among them being Charles of Orleans. Henry was able to continue his march towards Calais on the following day, and three weeks after the great battle landed in England with his war-worn but triumphant troops. The archers had won the battle of Agincourt, but they had won it at hand-strokes, not with their bows.

Henry I.'s campaign had taught him that the piecemeal conquest of Normandy would be a more difficult task than he had at first anticipated. But he had secured his base of operations at Harfleur, and he would enter on any new campaign with all the overwhelming prestige of Agincourt. However, there were to be no more displays of calculated rashness; preparations for the next invasion were to be made on a scale which precluded haste. After Agincourt, in England he could count upon getting all that he might ask in the way of supplies.

During the two years' interval came the picturesque episode of the emperor Sigismund's visit to England. Sigismund had procured the council of Constance, which was to put an end to the Great Schism and restore unity to Christendom. So far the council had succeeded in getting rid of two out of the three rival popes; it had also burnt John Huss as a heretic, ignoring the safe-conduct granted to him by the emperor, whereby the way was prepared for deluging middle Europe with the blood of the Hussite wars. Also there remained in hand the serious question whether the council would set about the work of reformation first and would then elect a new pope, or would elect a pope and then set about the reformation. Sigismund wished to reconcile England and France, hoping thereby to procure concord in the general council. No emperor had hitherto visited England in state, and when Sigismund arrived on his mission of reconciliation he was with great ceremony stayed from landing until he had given full assurance that he did not come with any intent to claim Imperial lordship over

Emperor Sigismund, 1416.

England. After this solemn formality he was permitted to land and very handsomely entertained; but Henry succeeded in persuading him that England was entirely in the right in her quarrel with France, and that while France remained unreasonable it was vain to hope for a peace. The emperor ended by entering on a league with England, though nothing conspicuous resulted therefrom.

Duke John of Burgundy had contributed to the victory of Agincourt by restraining his own vassals from joining the French army, though many of his party had at the last placed country above faction. Charles of Orleans, his rival, was one of the prisoners taken at the battle. Not long after the battle the dauphin Louis died, and was succeeded as dauphin by his next brother John. The king and the dauphin were in the hands of Armagnac, the Orleanist chief, and Burgundy still chose to remain in secret alliance with Henry, which involved his neutrality, though not his actual co-operation. For a moment, however, it seemed that the face of things in France might be changed when the dauphin John escaped from Armagnac, whose control was irksome, and joined Burgundy. But in the spring of 1417 Prince John died; the third dauphin Charles remained in Armagnac's hands. Burgundy returned to his attitude of secret favour to Henry; he knew that open alliance with the enemy of France would ruin him.

The French factions, 1417.

In the summer, then, Burgundy was marching against Armagnac, when Henry's second army of invasion landed on the Seine estuary at Touques, opposite Harfleur. Henry knew that Armagnac was too busy with Burgundy, who was making for Paris itself, to defend Normandy; and he laid siege to Caen. By the end of September Caen, Lisieux, and Bayeux had fallen. The king of England maintained stringent discipline in his army. No devastation of the country was permitted; churches and women were rigorously protected. Normandy should understand that Henry's reign was to be the reign of law and justice. But where he had made good his footing his subjects must swear allegiance; those who were not ready to do so must depart with what they

Henry's second invasion, 1417.

could carry. For the most part the people, angry at having been deserted by the French government, came in readily. Henry garrisoned the towns, and in effect placed them under a military governor, but promised them their chartered liberties. Through the autumn and winter the king continued to reduce, one after another, the fortresses of south-western Normandy, having negotiated the neutrality of Brittany and Anjou. Scotland during all this time was kept almost, though not altogether, quiet by the Regent Albany, who was perhaps in some fear of the release of his nephew the king, and also had in some degree been bound over by the actual release of his son Murdoch. The anti-English party, however, headed at this time by the Douglases, were restive; and, in spite of the formal peace, perpetrated an unsuccessful attack, known as the Foul Raid, upon Roxburgh, which, with Berwick, had remained in the hands of the English. During the winter the restless outlaw Oldcastle was captured, condemned for treason and heresy, and burnt.

By the end of September 1418, Henry had practically completed the conquest of Normandy west of the Seine, and had sat down before the great city of Rouen to reduce it. Meanwhile the Burgundians and Armagnacs had been continuing their internecine struggle. In the winter of 1417-18 neither party had the upper hand, and there were in France two governments going on simultaneously: the queen Isabel, who was with Burgundy, claiming the regency on the one hand, while the dauphin Charles, who was with Armagnac, claimed it on the other. The Armagnacs held Paris, but the mob was Burgundian: at the end of May the mob rose, and there was an appalling massacre of the Armagnacs, though the dauphin himself succeeded in escaping. This gave Burgundy the ascendency, though southern France adhered to the dauphin. The duke found himself forced to choose between open adherence to Henry or open resistance to him. He could not venture on the former course; and therefore Henry, when he attacked Rouen, found it powerfully garrisoned.

Progress of war and faction, 1418.

In the autumn the blockade had become rigorous. Both Burgundy and the dauphin opened negotiations with the English,

but Henry persistently maintained his terms at a higher point than either Burgundy or the dauphin could dare to concede.

Siege of Rouen, Sept.-Jan.

The great garrison of Rouen thrust many thousands of non-combatants outside its gates; but the king would not suffer them to pass his lines. They lay and starved, kept alive chiefly by such food as the pity of the English soldiery flung to them—a supply which did not save two-thirds of them from dying. The garrison was conquered by sheer starvation. When its submission was actually in sight Henry broke off negotiations both with Burgundy and with the dauphin. Burgundy only made one futile raid, little more than a pretence, against the English lines. At last Rouen surrendered in January. The town was required to pay a heavy ransom, otherwise those of the people who would swear allegiance to Henry were allowed to remain and retain their property. Nearly all of them took the oath.

When Rouen had fallen the reduction of the rest of Normandy was merely a matter of time. By Easter only some half-dozen fortresses were untaken; by the end of the year even Cœur de Lion's almost impregnable fortress of Château Gaillard was forced to surrender.

With nearly all Normandy in his obedience, Henry could very nearly dictate his own terms, and it was with Burgundy and Queen Isabel that he naturally chose to negotiate in the spring and summer; they had in their hands both the princess whom he wished to marry, and the mad king.

1419. The Montereau murder.

But Henry's terms always rose. Katharine and her dower, all Normandy and Aquitaine, did not suffice him; he must have also Anjou and the feudal supremacy over Brittany, besides Ponthieu. But this was too much even for Burgundy, to whom the Armagnacs were now offering terms of reconciliation. Duke John came to an agreement with the dauphin; the two vowed amity, and by the end of August each of them had assembled a large force, while Henry had at last collected from England the reinforcements for which he had been waiting, and had already begun his advance on the Seine. Then the dauphin ruined his own cause. The reconciliation had been nothing more than a

blind. Burgundy went to meet him at Montereau to arrange a campaign; they met on the bridge, and Burgundy was murdered in the very act of doing homage to the dauphin.

The foul deed drove the whole Burgundian faction into the arms of the English king. Young Duke Philip had been no zealous supporter of his father's selfish policy, but now the thirst for revenge conquered every other sentiment. Six weeks after the murder the Burgundians were again negotiating with Henry, and in May 1420 the definitive Treaty of Troyes was signed. Henry was to leave the crown of France to Charles VI. during his life; but for that term he was to be regent, and the crown of France was to pass to him on the king's death. The dauphin was disinherited for his crimes; and Henry's queen would be the French princess. France itself was her dowry. The two countries were to be then united under one crown, but each was to preserve its own laws and liberties. Henry was to rule France with the advice and consent of the Three Estates, as he ruled in England with the advice and assent of the Three Estates.

Treaty of Troyes, 1420.

Troyes lies on the upper Seine in the county of Champagne, dominated by Burgundy. There the treaty was signed on 21st May. Eleven days later Henry married his princess; on 4th June he was again on the march with Burgundy. Sens fell, then Montereau, but Melun detained him for four months before it was starved out. At the end of November he was in Paris where he kept his Christmas—the city was now attached to the Burgundian faction—and then sailed for England, leaving his brother Clarence to command in France.

During Henry's absences he had left England in the capable charge of his second brother, John, duke of Bedford, until the end of 1419, when Bedford had joined the king in France, and his place at home had been taken by the youngest brother, Humphrey of Gloucester. During this last year parliament had been growing restive, but the country was satisfied by the mere presence of the popular monarch. But he was barely at home for six months. During his absence from France Clarence had met with a great disaster. The dauphin's partisans had begun to harass

the south-west of Normandy; with them was a large contingent of Scots. For though Henry chose to treat Scots who were fighting for the French as rebels against King James, it had become impossible to restrain them. They were now commanded by Archibald Douglas and the earl of Buchan, the brother of Murdoch of Albany, who had succeeded their father in the regency. Clarence marched against his force, which fell back to Baugé in Anjou with the duke in pursuit. He attempted to surprise them by a forced march. But his van had crossed the river to fall upon them before his archers could come up; the Scots and French quickly rallied and wiped out the whole force which had crossed the river, killing Clarence himself and taking many captives. So striking a victory gave fresh life to the dauphin's cause; the English were driven back out of Maine and Anjou into Normandy; and in a few weeks Chartres, only some fifty miles distant from Paris, was being besieged.

Baugé, March 1421.

Henry had no time to lose. Without waiting for regular supplies he raised an immediate loan, gathered all the troops he could muster, five thousand men, and was back in Paris on the 4th July. The enemy did not await his attack, but forthwith raised the siege of Chartres and fell back into Touraine across the Loire. Henry wasted no time in attempts to bring them to an engagement, but turned to complete the subjugation of the Isle of France. Its fortresses fell one after another, till in October the king sat down before Meaux. Through the winter and through the spring Meaux held out obstinately. Still Henry sat doggedly before it, though dysentery smote his army as it had done at Harfleur. Henry himself was stricken; but his heart was only hardened. As the spring advanced reinforcements came to the besiegers; by the second week in May the stubborn captain surrendered. Having made a practice of hanging Burgundian prisoners, he was hanged himself on the tree which had served for a gallows.

Henry in France, 1421.

But the career of the conqueror was almost over. Already he was almost incapacitated by the progress of the disease which had laid its hold upon him. When news came in July that the

dauphin had invaded Burgundy he made a desperate effort to march against him. But it was impossible. He was carried to Vincennes. There, with the hand of death heavy upon him, he made his last dispositions for the government of his two realms in the name of the infant Henry, the weakly child who had been born in the previous December. Bedford was to be regent in France unless Philip of Burgundy claimed the office; Gloucester was to be regent in England, where he had again been left in charge. Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter, was to have the care of the infant. To the last Henry declared himself convinced of the righteousness of his cause, and urged that there should be no peace with Charles of Valois. On 31st August he died. His death saved England from the conquest of France, since there was no other man capable of accomplishing that task; no other perhaps capable of convincing himself completely that to accomplish the task was to serve God, in the absence of which conviction the task was not possible at all. Nor could good have come of it in the long run; since a king who lived in England could not have preserved the obedience of France, a king who lived in France could not have preserved the obedience of England, and a king with a dubious title to either crown, who tried to live in both countries, could have preserved the obedience of neither, at least unless he had been a second Henry V.

Death of Henry V., Aug. 1422.

II. Bedford and Jeanne Darc, 1422-1435

The conqueror died leaving a nine months' infant king of England and, under the Treaty of Troyes, prospective king of France. Within two months he was followed to the grave by the unhappy Charles VI., and the babe's title was solemnly proclaimed. That title England intended to make good, and the task was in the hands of a man whose high qualities of statesmanship and generalship almost enabled him to succeed. Bedford's integrity and loyalty were above all possibility of cavil; in soldiership he was a master of all that could be learnt from his brilliant brother. His

John, Duke of Bedford.

unfailing tact carried him successfully through diplomatic situations of extreme difficulty. All men admired and honoured him. If he lacked anything of his brother's excellences it was perhaps that magical touch of personality which filled Henry's followers with adoring enthusiasm. But in one respect he stood at a definite disadvantage as compared with his brother; he was not king. A king so idolised as Henry was practically an autocrat; whereas Bedford's own conscience would have forbidden him, not being a king, to act autocratically.

Englishmen knew that Bedford was the man in whom they must put their whole trust. Henry had chosen him for the most difficult position—the French regency, the conduct of the war, the preservation of the Burgundian alliance. For the less difficult task of heading the English government at home, he had chosen the younger brother Gloucester. But the council in England knew by experience, better perhaps than Henry himself, the quality of the two brothers. Henry's will had no constitutional validity; they refused to ratify it, and only accepted Gloucester as protector, head of the government, principal member of the council, while Bedford should be out of England. Gloucester had great talents, but he was unstable and incapable of subordinating what he deemed his personal interests to the national welfare; Bedford would never permit any personal interest to make him swerve from the straight path of patriotic endeavour. And Duke Humphrey's self-seeking proved to be the most serious difficulty with which Duke John had to deal, though the trouble he caused was not only in the governance of England. There, in the council, he was at most *primus inter pares*; he could by no means dictate to his fellow-councillors. But he could and did make trouble for his brother's diplomacy. It is to be observed that no one in England dreamed of disturbing the succession. There was no distrust between the emphatically Lancastrian houses of Beaufort, Neville, and Beauchamp and their fellows on the council, the earl of March, Percy of Northumberland, and Mowbray of Nottingham.

The Council and Gloucester.

One advantage Bedford enjoyed—the sluggish incompetence of Charles VII., the legitimate king of France, and of the group

who surrounded him. With the French Bedford was more popular than his brother had been. His administration was in full accord with the most liberal interpretation of the Treaty of Troyes. The France which acknowledged King Henry was governed by Frenchmen; there was no display of an English domination; English and Burgundians worked harmoniously together; the friendship was cemented by Bedford's own marriage to Philip of Burgundy's sister Anne. The English troops were kept in hand as thoroughly as if they had been quartered on English soil. A year after Henry's death Charles's supporters had been all but cleared out of Champagne and Picardy, as well as the Isle of France, Normandy, and the Burgundian dominions. The finishing blow had been struck in August at Crévant on the Burgundian border, where, in a fierce contest with a force chiefly of Scots, the English redeemed the disaster of Baugé.

Bedford in France, 1423.

Next year the work in this region was completed, though it was temporarily interrupted by a diversion in South Normandy wherein the Scots again played a leading part. They were led by the most valiant and most unlucky of captains, the earl of Douglas himself, the same who had been taken prisoner both at Homildon Hill and at Shrewsbury. Bedford marched against them, brought them to action at Verneuil, and won a hard-fought but decisive victory. According to his own statement seven thousand Scots and French were slain or captured, Douglas and Buchan both being in the former list. The following year, 1425, ought to have been occupied in the absorption of Maine. But Bedford was recalled to England by troubles for which his brother of Gloucester was responsible, and it was not till 1427 that he was able to return and prepare a fresh advance. In the interval the lieutenants he left behind him, Warwick and Salisbury, held their ground, but could practically do nothing more.

Verneuil, 1424.

Duke Humphrey was assuredly the evil genius of England at this time, though he won a surprising popularity with the labouring class and especially with the Londoners, which earned him the most undeserved title of 'Good Duke Humphrey.'

Even in 1423 he very nearly wrecked the Burgundian alliance for the sake of his private ambitions. Jacquelaine, the heiress of Hainault, had been, unhappily for herself, married to Philip of Burgundy's most objectionable cousin, John of Brabant. She fled from her husband, fell in love with Humphrey, and tried to obtain a divorce, which was refused by the new pope, Martin V., who had been elected by the Council of Constance. It was granted, however, by the last deposed pope, Benedict XIII., whereupon Humphrey married Jacquelaine and claimed her counties of Hainault and Holland. Philip sided with his cousin of Brabant, and it was only with extreme difficulty that Bedford at the time managed to prevent hostilities. In the autumn of 1424 Gloucester, no longer to be restrained, went over to Hainault, which rose in favour of the countess. Gloucester was soon ejected, though he left Jacquelaine behind. He had already so irritated Philip that the duke had been on the verge of declaring war against the English, and had even begun to negotiate with the dauphin, though he was at last pacified by the vigour with which Bedford repudiated his brother's proceedings. Bedford's diplomacy was undoubtedly aided by the influence of his wife, Anne of Burgundy, Philip's sister.

Gloucester makes trouble, 1423-1424.

Two other events of importance had taken place in England during these years. In 1424 King James I. was set free and returned to Scotland with his bride, Joan Beaufort. It was part of the bargain that Scotland was not to aid the enemies of England, and James did in fact check the stream of Scots who were making their way to join the national contingent in France, although the battle of Verneuil took place after his liberation. His subjects in France continued to fight, but there was no material addition to their numbers. The second event was the death of Edmund of March in Ireland, whither he had been dispatched as lieutenant at the instance of Gloucester. Edmund left no children, so that his heir, the heir of all the claims of the house of Mortimer, was the boy Richard of York, the son of Edmund's sister Anne and of the traitor Richard, earl of

James Stewart and Edmund Mortimer, 1424.

Cambridge. The child had succeeded to the dukedom of York on the death at Agincourt of his childless uncle Edward, the elder brother of Richard of Cambridge. It was curious that Richard should have come into this double inheritance, because the brothers of his father and mother respectively both died childless.

The affair which actually compelled Bedford's return to England at the end of 1425 was the struggle between Henry Beaufort, bishop of Winchester and chancellor, and Gloucester. The bishop, with the approval of Bedford and most of the council, was the effective head of the home government. Gloucester, always disgusted because he had been refused the powers which Henry V. had designated for him, incited the Londoners to clamour against the bishop and even to attempt an armed attack on his palace. Bedford's reappearance restored order. Parliament was called in February, when Gloucester brought a series of preposterous charges against Beaufort. The peers pronounced in effect that the charges were entirely baseless, but for the sake of peace Beaufort was magnanimous enough to resign the chancellorship. When Bedford returned to France in the spring of 1427, Beaufort accompanied him out of the country with the intention of leading a crusade against the Hussites who were now in arms in Bohemia. It was at this time that the bishop accepted the cardinalate which he had long refused in deference to popular sentiment. Warwick was sent back to England to help Archbishop Chichele to curb the factiousness of Gloucester.

Duke Humphrey and Bishop Beaufort, 1425.

The strain of the prolonged war was telling upon England; neither men nor supplies were forthcoming to the extent necessary for a really vigorous campaign of conquest. In 1428, however, Bedford began the advance, choosing Orleans as his point of attack upon the dominions which acknowledged Charles VII. In the south of France, only the portion of Guienne and Gascony, the fragment of Aquitaine, which had always remained loyal to its dukes the kings of England, was ever in English hands during the war, though the French had never hitherto directed any efforts to

Scheme of operations, 1428.

its subjugation. The struggle throughout was on the lines of the English advance from the north. In October Salisbury with a force of perhaps five thousand men sat down before Orleans, which he hoped to carry by direct attack since he had not nearly enough troops to establish an effective blockade. But within a fortnight he was killed by a cannon shot, and the command was taken over by William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who contented himself with making the inadequate blockade as effective as he could. So conducted, the siege might have continued indefinitely, since the relief hardly presented serious difficulties. Yet the garrison were growing disheartened, weary of waiting for the help which never came, when the whole aspect of the war was changed by the appearance on the scene of a new figure, the Maid who saved France.

Orleans besieged.

At Domrémy, on the outermost border of Champagne, lived Jeanne Darc, whose name the English twisted into Joan of Arc. In the solitude of her rustic work the humble and pious peasant girl was in the habit of seeing Divine visions and hearing Divine voices, and presently she learnt from visions and voices that she was called to deliver France from the English yoke. At last when the English were besieging Orleans came the definite order that she herself, a girl of seventeen, was to take up arms, drive the English from Orleans, and crown King Charles VII. at Rheims. Hard by at Vaucouleurs there was a garrison of the French party. Somehow she persuaded the commandant to believe in her strange tale; he sent her across France to Chinon in Touraine, where Charles with his degraded court was lying. To Chinon she came, and Charles was induced to admit her to his presence. Him too she persuaded that she had come with a Divine commission. To test her she was examined by sundry bishops and learned doctors; they could find nothing to say of her but what was good. The experiment might be worth making, and the girl was strangely convincing. Her demands for horse and armour and the king's commission were conceded. At the head of a considerable troop she started on her march for Orleans, sending before her a summons to Suffolk to take his departure. The thing that looked

Joan of Arc, 1429.

like midsummer madness proved a tremendous reality. The Maid had no difficulty in passing through the English lines into Orleans. In four days the sulky and despondent garrison had been transformed into enthusiastic devotees. Within a week she had stormed and won a series of the English posts; her presence inspired her followers with a courage that seemed superhuman, and struck the English with a corresponding panic. The French believed that God was with them and therefore they could not fail. The English grumbled that it was no use trying to fight against the devil. Suffolk retired from the siege and broke up his army in garrisons. Joan led out her troops and assaulted the garrisons one after another, triumphing always. Bedford in haste dispatched a force under Talbot to save Beaugency. Joan and her troops flung themselves upon them at Patay and shattered them, taking Talbot prisoner. There was no English force ready to take the field against her; it remained to set the crown on Charles's head. Champagne was held for the English, but the intervening country to Chinon was clear. When Charles took heart of grace and accompanied the Maid to Champagne, city after city threw open its gates, and on 17th July Joan's ordained task was accomplished. Charles was crowned king in the cathedral at Rheims. From that hour no more of Joan's 'voices' directed her course.

The siege raised.

Coronation of Charles.

She would have gone home, but her presence with the troops was an asset too valuable to be dispensed with. She was persuaded to remain, and by her advice Charles marched on Paris. Bedford, reinforced by the hired troops which Cardinal Beaufort had raised for the Hussite crusade but readily diverted to the regent's use, marched out to cover the approach to Paris. The French king's advisers desired nothing better than to be rid of the Maid, or at least that she should be discredited; her influence did not harmonise with theirs. She was not allowed to give battle to Bedford, whose troops were quite ready to fight Frenchmen but not witchcraft. Meanwhile the towns in the English obedience were throwing off their allegiance one by one. Bedford turned aside to Evreux on the west; the Maid got her way and

a direct attack was made upon Paris. It failed; Charles fell back to the southward, and the spell of the Maid was broken.

Not altogether, for she was still an angel to some of her followers and a witch to the English, and she had revived the passion of patriotism among her countrymen. The cause which had before seemed lost now seemed to be winning; people who had never heeded anything but their own interests began to reconsider their position. Even the great disaster which soon befell in 1430 was only a check on the tide setting against the English.

Compiègne, on the borders of Picardy, which had returned to the Valois allegiance, was being besieged by the Burgundians. **The Maid taken, 1430.** Joan succeeded in throwing herself into the town with a small relieving company, and headed a sortie upon the besiegers. The sortie was driven back, but the gates were closed—purposely, as was generally believed—before Joan reached them, and she was taken prisoner.

The bald statement of the bare facts of the tragedy which followed conveys perhaps a more appalling sense of its unspeakable iniquity than any rhetoric. The Burgundians sold their prisoner to the English for much gold. Bedford handed her **Her trial and death, 1431.** over, to be tried for heresy and witchcraft, to a commission of French clergy, the bishop of Beauvais, and learned doctors from Paris. Their examination of her went on through the spring of 1431. She told them all about her visions and voices, the voices that had come back to her now that she was a prisoner. The learned doctors came to the conclusion that the visions and voices were parleyings with the devil. According to mediæval ideas, indeed, it was necessary to account for Joan as having been inspired either by God or by the devil. If she was inspired by God, it followed that the English and the Burgundians were on the devil's side. If the court was not prepared to accept that point of view, it was bound to declare that the Maid's inspiration came of the devil. Breaking down at last from sheer strain, Joan acknowledged that her visions must have been delusions. She was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, but the voices came again and reproached her for her want of faith, whereupon the court reassembled and

condemned her to the stake. On the next day she was burnt in the market-place of Rouen, having of course been handed over to the 'secular arm.'

That Bedford and others did actually believe the monstrous lie is credible. On a career otherwise so honourable as his, so foul a blot as the murder of Jeanne Darc, equally impolitic and vindictive, is inconceivable on any other hypothesis. That the judges, who saw and heard the victim face to face, believed the lie which they formulated is not credible. The English had been simply terrorised into a panic of superstition; the only thing to be said for them is that on one day only was there any Englishman present among the judges. The guilt of the great crime lies even more heavily on the Frenchmen who pronounced the sentence than on the Englishmen who carried it out. Yet even they, and the Burgundians who sold her, had the pitiful excuse that they were dealing with an enemy who had done untold injury to the cause with which they were associated. The most shameful figure of all is that of the miserable man who owed his kingdom to the Maid, but never spoke word or stirred finger to save her through all the long months of her captivity. No bolt from heaven smote instigators or accomplices in the black deed. But if anywhere in history men still, like the prophets of Israel or the poets of Hellas, behold the avenging arm of God outstretched in wrath, it is in the Nemesis which overtook the English nation.

The Nemesis was not sudden. For some time after Joan was taken prisoner, even after her tragedy was ended, English and Burgundians were recovering a good deal of the lost ground. Young Henry was brought over from England to be crowned in Paris, in answer to the coronation at Rheims; the child had been crowned in England a year before, when Gloucester was deprived of his official position as protector. Then the tide of military success began to turn again; Chartres and some other places were recovered for Charles; Philip of Burgundy was growing palpably cold, the more so after the death of his sister, Bedford's wife. He was stirred into temporary activity by an ill-judged attack of Charles's partisans upon the duchy of Burgundy; but he took offence again

1431-1434. The war continues.

because Bedford married a second wife. England was desperately entreating Bedford to return and take upon himself the government at home. But though he crossed the Channel, he was soon recalled to France, where the spirit of patriotism had revived among the populace of Normandy, who began to rise in revolt.

But by the end of 1434 Bedford found that Paris, hitherto a stronghold of his partisans, had turned against him, and Burgundy gave open warning that it was no longer possible to support the English pretension to the throne of France. In fact, he had made up his mind that unless the English would accept the terms which appeared to him suitable he would turn actively against them. In July he invited a conference at Arras for the discussion of those terms. The final proposals of France, endorsed by Philip, were that Henry should resign his claim to the French crown, retain Normandy as well as what England held in the south, and marry a French princess. The English, obstinately refusing to recognise defeat, would by no means surrender Henry's royal title or yield any foot of ground where they were in present occupation. Bedford, utterly worn out, was dying even while the conference was going on; it was hardly over when he was laid in his grave at Rouen. The failure of the conference at Arras and the passing of Bedford were the death-knell of the English power in France. Eighteen years later England's only foothold south of the Channel was Calais. But Charles and France as well as England were still to pay by eighteen weary years of struggle, carried on by an increasingly brutal and reckless soldiery in both camps, for their betrayal and desertion of the Maid of Orleans.

Conference of Arras, 1435.

Death of Bedford.

III. Nemesis, 1436-1453

A period of exceeding dreariness opens with the death of Bedford. There was no strong man in England to take the place of the dead prince. The king was a feeble-minded boy who could never be anything more than a puppet in the hands of any one who had captured his confidence—a confidence never

withdrawn had it been once given, however ill-deserved it might be. Gloucester, the first prince of the blood and heir-presumptive, stood for no principle except insistence on the most extravagant of the English claims in France, and he was a sort of incarnation of the pure spirit of faction. Cardinal Beaufort, the only surviving son of John of Gaunt, was already about sixty years old, and though by no means without qualities of statesmanship, was neither powerful nor popular enough to grasp the control in his own hands. Of his nephews, sons of his brother John, the elder, John, earl of Somerset, soon to be made duke, was undistinguished; the younger, Edmund, presently made marquis of Dorset, and afterwards earl of Somerset in succession to his brother, had more ambition but no more ability. With the Beauforts was associated William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who had inefficiently held the command at the siege of Orleans. In perpetual antagonism to the whole Beaufort connection stood Gloucester and those of the nobility who were bent on prosecuting the French war to the uttermost. Of these the chief was young Richard of York, now in his twenty-fifth year, able and vigorous, but politically hampered by the fact that his descent from Lionel of Clarence always laid him open to suspicion of dynastic ambitions. In close alliance with Richard was almost the whole of the Neville connection which had become extremely powerful. The old earl of Westmorland, who had done such excellent service for Henry IV., had died in 1425. His successor, another Ralph Neville, was a grandson who was in antagonism to the rest of the family; but the uncles were barons of importance. The eldest, Richard, was earl of Salisbury, having married the heiress of the last earl of the old Montague line who was killed before Orleans. Three more brothers acquired considerable lordships by marrying heiresses. One sister, Cicely, was married in 1438 to Richard of York; another, Anne, to Humphrey Stafford, duke of Buckingham, grandson of that duke of Gloucester who was the youngest son of Edward III.; and a third to John Mowbray, restored to the dukedom of Norfolk. Salisbury's own eldest son, another Richard, was a few years later to marry the heiress of Warwick,

The political figures of the period.

The Nevilles.

and to become known to fame as Earl Warwick the Kingmaker; but at this time he was only a boy in his eighth year. These family details, however unimportant in themselves, have to be noted in order to understand the complications of politics which turned upon merely personal factors for a whole generation and more.

The heir to the throne.

Since these complications developed into the Wars of the Roses, it will be well also to grasp at the outset the problems of succession which were involved. No one at this time dreamed of disturbing the Lancastrian dynasty; every one was loyal enough to the son of Henry V., but every one was perfectly conscious that the boy might very possibly die without leaving an heir of his body. The heir-presumptive was Henry's uncle Gloucester, who himself had no legitimate offspring, though twice married; no one, it may be presumed, would have challenged his title had his nephew died childless before him. But no one could help speculating on possibilities. If the king and Gloucester both died childless, who would be the heir? Obviously on legitimist principles recognising descent through the female, the heir would be Richard of York as descending from Lionel, duke of Clarence. If descent through the male line only were recognised, Richard would still be the heir as descending in direct male line from Edmund of York. There was no other Plantagenet. But there were Beauforts. The Beauforts had been legitimated while Richard II. was still king. If that legitimation held good as concerned the crown, John and Edmund Beaufort represented John of Gaunt in direct male line, and would have a claim overriding that of Richard as representing Edmund of York. That is to say, assuming first that the crown did not descend in the female line, and secondly that the legitimation was valid, a Beaufort would be the heir. It is true that an Act of Henry IV. in 1407 had rejected the principle of the male descent, and had further expressly barred the Beauforts from the crown, but the prior Act of Richard had not done so. It would therefore be perfectly possible to argue that the accession of Henry IV. had established the principle of male succession, that the Act of 1407

The possible Beaufort claim.

was unconstitutional and invalid, and that the legitimated grandsons of John of Gaunt stood before the grandson of his younger brother, Edmund of York. From all these considerations we derive the conclusion that York did not till a much later date think of challenging the title of the descendants of Henry IV. himself, but was preparing himself for the possibility of one day having to fight the Beauforts for the crown.

The division of factions did not become immediately apparent in 1435, though the personal hostility between Gloucester and Cardinal Beaufort was an affair of long standing. The cardinal had shared the responsibility for the rejection of the French terms offered at Arras, where he had been one of the representatives of England. Every one at this stage was bent on surrendering nothing, and special resentment was universally felt against Burgundy for his defection, a sentiment peculiarly agreeable to Gloucester on account of his old feud with Philip, although he had deserted Jacquelaine, the original cause of that quarrel, to marry his mistress Eleanor Cobham. York, young as he was, was appointed to succeed Bedford in France, whither he went in June of the next year 1436.

The war to go on, 1435.

In the meanwhile the French had made considerable progress. They had captured Harfleur and other towns in the north of Normandy, recovered several more in the Isle of France, and in April had driven the English out of Paris itself, though vigorous and active English garrisons still held many of the neighbouring fortresses. While York was engaged in suppressing the revolt of the districts of north-eastern Normandy, Burgundy brought up a great army against Calais, but retired after three weeks on learning that Gloucester was coming against him with a considerable force. Gloucester marched through the neighbouring country, doing a good deal of damage, and then returned home, his troops having only been enlisted for a month's service with the sole object of relieving Calais. About the same time, the period of truce with Scotland having run out, King James made an unsuccessful attack upon Roxburgh, but any intentions he may have had of making further

Campaigns of 1436.

trouble in the north were ended by his murder during the following winter. Scotland, again plunged into the troubles of a royal minority, was too distracted to be aggressive. During the same winter York recovered a good deal of ground on the way to Paris. But in 1437 he returned to England, where the two younger Beauforts were beginning to take a leading part and the war party perhaps required strengthening.

No interest attaches to the ups and downs of the campaigning in northern France for some time; but it is noteworthy that in 1438 Guienne, for the first time, began to come into the sphere of military operations. No diversion from it had hitherto been attempted by the English, nor any diversion against it by the French, and its loyalty was unshaken. The French attacks which were now begun, however, were beaten off without serious difficulty; they are important merely as marking the growing strength of the French.

Guienne, 1438.

In 1439, then, the Beauforts tried to negotiate a peace, but their terms were still too high. The negotiations broke down over their demand for the retention of Maine, and their insistence that while Charles was to be acknowledged king of France Henry should continue to use the style of king of France and the royal arms. Next year the duke of Orleans was released, in the hope that he would be an effective agent in procuring a satisfactory peace. He had been held a prisoner ever since Agincourt.

In 1441 the Beauforts secured a complete ascendency by practically expelling Gloucester from public life. His foolish duchess was convicted of practising sorcery against the life of King Henry, presumably in the hope of setting Humphrey himself on the throne. Although Humphrey had nothing to do with the affair, it completely ruined his political prospects. But the Beauforts made use of the advantage they had gained only for their personal aggrandisement. John of Somerset was given in 1443 the command of an expedition to Guienne, which he wasted on a fruitless raid into Anjou. Next year he died, leaving a daughter Margaret, who was to be the mother of Henry VII., but no son; and his brother Edmund now

The Beaufort ascendency.

became earl of Somerset and leader of the peace party in conjunction with Suffolk. York disappeared completely into the background. Peace negotiations were at once reopened. But with an English government eager for peace the French grew more exacting. In effect they would only concede Normandy and Guienne, to be held as fiefs of the French Crown. The peace was to be confirmed by the marriage of King Henry to Margaret of Anjou, the niece of King Charles, and daughter of the landless King René of Provence, who claimed, but did not possess, the crowns of Sicily, Jerusalem, and Aragon. The marriage itself—marriage to a dowerless princess—and a truce for two years, were the only fruits of the negotiation which was conducted by Suffolk. In 1445, the proud, passionate ambitious girl was married to the almost imbecile king, a union pregnant with disaster.

Peace negotiations, 1444.

Henry's marriage, 1445.

Suffolk had pretended, and possibly believed, that these arrangements were merely the preliminaries to a lasting peace; he concealed the fact that he had only procured the truce by a promise to evacuate Maine. A French embassy which came over after the marriage had nothing better to offer than Guienne, with Saintonge and Perigord as a substitute for Normandy. The proposal was refused, but the truce was extended for a year on Henry's confirmation of the promise to evacuate Maine. Fearing that, with such an opportunity before him for attacking the ministers, Gloucester might recover power, the Beaufort party short-sightedly enough, resolved to silence him once for all. He was suddenly arrested on a charge of treason at the beginning of 1447, the year in which Maine was to be evacuated. Within a week of the arrest he was dead, and the whole world believed that he had been murdered, though no actually conclusive evidence was ever produced. The old cardinal, who certainly had no hand in the affair, died a few weeks later. He had for some time been in virtual retirement. Suffolk, Somerset, and the queen, expected to carry matters all their own way. They had apparently overlooked the fact that they had given Richard of York a new

Death of Gloucester, 1447.

status since he was now heir-presumptive to the throne, a position which Somerset could not claim for himself openly, while the Act of 1407 remained in the statute book. York, however, was muzzled for the time by being exiled to Ireland as lord-lieutenant.

Suffolk's shifts, 1448.

Though Suffolk and Somerset imagined that by the death of Gloucester and the expatriation of York they had removed all dangerous antagonists from the field—although they enjoyed the complete confidence of Henry and were in the closest alliance with the queen—they did not dare to face a parliament when their ignominious arrangements with France should become known, and they strove to evade the promise to evacuate Maine. But when a French army appeared in Maine at the beginning of 1448 it was impossible to continue the evasion. The fortresses were surrendered and the truce was renewed; but England was already seething with disgust. Then the soldiery which had been withdrawn from Maine without being paid off resolved to pay themselves by brigandage, and broke into Brittany. Somerset, the official governor in Normandy, and Suffolk in England, could not control the troops and would not offer reparation.

Loss of Normandy, 1449-1450.

In July 1449 Charles denounced the truce and declared war. To the rage and disgust of the English, four French columns entered Normandy on every side and swept the duchy; in town after town on the arrival of a besieging army, the population rose and forced the garrison to surrender. In six months the French were masters of three-fourths of Normandy. Early in 1450 a wrathful, mutinous, and altogether insufficient force was dispatched to the aid of Somerset. The contingent, marching from Cherbourg, managed to effect a junction with another small column dispatched by Somerset from Caen; but a few days later the whole army was overwhelmed and cut to pieces at Formigny. By the end of August not a fortress was left, and Somerset had shut himself up in Calais. Every inch of Henry v.'s conquest was gone; all that remained to England in France was Calais and the steadily loyal Guienne.

In England the popular wrath was already boiling over when the last expedition was equipped in January. The bishop of Chichester as an ally of Suffolk was murdered by the mutinous troops at Portsmouth. When parliament met at the end of the month, Suffolk was furiously attacked and impeached upon charges some of them ridiculous, but some of them very well founded. The duke in alarm—both he and Somerset had taken the higher title in 1448—threw himself on the king's mercy instead of facing a trial, and the king sought to save him by pronouncing sentence of banishment. But this could not protect him from the popular rage. He attempted to escape from the country in disguise but was tracked; the boat in which he sailed was caught by vessels on the watch for him off the coast of Kent, and he was beheaded on the spot without even being taken back to land. On 2nd May news of Formigny had just arrived. By the end of the month the populace had broken out in insurrection under the leadership of Jack Cade against the government responsible for the recent disasters.

The end of Suffolk.

Shakespeare has done a good deal to perpetuate the fiction that Jack Cade's rebellion was a sort of repetition of Wat Tyler's. In fact, it was nothing of the kind. It was a popular outburst against misgovernment engendered by the rage and shame roused by the surrender of Maine and the disgraceful collapse in Normandy. It is true that the formulated complaint of the rebels included a demand for the repeal of the Statute of Labourers; but in every other respect the complaints were political, not social, directed against real or imaginary misdeeds of the government, blunders, crimes, illegalities which were not concerned with class grievances. There is a possibility that the insurrection was fostered by partisans of the house of York. It is more probable that the leaders made unauthorised use of York's name and of the name of Mortimer in order to capture support. As to the identity of Cade himself nothing is known with certainty except that he must have been a man of some education and of some military experience. It is not impossible that he really was as he claimed to be some kind of a Mortimer himself.

Jack Cade's Rebellion, 1450.

Whatever Cade's antecedents were, he succeeded in raising half of Kent and Sussex in a fortnight, and had formed his followers into a considerable army, organised in military style and under fair discipline. The government collected levies and marched against him, but their force was routed, its leaders were slain, and the whole body was promptly disbanded lest it should join the rebels *en masse*. Cade marched upon London, where he was admitted. Next day he tried and beheaded three unpopular officials, including the treasurer, Lord Saye. But that night his followers broke away from the discipline which had hitherto restrained them and began to pillage, joined by the London mob. As in 1381, this put heart into the respectable citizens. The Kent men were quartered outside the city, which closed its gates. The insurgents failed to force their way in again. On 6th June three prelates appeared on the scene as mediators, and the insurgents were induced to disperse on their promise of a complete amnesty for all, including their leader 'John Mortimer.' When it was too late Cade discovered that he was not to be recognised as John Mortimer and must consider himself excluded from the amnesty. He took to flight, was hunted down, and was mortally wounded while offering a vigorous resistance to his capture. The Kentishmen had already taken up arms again in alarm; but they had no efficient leaders and were repressed without difficulty, though not without many hangings. There had been like doings in Norfolk and in Wiltshire, where another bishop was slain for being a friend of Suffolk.

Duke Richard in Ireland came to the conclusion that he could not afford to be absent from the centre of events; he left his office, came over to Wales, and in September was marching towards London with an armed force in his train, while Henry recalled Somerset from Calais and bestowed fresh honours upon him, regardless of the fact that in the popular mind he was in the same category with Suffolk. A parliament was assembled; supporters both of Somerset and York had come up with large bands of retainers. But York, whether honestly or as a matter of policy, meant to

Return of Richard of York.

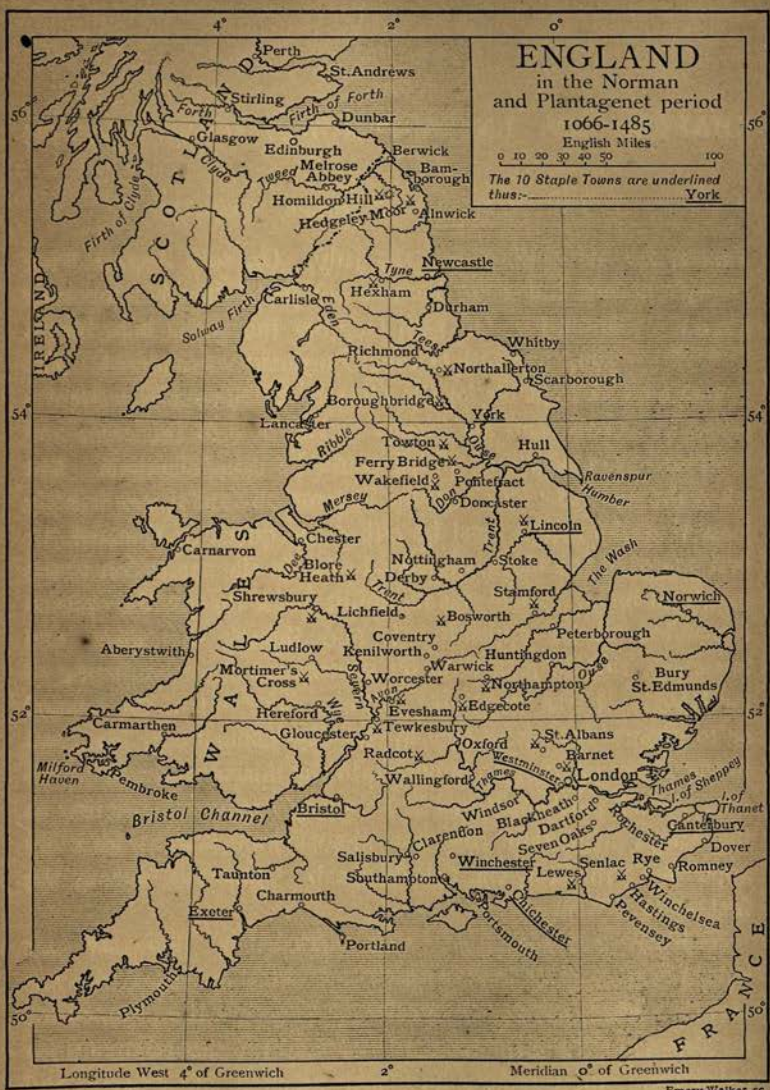
preserve a strictly constitutional line. There was no collision, and it was not till January that the Commons made a direct attack upon Somerset, demanding his disgrace and banishment. Nothing came of endless and angry debating except the presentation by a private member, Thomas Yonge, of a petition that York should be declared heir to the throne. Margaret had borne no child to Henry, and there could be no sound reason for not acknowledging Richard's position except the intention of asserting Somerset's claim as the heir of Edward III. in direct male descent. By Somerset's influence Yonge's petition was rejected, and Richard presumably drew the obvious inference.

The parliamentary attack on Somerset having failed, in 1451, Richard, who had retired to his estates on the Welsh marches, resolved to procure his rival's ejection by a display of force. Proclaiming that he intended only to guard his own rights and to remove the king's 'evil counsellors,' he marched upon London. But he accepted what he took to be a promise that Somerset should be dismissed from office and brought to trial before parliament, disbanded his troops, and came in to the king. Somerset, however, was not dismissed, and York was coerced into a formal reconciliation.

In cessation from internal feuds lay the one chance of saving Guienne, the only English territory left in France except Calais. While York and Somerset were quarrelling in 1451, town after town, receiving no succours from England, had fallen into French hands; even Bordeaux and Bayonne had been obliged to open their gates. But they were still loyal to the English connection, ready to break away from the French allegiance if they received sufficient aid. The struggle of factions was suspended in England while a force was dispatched under Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, to attempt the recovery of the lost province in the autumn of 1452. Through the winter it seemed as if the attempt would succeed; the towns welcomed the English back. But in the following summer the French appeared in overwhelming force before Castillon. Shrewsbury marched to relieve it with his whole force and hurled himself upon the enemy's entrenchments in spite of his own inferior numbers.

The loss of Guienne, 1453.

In the furious fight that ensued the English were cut to pieces, and Shrewsbury was slain. After that there was no hope of reinforcements, and though the men of Guienne held out stubbornly for three months longer the French had completed the conquest before the end of October. The Hundred Years' War was ended.


ENGLAND
in the Norman
and Plantagenet period
1066-1485
English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 100
The 10 Staple Towns are underlined thus:- York
4°
2°
0°
56°
54°
52°
50°
Perth
St. Andrews
Stirling
Firth of Forth
Dunbar
Glasgow
Edinburgh
Berwick
Melrose Abbey
Bamborough
Homildon Hill
Alnwick
Hedgeley Moor
Firth of Clyde
Clyde
Tweed
Tyne
Newcastle
Hexham
Carlisle
Solway Firth
Eden
Durham
Tees
Whitby
Richmond
Northallerton
Scarborough
Boroughbridge
York
Lancaster
Ribble
Ouse
Hull
Towton
Ferry Bridge
Wakefield
Pontefract
Ravenspur
Humber
Mersey
Don
Doncaster
Trent
Lincoln
Chester
Carnarvon
Blore Heath
Nottingham
Stoke
Derby
The Wash
Shrewsbury
Stamford
Norwich
Lichfield
Bosworth
Coventry
Peterborough
Aberystwith
Ludlow
Kenilworth
Huntingdon
Warwick
Mortimer's Cross
Severn
Worcester
Northampton
Ouse
Bury St. Edmunds
Hereford
Wye
Evesham
Edgecote
Carmarthen
Tewkesbury
Gloucester
St. Albans
Oxford
Barnet
Milford Haven
Pembroke
Radcot
Westminster
London
Wallingford
Thames
Thames, r. of Sheppey
r. of Thanet
Bristol Channel
Bristol
Windsor
Blackheath
Dartford
Rochester
Canterbury
Clarendon
Seven Oaks
Dover
Salisbury
Winchester
Senlac
Rye
Romney
Taunton
Southampton
Lewes
Winchelsea
Charmouth
Hastings
Pevensey
Exeter
Chichester
Portsmouth
Portland
Plymouth
IRELAND
SCOTLAND
WALES
FRANCE
Longitude West 4° of Greenwich
2°
Meridian 0° of Greenwich
Emery Walker sc.

CHAPTER XIV. LANCASTER AND YORK, 1453-1485

I. The Wars of the Roses, 1453-1471

Talbot fell at Castillon on 17th July. On 10th August King Henry's normal imbecility became complete though temporary insanity. On 13th October the queen bore him a son. On 20th October Bordeaux surrendered. The government responsible for the disaster in Guienne was Somerset's, since York and his friends in the face of the crisis had abstained from anything which could be called factious. But when the necessity for a regency became obvious it was equally clear that the regent must be either the queen or Richard, the first prince of the blood, who stood next in the succession to the new-born baby. There was no doubt at all that public opinion demanded York's appointment, and though the queen and Somerset tried to gain time by postponing the summoning of parliament, it was impossible to keep York out of the council or to dispute his ascendency in it. The council sent Somerset to the Tower pending an inquiry into the mismanagement of the war. When parliament met in February Richard was acting as the king's lieutenant and was almost immediately formally appointed Protector, the title borne by Gloucester during the first years of Henry VI.

Richard Protector.

Richard used his power with moderation. Somerset was indeed kept in ward, and the death of Archbishop Kemp, who was also chancellor, enabled the Protector to secure the primacy for his kinsman Bishop Bourchier of Ely, and the chancellorship for Salisbury. But there was no attack upon the other party, and no hint that Richard intended to challenge the succession of the infant Edward, who was duly created Prince of Wales a few days before York's official appointment as Protector. There was no

pretence of doing anything more than preserving order at home. With Calais as the only foothold in France, any attempt at aggressive hostilities in that quarter was out of the question.

But at the end of the year Henry recovered his wits, and the protectorship came to an end; the Somerset group was promptly restored to office. A meeting of the council, at which none of the Yorkists were present, summoned what was called a Great Council to meet at Leicester in May, in terms clearly implying the imputation of treason against the Yorkists. York and Salisbury, who, after their dismissal, had retired to the north, at once gathered their adherents in arms and marched south. They were joined by Salisbury's son Warwick. Their manifesto declared their loyalty, but claimed that their action had been forced on them by the terms of the summons to the Leicester Council. The magnates of the other party, some of them half Yorkists at heart, assembled their retainers, and blocked the way to London at St Albans. York, maintaining as always his own entire loyalty, demanded the immediate arrest and trial of Somerset. The demand was refused; the Yorkists attacked, Warwick took the loyalists in flank, Somerset was slain, and those of the other loyalist magnates who did not run away, were most of them wounded, and all of them taken prisoner. Only a few score lives were lost, chiefly of knights and gentlemen; the king himself fell into York's hands. The skirmish of St Albans was the first battle in the Wars of the Roses.

The first fight, May, 1455.

Again Richard used his victory with moderation. A parliament was immediately summoned. From this time it was a matter of course for the House of Commons to be packed with supporters of the party which happened to be in the ascendant; but there was no attempt to exclude the peers of the Somerset faction from the House of Lords. A general amnesty was proclaimed; it was assumed that all the responsibility for past troubles lay upon Somerset, who was conveniently dead. Although the queen was notoriously the most active of York's enemies, the duke was scrupulous to interfere with no legitimate claims on her behalf. A return of the

Fluctuation, 1455-1457.

king's madness revived York's protectorship for a short time; York, in fact, governed the country for eighteen months after the battle of St. Albans till Henry's recovery in the autumn of 1456. Then the king, who had fallen under Queen Margaret's domination, dismissed the Yorkist treasurer and chancellor, Richard's brother-in-law Lord Bourchier, and Archbishop Bourchier. For some three years the ascendency lay with the queen, not with York, who submitted without active opposition to his loss of power. Unless indeed a direct attack were made upon him, he had no longer any constitutional grounds either for claiming authority for himself or for attacking a government which could be charged with nothing worse than inefficiency. All he could do was to resist the old trick of attempting to banish him by sending him to Ireland as lord-lieutenant. When the appointment was bestowed upon him he merely sent deputies to Ireland, but remained in England himself.

The government was so inefficient that, in 1457, French fleets commanded the Channel, sacked Sandwich, and raided the coast of Cornwall. The young earl of Warwick had won so much confidence by his conduct as Captain of Calais—an office which had been bestowed on him while York was in power and of which he had not been deprived—that a Great Council insisted on appointing him, Yorkist though he was, to control the seas for three years, with excellent results. His successes moved the queen to attempt to procure his dismissal, but Warwick declared that a parliament had bestowed the captaincy of Calais upon him and only a parliament could deprive him of it. As the king's party dared not summon a parliament, he was safe. During these years the Crown was making shift with 'Great Councils' of peers instead of parliaments. The most ominous sign of the times was a new development of private wars among the barons, a painful proof of the weakness of a central government which was entirely unable to repress them. It may here be remarked that a practice had grown up during this century which assimilated English conditions to continental feudalism more than had ever been the case in the past. In England, the tenant

Warwick keeps the seas.

Omens, 1457-1459.

held of his overlord, but his allegiance to the king overrode his allegiance to his immediate feudal superior. The new custom was for the smaller men to make compacts of service with the greater, which bound them effectively if not legally. The practical result was that each of the great nobles could rely upon the support of these quasi-vassals, and could bring into the field, under their own banners, larger forces than in the days of the early Plantagenets.

During these three years from 1456 to 1459 there was no open rupture between the Yorkists and the party of Queen Margaret. The amiable king was extremely anxious to preserve mutual goodwill among them, and even succeeded in patching up a somewhat absurd formal reconciliation in 1458, when the leaders of the two parties went to church together in formal procession hand in hand. Also there was a group among the queen's party headed by Buckingham, one of Richard's brothers-in-law, who had no animosity towards the Yorkists, and were opposed to taking any aggressive action against them.

But each side knew or anticipated that the truce would not last; Margaret at least was organising an attack upon the Yorkists. Both during 1459 were preparing for war. In September both were openly mustering troops. Salisbury, marching to join York, was met by a force from Cheshire which was marching to join Queen Margaret. At Bloreheath, Salisbury beat off the enemy, whom we may call the royalists, with considerable loss, evaded the main royalist army, and joined York at Ludlow. Thither also came Warwick, who had made his way from Calais with a portion of the garrison. But the Yorkists were not mustering in force; York had practically been manœuvred into seeming to be the aggressor and therefore to be in the wrong. The king offered a pardon if York and his followers would lay down their arms, which York could not venture to do. Henry marched against him. York and his companions were not strong enough to fight, their army broke up, Salisbury, Warwick, and York's eldest son, Edward, earl of March, a boy of seventeen, took flight to Calais, while the duke himself made his way to Ireland.

The rupture: Sept., 1459.

The queen ventured on immediately summoning a parliament at Coventry, in which the Commons were very thoroughly packed and the Yorkist peers, though called, were powerless in the absence of the chiefs of the party. This parliament began the evil business of carrying on the party warfare by Acts of Attainder. A bill was passed attainting of treason half a dozen peers and a number of knights. The mild king chose to content himself with forfeiture or mere imprisonment in the case of the attainted persons who were actually in his power; but the precedent had been set and was to be followed repeatedly, with disastrous results. That suspicions were beginning to be awakened, of York's possible design of asserting a claim to the crown itself if any convenient opportunity should offer, is made evident by the oath which was taken by all the peers present at the parliament of Coventry to recognise the Prince of Wales as the heir.

The Coventry parliament, Nov.

But such oaths are apt to be of small account when crowns become the prize of the sword. They are useless in averting civil war, and the victorious party fostered civil war. No attempt was made to establish orderly government; the greater lords were taking the law into their own hands, and meanwhile the activities of the attainted duke and earls were unchecked outside the island. York in Ireland was soon assured of the general support of the Irish barons. Warwick secured himself at Calais in the winter, and early in the next year 1460 slipped over to Ireland and concerted a plan of campaign with his uncle. Kent and London were known to be favourable. About midsummer Warwick crossed from Calais and seized Sandwich. Kent and London rose, and he was joined by some of the Yorkist lords who had held aloof a year before. When Warwick reached London, he again made public declaration of the loyalty of his party to the person of the king. Yorkists began to swarm in, and after a few days he was on the march to Northampton where the Lancastrians were gathering. Buckingham, the royalist commander, entrenched himself and refused to negotiate. Warwick had no sooner opened the attack than the royalist contingent holding the

A new rising at hand.

Warwick's success.

left deserted, and allowed the Yorkists to pour over the entrenchment and roll up the entire line. The order had been given to spare the commons but to give no quarter to the nobles. Consequently the total list of slain was small but included a large proportion of leaders. Henry himself was taken prisoner, and Warwick proposed now to act in his name, though the queen and the Prince of Wales were still at large. Salisbury was appointed to the governorship of the north. Warwick organised the government in London where the king was in the hands of the Bourchiers, and paid a visit to Calais just as Richard of York was returning from Ireland to Lancashire.

Richard marched to London, where a parliament was summoned, which began by repealing all the proceedings of the parliament of Coventry. The duke in his progress south had assumed an ominously royal state. He no sooner entered London, where parliament was sitting, than he very nearly ruined his own cause by for the first time asserting his own immediate claim to the throne. His most uncompromising followers strove to dissuade him—the legality of his title as against the present occupant of the throne was exceedingly questionable; his claim was a dangerous repudiation of the principle that parliament could override the strict law of succession as it had done in 1399. They were successful only so far that they persuaded him to agree to content himself with being acknowledged as Henry's heir. On the actual question of the legitimacy of title, the peers had refused to adjudicate and referred it to the judges, who in their turn refused to pronounce an opinion but suggested difficulties. To the compromise Henry himself, who was in the hands of the party, was induced to agree; an Act of parliament confirmed the agreement. York rendered homage to Henry, the houses rendered homage to York as the heir, and York proclaimed himself Protector.

York claims the crown.

Queen Margaret, however, had no intention of allowing her son to be deprived of the succession, and she was intriguing vigorously among the northern lords of her own party, besides endeavouring to obtain help from Scotland. In that country King James II. had in

Margaret raises the North.

the last year taken the opportunity to seize Roxburgh, though he himself was killed by an accident during the siege, and Scotland was now once more under a regency. Not realising the extent of the rising which was being concerted, Richard marched for the north with a small force, was overwhelmed by superior numbers at Wakefield on 30th December, and was slain in battle with many knights. His second son, Edmund of Rutland, was captured and murdered; his brother-in-law, Salisbury, was beheaded next day. The battle itself was a slaughter, in which there was no sparing of the commons as in previous engagements. From this time every person of prominence on either side knew that he might just as well be killed on the field as taken prisoner. Retaliation was the established rule.

Wakefield, Dec. 30.

For the Lancastrians their victory at Wakefield was to prove a great disaster. Richard of York was dead, but his youthful son and heir, Edward of March, was a more unscrupulous person, as incalculable as he was brilliant. The execution of Salisbury aroused a fierce spirit of vengeance in Warwick, who had so far been able to claim that his conduct had been in strict accordance with constitutional precedent. He and his father, with Norfolk, had hitherto been the three greatest territorial magnates in the realm; Salisbury's death made Warwick incomparably the greatest, while Norfolk remained his faithful supporter. And after Wakefield Warwick was determined to destroy the Lancastrian power, to which end he resolved to make his young cousin Edward king at once without waiting for the demise of the hapless Henry.

The victorious Lancastrians from the north resolved to march straight upon London, and as they came south they sacked the principal towns which lay on the great high road. In the south the Yorkists gathered swiftly to the standard of Warwick who marched from London to meet the foe and gave battle at St. Albans. The southerners heard ill reports of the doings of the northerners and meant to fight them, Warwick had occupied a strong position carefully entrenched, but his scouts served him badly. The Lancastrians

St. Albans second battle, Feb., 1461.

arrived when they were still supposed to be at some distance, fell on his flank, and broke up his army. Warwick was able to draw off with a portion of his troops, but Henry, the shuttlecock of parties, was left behind; a misfortune for the Lancastrians, because he was so shocked by their pillaging of St. Albans that he refused to let them march on London and opened negotiations with the Londoners instead. The delay gave the capital into the hands of the Yorkists.

While the Lancastrians were marching south and Warwick was assembling his levies to meet them at St. Albans, Richard of York's youthful son Edward had been acting with the energy which possessed him somewhat fitfully. He had been sent to the Welsh marches, the Mortimer country, to watch the Lancastrians of Wales and Cheshire who, when the news of Wakefield reached them, were gathering under Jasper Tudor, earl of Pembroke. Jasper and his brother Edmund, earl of Richmond, who had died some years before, were the sons of a Welsh knight, Owen Tudor, who had secretly married Katharine, the widow of Henry v. Edward brought their forces to a decisive engagement at Mortimer's Cross, defeated them completely, and cut off the heads of the father Owen Tudor and sundry other prisoners. This accomplished, he was able to march across the midlands with the intention of joining Warwick; he was too late for St. Albans, but as Warwick drew off to the west after the defeat a junction was effected. By rapid marches Edward and Warwick reached the outskirts of London, and were joyfully admitted at the moment when the Londoners were on the point of reluctantly opening their gates to the other party. The capital was secure.

Edward of York.

Within the week the Yorkist leaders, Warwick, Norfolk the Primate, and others, formally invited Edward to assume the crown which was legitimately his. On the next day, 4th March, Edward IV. was enthroned at Westminster amid the acclamations of the Londoners, on the principle that the proceedings which had placed Henry IV. on the throne were illegal, and that Edmund Mortimer and his heirs had been *de jure* kings of England ever since the demise of Richard II.

The Lancastrians at St. Albans did not venture to attack London; instead they retreated to the north. Edward and Warwick, gathering all the available levies, marched in pursuit.

Towton, March. In the great battle which took place at Towton on 29th March, virtually all the magnates on both sides were present. The Lancastrians had the larger force, and the Yorkist Norfolk was apparently unable to bring his troops into action until late in the day. The conflict was settled mainly by hand-to-hand fighting. In the result there was a tremendous slaughter of the Lancastrians; many of their leaders were slain on the field, many more were taken, and those who were taken were executed. Queen Margaret and King Henry escaped to Scotland.

The Lancastrians were scattered; but though the Scots showed no desire to attempt an invasion, the north was the rallying ground of the vanquished party. It was necessary to leave Warwick and Warwick's younger brother Lord Montague

Edward IV. crowned. to take care of the north during the summer and autumn. Edward himself returned to London, where he was crowned in state about midsummer, and distributed honours among his principal supporters. Warwick received no fresh title, but great governmental offices were accumulated in his hands. Perhaps the earl was under the impression that his cousin would cheerfully leave to him the real management of the kingdom. Edward's first parliament was called in November; after its first duty of affirming his lawful title as king of England and declaring the whole Lancastrian line to have been usurpers, its principal business fell into two parts. The first was to procure from the lawful sovereign the confirmation of everything that had been done in the ordinary course of law during the rule of the usurpers, except their alienations of Crown property; the second was to adopt an exceedingly sweeping Act of attainder. The king, Henry VI., his queen, his son, and over a dozen peers headed the list of 'traitors,' including seven who were dead. Then came more than a hundred knights and others. The object of including in the attainder men whose death had put them out of reach of any penalty on their own persons was the seizure of their estates.

Edward was barely twenty years old when the victory at Towton secured him the crown; he had not been twenty when he won on his own responsibility the victory of Mortimer's Cross. His personal valour had been demonstrated still earlier at Northampton. That he had plenty of vigour when he chose to exert himself was evident, but he gave no sign of intending to exert himself. 'He was the handsomest prince that ever I saw,' wrote Philippe de Commines when he was some years older, and he meant to get out of life all the enjoyment which good looks, a robust physique, a fluent tongue, and the crown could bring him. He left business to Warwick, and Warwick was kept employed by the indomitable energy of Margaret of Anjou.

The new king.

From Scotland, where no active assistance could be looked for, the queen intrigued vigorously to bring about simultaneous risings in Wales and England and incursions from Scotland and France. When the first plot was discovered, she removed herself from Scotland to France, hoping by her personal efforts to procure more active aid from Louis XI. who had recently come to the throne. The old party struggles in France bore their fruit; when the court of France favoured the Lancastrian cause in England, Burgundy favoured the Yorkist cause. Philip, though he held his great territories as a nominal vassal partly of the French Crown and partly of the Empire, was in effect by this time a mighty independent potentate, somewhat inclined to make his independence complete. As yet, however, there was no formal alliance. Margaret got help from Louis, landed in the north during the summer, and in the late autumn had assembled round her several of the surviving Lancastrian lords and procured possession of sundry strong fortresses. Warwick, who took in hand the suppression of the rebellion, did not complete his task of recovering the fortresses and ejecting the Lancastrians till the beginning of 1463. Four months later he returned to the south; the Lancastrians were up again forthwith, and once more in possession of Bamborough, Alnwick, and Dunstanburgh. About midsummer Warwick reappeared; Margaret herself with her boy was all but

Activity of Margaret, 1461-1463.

captured, and only escaped again to Bamborough by the help of an outlaw who met her wandering in the forest. From Bamborough Margaret slipped off to Flanders, leaving Henry behind. The Scots who had helped her made peace; the cause seemed lost, but in the spring of 1464 there was another Lancastrian rally which was finally shattered by Warwick's brother Montague at the battles of Hedgeley Moor and Hexham, after which fights there was another slaughter of captured magnates. The Lancastrian fortresses which still held out were captured before the middle of July, and for six years there was no further attempt at a Lancastrian rebellion.

Overthrow of the Lancastrians, 1464.

Since the battle of Towton the disturbance had been confined to the north; the rest of the country enjoyed general peace and probably better order than had generally prevailed for many years past. There were no demands for taxation; the treasury met the expenses of the civil war, as we may at least suppose, out of the funds provided by the vast confiscations of Lancastrian estates. The king had amused himself. He had never been at the trouble to take the field in person; he had indeed gone to the north during the final rising of 1464; but instead of joining the army he had taken the opportunity to contract a secret marriage with Lady Elizabeth Grey or Woodville, the widow of a Lancastrian, John Grey, Lord Ferrars, to whom she had borne sundry children. Her father was a certain Sir Richard Woodville who had been in Bedford's service, had married his widow, and had found favour with Henry VI. who created him Lord Rivers. Ferrars had fallen at the second battle of St. Albans; Rivers was, fortunately for himself, in captivity when Towton was fought, and escaped punishment as a Lancastrian by swearing allegiance to Edward. The young king fell violently in love with Elizabeth, the more so because she was too virtuous or too prudent to yield to his fascinations; he married her because he could get possession of her in no other way.

Edward's secret marriage.

But this was known only to three or four persons, among whom neither Warwick nor any other of the magnates was

numbered. The world at large desired to see the young king married. Warwick was anxious for a French alliance; King Louis, who perceived that the Lancastrian cause was at least to all appearance lost, was favourably disposed. Negotiations were opened for Edward's marriage to Louis's sister-in-law, Bona of Savoy, since there was no actually available French princess; and Warwick had already committed himself deeply to the French king before Edward chose to enlighten him as to the existence of an insuperable obstacle. He acknowledged his marriage to Elizabeth Grey. There was nothing to be done but to accept the situation. Warwick necessarily resented the false position in which he had been placed, and realised that the king only gave him his confidence when it happened to suit him. He had hitherto taken it as a matter of course that in affairs of state the king would follow his counsels; the king had shown that if it pleased him to follow his own counsels without consulting Warwick at all, he was self-willed enough to do so. There was no immediate breach, but while Warwick remained at the head of affairs with no apparent alteration in his position, the king was quietly engaged in building up through the Woodvilles a great connection dependent on himself and wholly independent of the Nevilles. The queen's father was raised to an earldom; her brother Anthony had already become Lord Scales by marriage, her six sisters were now married to the young duke of Buckingham—grandson of the old duke who had fallen at Northampton before the time of attainders—to the heirs of the earls of Essex, Kent and Arundel, to Lord Strange, and to the heir of Lord Herbert.

The rift with Warwick.

Edward owed his throne to Warwick and the Neville connection; Warwick had been the indispensable man; the young king did not choose that he should be indispensable; but as yet he was not in a hurry to be rid of his cousin and had no definite policy antagonistic to Warwick's. The earl was allowed during 1465 to conduct an embassy intended to secure the goodwill of Louis of France in spite of the recent fiasco. Louis was threatened by a combination of the great nobles, headed by Charles of Charolois, the heir of Philip of Burgundy,

The breach widens.

and he was eager to prevent England from allying itself with this league, to which end he was quite willing to break with the Lancastrians. Still, through the next year, 1466, the breach between Edward and Warwick was widening. Edward's own position was strengthened by the capture of Henry VI. who was shut up in the Tower. Checks to the Nevilles and promotions for the Woodvilles continued; the king practically vetoed the marriage between his next brother George, duke of Clarence, and Warwick's daughter Isobel. Edward was making up his mind to a final rupture, and the plan he adopted was underhand and effective.

The Burgundy marriage, 1467.

Charles of Charolois, who succeeded Philip as duke of Burgundy during 1467, resolved to bid for the English alliance against his enemy Louis of France. His first wife had recently died, and he proposed to Edward that he should marry the king's youngest sister Margaret—the elder sisters were married to John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, who in spite of his antecedents had joined the Yorkists, and to Thomas St. Leger. Edward favoured the proposed match; the Burgundian alliance was traditional, its commercial advantages were great, and it was exceedingly doubtful whether the king of France or the duke of Burgundy was going to prove the mightier potentate. Warwick, on the other hand, was committed to the French alliance. Nevertheless the earl was first commissioned to negotiate a commercial treaty and to arrange the marriage. Since he was averse from the whole plan, the negotiation fell through. Edward professed himself to be a convert to the French alliance, and sent Warwick to France to make a permanent treaty. The terms were arranged and Warwick came back with French envoys to complete the formalities, only to find that in his absence the English princess had been betrothed to the duke of Burgundy and his own brother had been turned out of the chancellorship. Probably from this time forward Warwick was planning to overturn the Woodvilles and recover a forcible ascendency over the king. Up and down the country there was talk of 'favourites' and 'evil counsellors.' Edward, who was habitually reckless, though he could be cautious

and secret enough when he chose, took up the idea of reviving the glories of Henry v., with the help of Burgundy; he counted quite correctly on the popularity of such a move, especially as the country had had nothing to complain of from taxation. Parliament was asked for supplies and voted a handsome subsidy. Louis retaliated by receiving Lancastrians at his court, and the air was soon thick with Lancastrian plots. In the circumstances Edward could not afford to set about the invasion of France, especially when Charles of Burgundy made a separate truce with Louis on his own account.

So through 1468 and the spring of 1469 matters continued in a state of unrest and nothing more. But Warwick was organising his own conspiracy. In April he visited Calais in his official capacity of Captain, his family going with him. In June half the north rose in insurrection under a leader calling himself Robin of Redesdale. The familiar list of grievances appeared on the manifesto of the insurgents; bad government, evil counsellors misleading the king, extravagant expenditure, monstrous taxation. There was a simultaneous and quite separate Lancastrian rising, to which Lord Montague, the guardian of the north, confined his attentions, leaving Robin of Redesdale alone.

Warwick strikes, June 1469.

Edward was moved to energy, collected a small force and marched to the north. Warwick at Calais was waiting this opportunity. Edward had no sooner started than Clarence was married to Warwick's daughter by Warwick's brother the Archbishop of York, at Calais. Without delay the king-maker crossed over with a strong force drawn from his garrison to Kent, having preceded his crossing by a proclamation endorsing the programme of Robin of Redesdale. The men of Kent and the southern counties flocked to his standard. Edward was caught between the northern and southern insurgents, and the new earl of Pembroke, his friend Lord Herbert, marching to his support, was routed and taken prisoner at Edgecote. Edward himself was soon a prisoner in Warwick's hands.

The earl had not turned Lancastrian; there was too much Lancastrian blood on his hands for that. He still believed that

he could keep Edward on the throne, while he himself ruled. He executed Rivers and some of the Woodville connection. Perhaps his real object was to secure the succession to the throne to his own house. His own daughter was already married to the eldest brother of the king, who had daughters but no sons at this time. Warwick had no sons of his own, but he betrothed his brother Montague's son, his own nearest heir, to Edward's eldest daughter. The king dissembled; Warwick had failed to gauge his real capacities and feared nothing, while Edward was drawing together the dissatisfied Yorkists who, standing outside the Neville family group, had gained nothing by the Neville *coup d'état*. A sort of Lancastrian insurrection in Lincolnshire, arising apparently out of a private feud, gave him his opportunity. He called up the levies of East Anglia, where the magnates were Yorkists secretly hostile to Warwick, summoned Warwick and Clarence to bring him up reinforcements, crushed the insurgents in the battle called Losecoat Field, because the defeated party flung off their coats to run away the quicker, and then swooped upon Warwick and Clarence themselves, declaring that they had been implicated in the rising. The earl and the duke had barely time to fly from the country; Warwick was refused admittance at Calais, and was reduced to betake himself to the court of Louis of France.

Edward and Warwick.

Here was Louis's opportunity. No difficulties were presented to him by the fact that Margaret of Anjou and Richard of Warwick had each of them executed several of the other's kinsmen in cold blood. If the Nevilles would combine with the Lancastrians they could crush their common enemy King Edward. Perhaps no one but King Louis would ever have dreamt of such a coalition; certainly nobody else could have carried it through. He accomplished it; the enemies were reconciled. Margaret's son Edward was to marry Warwick's younger daughter Anne; Clarence was to be recognised as next prince of the blood, with very much the same chance of succession as he enjoyed while Edward was king. Clarence concealed his disapproval; his idea was that his brother should be deposed in his own favour,

Warwick turns Lancastrian, 1470.

not in favour of the house of Lancaster. He was very soon making overtures to recover his brother's favour.

Edward had reverted to his normal attitude of carelessness, taking no trouble to guard against danger. This had taken place in March; in August Warwick and Margaret were formally reconciled. Before the end of the month the north was up again; Warwick's stratagem of last year served him as before. Edward hurried north with hastily gathered levies to suppress the insurrection; when he was well on his way, Warwick, Clarence, and a group of exiled Lancastrians landed in the south, called to arms the supporters of Nevilles and Lancastrians, and marched upon London. The king turned to march south, but when he reached Nottingham he found that the confidence he had reposed in the hitherto loyal Montague was misplaced. Montague and his whole following had gone over to his brother's cause. Edward took hasty flight to a port on the east coast and sailed with his youngest brother Richard of Gloucester in the first ship he could seize, to seek refuge with Charles of Burgundy.

Edward put to flight.

The king-maker was undisputed master of the country. At once he extracted Henry from the Tower and set him upon the throne again. Then he took in hand the dictatorship; his first step was to draw tighter the alliance with the king of France, promising him English assistance against Burgundy. The step was dangerous, for it turned Burgundy into an active foe. While Margaret still tarried in France, hesitating to trust herself and her son in Warwick's hands, and thereby accentuating the distrust between Nevilles and Lancastrians which was an inevitable weakness in the situation, Edward under Charles's auspices was organising an invasion. In March the audacious king with a few hundred men sailed from Flushing, with a gale blowing which drove Warwick's watching squadron into port. He reached the Yorkshire coast, where he was least expected, landed, and promptly proclaimed that he had come as the loyal subject of King Henry, and only asked for his patrimony as duke of York. He evaded Montague, and Yorkist bands hurried up from East Anglia to join him. Warwick sped to his

Edward's return, 1471.

own country in the western midlands. Oxford was to bring up the eastern levies, Clarence those from the west. Oxford's Lancastrians were the nearest force to Edward, who had now resumed the royal title. Having headed him off from the march to join Warwick, the king turned straight upon Coventry, where the earl lay. Warwick refused battle, intending to wait the arrival of his allies; but only to find that the king had marched past him and was on the way to London. He knew and Warwick did not that Clarence was playing the traitor again. The force, which was expected at Coventry, followed Clarence and deserted *en masse* to Edward. A race for London followed, both armies increasing as they marched. Edward won the race, was admitted into London, shut Henry up in the Tower again, and marched out to meet the approaching army of Warwick at Barnet, where the two armies lay facing each other on the night of 13th April. The next morning was foggy; each force mistook the other's position, the right wing of each outflanking the opponent's left. The fog finally proved fatal to the Lancastrians, because Oxford's troops, successful at the outset, turned back and fell upon their own comrades under the impression that they were the enemy, and when they found out the mistake each supposed that the others had turned traitor. Consequently, the Lancastrian right and centre were put to rout, and the left under Warwick was cut to pieces. Warwick himself fell, and with him his brother Montague.

Barnet, 14th April.

Even while the fight at Barnet was going on, Margaret of Anjou landed at Weymouth. The western Lancastrians were in arms, and even the fatal news from Barnet did not prevent their gathering in force. A fortnight later Edward had flung his force into the west, and was almost in touch with Margaret. Some very hard marching ensued before the Lancastrians turned to bay at Tewkesbury, under the command of the last of the Beauforts, Edmund of Somerset. The battle fought on 3rd May ended in the complete rout of the Lancastrians. Young Prince Edward was killed in the flight; if, as the later annalists declared, he had been murdered in cold blood by Richard and Gloucester, the fact would certainly have

Tewkesbury, 3rd May.

been recorded by contemporaries. Somerset took sanctuary, but was dragged out, and executed with several others after a form of trial. Margaret herself was taken prisoner. Oxford escaped to Scotland; Jasper Tudor fled to Brittany with his nephew Henry, the young earl of Richmond, who through his mother was left the head of the Beaufort family. The only living descendant of Henry IV. was the unlucky imbecile in the Tower; within three weeks of Tewkesbury it was announced that he, too, was dead. There was no man left with any colourable claim to dispute King Edward's title.

Death of Henry VI.

II. The Yorkist Monarchy: 1471-1485

The most brilliant and fascinating of modern historians has credited Edward IV. with the deliberate creation of an absolute monarchy in England. It may be doubted whether Edward ever troubled himself about reconstructing the constitution on monarchical lines—whether he had any more definite purpose than to get as much enjoyment and as little trouble out of life as he could manage. In 1471, at the age of thirty, he had annihilated Lancastrianism as a dynastic cause, and completely shattered the most powerful family combination that the country had ever known. He had done these things not because he was an ambitious prince, but because he did not choose to be thwarted, and when he could not get his own way without energetic action his energy was enormous for just so long as was necessary to attain the object of the moment. Having attained it he relapsed into carelessness until some other end presented itself which demanded a fresh display of energy. But what he had already done practically secured him absolute power unless he chose deliberately to invite the creation of an opposition by flagrant tyranny like King John, by blundering mismanagement like Henry III. or Henry VI., or by headstrong caprice like Edward II. and Richard III.

The 'New Monarchy.'

The power of the Crown had been held in check in the past almost entirely by powerful baronial combinations, or latterly by the control of the purse which parliament, the Commons, had

acquired; for a very long time the Church had been only a makeweight. But now, the Church counted for less than ever before; the huge confiscations under the series of sweeping attainders had rendered the Treasury all but independent of the Commons, and the old baronage had been very nearly wiped out. Edward himself, though entirely unscrupulous, was both too indolent and too clever to adopt the rôle of a bloodthirsty tyrant, too self-possessed to fall under the control of favourites, male or female, too good a man of business to indulge in the dangerous extravagance which had driven so many of his predecessors to irritate the Commons by ceaseless demands on their pockets. The practical result was that for the dozen years of his effective rule it was rarely necessary for him to call a parliament at all; the packing of the House of Commons during the last twenty years had materially diminished both the prestige and the self-respect of that assembly; for long past the king's Privy Council, through recurring emergencies, had been extending the sphere of its operations and absorbing judicial functions, and it had become an instrument entirely wielded by the Crown in the latter years, instead of being largely responsible to parliament as during the first fifty years of the Lancastrian period. The Wars of the Roses set back the premature development of the political power of the House of Commons for just so long as the Crown was able to live 'of its own' without taxation, or could avoid appealing for money except for purposes approved by the will of the country. Edward showed how the thing could be done; but the deliberate policy of establishing the power of the Crown was the work not of Edward IV. but of Tudor statesmanship.

Changed conditions.

After Tewkesbury, the only quarter in which Edward suspected danger was his brother Clarence, whose shiftiness and ambition were both apparent. The younger brother Richard of Gloucester had been throughout unfailingly loyal. The marriage of Richard to Warwick's second daughter Anne, the widow of the slain Edward, Prince of Wales, was almost the only event of importance for some time after the king had crushed his enemies. The Neville inheritance was virtually divided

War projects.

between the king's two brothers. In 1472 Edward revived the idea of a French war, and sought to supplement his income by procuring a handsome subsidy for that purpose from parliament. Parliament judiciously confined the grant to expenditure on the war; but an additional grant without the proviso was procured in the following spring, on the grounds that the new method of assessment introduced was not bringing the money in so quickly as was needed. Edward also added to his pocket-money by the introduction of 'benevolences,' demands addressed to private persons for money as an expression of good-will to the king, with the obvious imputation that refusal would be taken as implying ill-will to the king. But the war did not come off. The theory had been that it was to be undertaken in conjunction with Charles of Burgundy; and Charles, after his erratic fashion, made a separate peace with King Louis because he had taken up projects of ambition in another direction.

In 1474, however, Charles was reverting to the idea of a combination for the crushing of King Louis, and entered upon a treaty with King Edward for that purpose. England was to put an army into France by the following midsummer; Charles was to aid in the recovery of the French crown. Edward doubtless reckoned to make his profit out of the event whatever happened. He would take over an army, and would see that it was efficient. If there should be fighting, he was not likely to meet with any commander so skilful as himself. If he got a satisfactory solatium without the trouble of fighting so much the better; and thus it befell. In 1475 Edward sailed for Calais with an admirably equipped force, having first addressed his demands to Louis in such elegant language that Philippe de Commines could hardly believe that any Englishman was responsible for the document. Charles, engaged elsewhere, was not ready to co-operate; Edward had a ready-made excuse provided for admitting separate negotiations. Louis negotiated; in other words, when Edward had advanced to St. Quentin, the French king offered him a bribe. Edward accepted it on the spot. Louis should pay him £15,000 down and £10,000 a year for life, and the dauphin should marry

The French expedition, 1475.

the princess royal, Elizabeth. The agreement was ratified by the Treaty of Pecquigny; to the rage of Charles, the disgust of honourable men in general, and quite to the satisfaction of King Edward, who boasted of the 'tribute' which he had compelled France to pay. The bargain was clinched by the handing over to Louis, for another £10,000, of Margaret of Anjou, from whom Louis got his own price—Margaret's rights to succession in Anjou, Provence, and Lorraine.

The English, who had anticipated a campaign after the precedent of Agincourt, were very ill-pleased at the use that had been made of the liberal supplies granted in that expectation; but Edward could afford to ignore such displeasure. The country was being decently governed without disorder, and with less taxation of the ordinary citizens than had been the case for more than a generation. Edward's professed zeal for order provided him with an additional source of revenue in the exaction of fines for legal irregularities. Also he encouraged the national commerce, made profitable bargains with foreign traders, and especially the Hanseatic League, for the bestowal of commercial privileges, and did a good deal of actual trading on his own account, so that he kept his treasury full without laying burdens on his subjects in general.

The Treasury.

At the end of 1477 the king turned on his brother Clarence who, on the death of his wife, Isobel Neville, indulged in over-ambitious projects of marriage, first with the daughter and heiress of Charles of Burgundy who had just been killed at Nanci, and, when that was vetoed, with the sister of King James III. of Scotland. Always, and with good reasons, suspicious of Clarence's loyalty, Edward resolved that he was too dangerous to be allowed to live. Before a parliament called for the purpose and for no other, Clarence was attainted by the king in person; the Commons petitioned for his execution, and he died in prison; the common rumour declared that he had been drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine.

Clarence, 1477.

In the years that remained, Edward confined his political activities to playing with Scottish politics. The incapacity of King James III., and the ambitions of his brother the Duke of

Albany, offered opportunities for intrigue. By taking part with Albany against the king he induced the Scots to buy peace by the surrender of Berwick, which had been handed over to them by the Lancastrians in order to secure their aid in the Wars of the Roses. The treaty and the military operations which led up to it were conducted by Richard of Gloucester, who won thereby more credit than had often fallen to the lot of English diplomatists in Scotland.

Scotland, 1481.

At the end of 1482 Edward was again roused to contemplate war with France. Duchess Mary of Burgundy had married the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, the son of the emperor Frederick III., instead of the duke of Clarence. In this year she died, leaving a very youthful son, Philip, who was thus duke of Burgundy, and a daughter Margaret. Louis proposed to repudiate the betrothal of his son to Edward's daughter Elizabeth, and to marry him to this child, taking as her dower the provinces in France of which he had succeeded in depriving her grandfather. Edward was sufficiently angry to call a parliament and obtain supplies, which were to be increased unless Louis listened to reason. But the opportunity for war never came. Edward's dissipations had ruined an originally magnificent physique; he was attacked by a sharp illness, collapsed suddenly, and died after a fortnight's sickness in April 1483, when he was not yet forty-one, leaving behind him two young sons, Edward, Prince of Wales, and Richard, duke of York, besides five daughters.

Death of Edward IV., 1483.

King Edward's sudden death had not permitted him to make any arrangements for the carrying on of the government. His brother, Richard of Gloucester, was in the north. His twelve-year-old heir was at Ludlow, in the hands of Queen Elizabeth's brother and son, Rivers and Grey. The queen was in London, though leading members of the council were unfriendly to the Woodville connection. Obviously there would be a contest for the protectorship or regency between Gloucester and the queen; if she knew how to act vigorously the advantages of the position were all in her favour; if she did not, they might very easily be lost. She

The Queen and the Duke, May.

failed. Some weeks were allowed to pass before the young king and his guardians started for London. They were overtaken on the way by Gloucester and Buckingham hastening from the north. Next morning Gloucester arrested Rivers and Grey, dismissed the young king's retinue, and marched upon London with the boy in his hands. The alarmed queen took sanctuary at Westminster with the rest of the royal children. Her younger brother and her eldest son, the Marquis of Dorset, fled from the country; the council accepted Gloucester as protector of the realm.

Duke Richard.

The unlooked-for accident of Edward's sudden death had subjected Gloucester to a temptation which he could hardly have seriously contemplated before. In the natural course the Prince of Wales would have reached manhood long before his father could have been expected to die; it was the merest accident that children only stood between Gloucester and the throne. Richard's attitude had always been strictly loyal; he did not as yet enjoy that evil reputation which his own later misdeeds and the fictions of Tudor chroniclers have attached to his earlier years. But when he elected to usurp the crown he flung aside every moral scruple and defied, though perhaps he did not silence, his conscience.

Richard strikes.

He began at once to sound the magnates. He could count upon Buckingham, and could promise to some others the price which would secure them. But he soon found that there was a group who would not play the traitor, and were already disturbed when the protector lodged the young king in the Tower. Richard struck before suspicion had had time to become active. The story is dramatically told by Sir Thomas More, who undoubtedly had it from Cardinal Morton, who was himself present. At a meeting of the council the lords were amazed by a sudden outburst of the protector, who declared fiercely that sorcery and witchcraft were being practised against him, denounced Lord Hastings and others who were there present as traitors, summoned the guard who were at the door awaiting his call, executed Hastings summarily in the courtyard, and dispatched Bishop Morton and two other councillors to prison.

Resistance was paralysed; no man dared to raise hand or voice, for London was overawed by the crowd of Richard's and Buckingham's armed retainers. Elizabeth in sanctuary at Westminster was weak enough to deliver her second son Richard of York to Richard of Gloucester, to join his brother in the Tower. A week later a sermon was preached at Paul's Cross which was in effect a manifesto declaring that all the late king's children were illegitimate, on the ground that his marriage had been invalid because he was precontracted. The sermon was received with an ominous silence. Nevertheless, three days later, Buckingham procured from an irregularly assembled parliament a petition inviting Gloucester to assume the crown as the only legitimate heir of the dead king, since Clarence's attainder barred his children from the succession. Richard graciously accepted the petition, and on 6th July, not two months after his first entry into London, he was crowned king with the acquiescence and in the presence of practically every magnate. Rivers and Grey had been beheaded some days earlier. The dukedom of Norfolk was the reward bestowed upon one of Richard's principal accomplices, Lord Howard.

King Richard III., July.

Immediately after the coronation King Richard III. started on a progress through the midlands. Before he had been long gone it became known that the young princes in the Tower had disappeared. No official statement was made; some years later the actual perpetrators of the crime confessed that the boys had been smothered, and the story was confirmed almost two centuries after by the discovery of the spot where the skeletons lay buried. No serious attempt was made to dispute the universal belief that the blackest of murders had been committed, though there were the usual rumours that one of the boys had escaped and would one day be brought forward to claim his own.

Murder of the princes.

It is true that Richard was scarcely secure upon his usurped throne so long as either of his nephews was alive, whereas the nieces were not likely to cause serious trouble. But although the country had become fairly inured to violence by the merciless executions which had accompanied the Wars of the Roses, there

were not many people robust enough to accept with equanimity the cold-blooded murder of two innocent boys. Apart from the moral repulsion which it inspired, it terrified Richard's own adherents by proving that he was ready to go to any lengths of treachery and ruthlessness. They recognised that he could be as sudden in his action as unscrupulous in his dissimulation; after the murder no man could trust Richard, and Richard could trust no man.

Buckingham's rebellion.

The first to turn was Buckingham, who had done more than any one else to help Richard to the throne. The duke himself was doubly descended from Edward III.; his mother was a Beaufort, while the Staffords descended from the daughter of Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, the youngest son of Edward III. Evidently, however, when he turned against Richard he had no idea of seeking the throne for himself. The plan which he concocted, probably in conjunction with Bishop Morton who had been placed in his charge, was intended to reconcile the Yorkists and Lancastrians and to unite them for the overthrow of King Richard. The idea was to marry the representative of the family of John of Gaunt to the representative of the family of Lionel of Clarence. The actual senior representative of the house of Lancaster was the earl of Westmorland, who descended through his mother from the eldest full sister of Henry IV., but no claim was ever actually asserted on behalf of this branch. The Lancastrians chose to regard as their representative young Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, who through his mother was the head of the Beauforts. As representative of the house of York, the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. was recognised. Henry of Richmond was in exile in Brittany, whither his uncle, Jasper of Pembroke, had fled with him after Tewkesbury. The scheme, then, was to rise on the joint behalf of Richmond and Elizabeth, and marry them as soon as the insurrection succeeded. Yorkists who had already begun to think of a rising on behalf of Edward V., and found the ground cut from under their feet by the murder, were ready to join in the new scheme which would unite the Lancastrians to them. Within three months of Richard's

coronation this plot was being matured, with Buckingham as its chief promoter.

The scheme miscarried. The rising was fixed for the middle of October, in order to give Henry time to collect ships and men. Before the date arrived, Richard got wind of the conspiracy. When the appointed day came he had collected troops; the insurgents rose, but Henry was prevented from sailing by an adverse tempest, and Buckingham who had been raising the Welsh marches was blocked behind the Severn, which rose in flood, swept away the bridges and made the fords impassable. The rest of the insurgents were easily dispersed, the duke's army broke up, and he himself fled in disguise, but was betrayed and executed forthwith. When Richmond reached Plymouth he found the cause already lost, and sailed back to Brittany. **The Failure, October.**

If Richard could not depend on Buckingham there was certainly no one else on whom he could rely except mere creatures of his own. He adopted the only available course, of endeavouring to conciliate public opinion. He called a parliament in January 1484. He not only abstained from asking for money, but sanctioned an Act declaring that benevolences were illegal, and another designed to check intimidation and corruption in the administration of justice. He procured an Act of succession, confirming it to his young son Edward, a boy of eleven. That he was not altogether unsuccessful was proved when the parliament, unasked, renewed to him the grant for life of tonnage and poundage, a standing duty on all imports, which had been similarly conferred previously on Henry VI. and on Edward IV. As a matter of course, there was also a sweeping Act of attainder levelled against all those who had been concerned in Buckingham's rebellion; but even here there was an effort at conciliation, when, after confiscation, a pardon was offered to several of the leaders. **Parliament, Jan. 1484.**

Shortly afterwards, the king suffered a severe blow in the death of the Prince of Wales, to whom he would seem to have been passionately devoted. By this he was driven to acknowledging as his heir-presumptive John de la Pole, the eldest son of his sister

Elizabeth and the duke of Suffolk. To have acknowledged any right of succession in the children either of Edward IV. or Clarence would have implied that his own title to the throne was invalid.

The country, however, had been bribed into nothing more than a superficial acquiescence in Richard's rule. The scheme so disastrously inaugurated by Buckingham's rebellion remained a standing menace. An attempt to capture Henry in Brittany failed, and Henry himself escaped to the French court, which became the headquarters of conspiracy. Louis XI. was dead, the boy Charles VIII. was king, and the regency was in the hands of his able sister Anne of Beaujeu who encouraged the English refugees. The open support of France for the malcontents counteracted the formal recognition of King Richard by the Archduke Maximilian and by the court of Spain, where the crowns of Castile and Aragon had just been united by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon to Isabella of Castile. Fears of an invasion drove the king to a heavy expenditure on armaments, exhausted the treasury, and, since he dared not again call parliament, drove him to those unpopular expedients for raising money, benevolences and forced loans, which had so recently been condemned. The country was in a state of grievous unrest; it was certain that disaffection was being widely disseminated, yet its authors were never betrayed. It is at least possible that Richard was dreaming of seeking security by the repulsive device of marrying his niece Elizabeth, on the death of his wife which befell in March 1485. The belief that this was the case was so strong, and the idea was so palpably repugnant, that Richard was compelled to repudiate it publicly as a baseless slander. But why he did not take the much more effective step of spoiling the scheme of her marriage to Richmond by providing her with an insignificant husband remains a mystery.

Danger brewing.

Richard spent the spring and summer of 1485 in nervous anticipations of an invasion by Henry of Richmond accompanied by a general rising. Of the three most powerful magnates in the country, Norfolk, Northumberland, and Lord Stanley, the second husband of Richmond's mother

The situation in 1485.

Margaret Beaufort, he could count upon Norfolk, and he thought he could count upon Northumberland; while for Stanley he held a hostage in the person of his son, who would promptly be put to death, as was well understood, if Stanley showed signs of treason. But of no other man, save the few who owed such importance as they possessed to Richard himself, could there be any certainty that he would not join the expected invader.

At the end of July Richmond was ready to strike. On 7th August he landed with a small force at Milford Haven; the Tudor could count upon Welsh support. With him were many exiles of both parties, Lancastrian and Yorkist. Reinforcements began to come in; in a week he was at Shrewsbury, though only small detachments trickled in to join his army. Richard's forces were mustering at Leicester; Stanley was raising Cheshire and Lancashire, ostensibly to join the king. Richmond was calculating upon desertions to his standard at the last moment, and upon his adversary being paralysed by a like expectation. On 20th August the two armies lay only two miles apart, near Bosworth; Stanley with a third army was near at hand, but neither Richard nor Henry could be certain which side he would take when the crisis came. Next day, though Richard's numbers were much the greater, Henry moved to the attack. When the battle was joined, Northumberland commanding Richard's rear held off; others of his troops hung back, but there was hot fighting, headed on the royalist side by Richard and Norfolk, until Stanley decisively turned the scale by flinging himself on Richard's flank. The royalists broke and fled; not so Richard, who refused to leave the field and fought with desperate courage till he was overwhelmed, beaten down and slain. Norfolk fell with him. Probably only some hundreds of their followers were killed, and not more than a hundred of Henry's partisans. The coronet which Richard had worn on his helmet was picked up on the field and set by Lord Stanley upon the head of the victor, who was acclaimed on the spot as Henry VII.

Bosworth, 21st Aug. 1485.

CHAPTER XV. THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

I. ENGLAND

THE second half of the reign of Edward III. and the opening of the reign of Richard II., the years from the Black Death to the Peasant Revolt, the years which set the Ordinance of the Staple in active operation, form an epoch in the social, commercial, and industrial development of the country; they are the starting-point of the new order which was growing up during the following century and matured under the Tudors. But the events named, though they are great landmarks, were not so much causes of the new order as is perhaps generally supposed. If there had been no Black Death and no Peasant Revolt, the new agricultural order would probably have arrived all the sooner. It was coming in the natural course; it was thrown back by the cataclysm; and its progress was renewed when the last volcanic disturbance had come to an end, and the alarms which it generated died away. The Ordinance of the Staple was a symptom of the growth of commercial enterprise which had hardly existed before the reign of Edward I., but was becoming active during his reign. English merchants were learning to push their way into foreign markets, instead of being content to let the foreigner come and buy what he chose. But in the same period commercial enterprise was also taking on a new form. Englishmen were beginning not only to produce raw material for foreign markets, but to compete with the foreign manufacturer in the home market and to seek to compete with him in other countries. Edward I. had taught the merchants, if we may so express it, to think nationally instead of locally, to organise on behalf of their common interests rather than of their local rivalries. In respect

Coming of a New Order.

Agrarian.

Commercial.

of the staple products, Edward III. had given their organisation almost the character of a state institution; in respect of the new products which were not affected by the Ordinance of the Staple, they presently began to organise themselves on similar lines. In 1404 the Merchant Adventurers received from Henry IV. the charter which gave to their organisation a controlling authority in respect of manufactured goods corresponding to that of the merchants of the staple in respect of the staple goods; and this development was directly due to the vigorous expansion of the clothmaking industry which had hitherto been confined only to the roughest kind of cloths, while for everything of a superior character the country had depended on the expert weavers of the Low Countries.

The Rural Problem.

To deal first with the changes which took place among the rural population. The parliament of landowners after the peasant revolt expressed a great determination to surrender none of the rights of the landowner as against the villein. But the Statute of Labourers itself and the legislation of the reign of Richard II. were directed not so much to riveting the bonds of villeinage as to restricting the liberties of the actual labouring class—the class who obtained their living to a great extent as labourers for wages. The superior villein was not a labourer for wages, but, having a holding of thirty acres or it might be more, was quite likely to be an employer of labour himself; as such, low wages were entirely in his interest. If labour were tolerably cheap his lord would prefer a low money rent to service. If labour were dear the prosperous villein would have to pay high wages out of his own pocket, and would find his lord refusing to commute his own forced services for a reasonable rent. The solidarity of these two sections of the population was broken up. The freeholder and the holder in villeinage as such ceased to identify their interests with those of the cottar or the landless labourer. The division of the whole social body into two antagonistic groups, the upper and the lower class, which had seemed to characterise the peasant revolt, passed away.

The trouble, as we saw in a previous chapter, had arisen in great part out of a shortage of labour, a demand for labour which

was out of proportion to the supply. Presently the landowners realised that with diminished population there was no necessity for keeping under cultivation so much land as before the Black Death. They found they could turn the land which had gone out of cultivation to better account at very little expense by raising sheep on it, for which very little labour was required. This helped to reduce the demand for labour until it corresponded with the supply, and wages became normal without the intervention of the law. At the same time there was a tendency to the consolidation of demesne lands. For the purposes of a sheep-run it was not convenient to have scattered acre and half-acre strips. The lords acquired contiguous instead of scattered strips by a process of exchange with the tenants. But as the fifteenth century went on, there was an increasing inducement for the landlord to go further and actually substitute pasture for tillage, because the market for wool was constantly increasing. Thus before the fall of the house of York these two things had happened; the supply of labour had become greater than the demand, so that rural unemployment and low wages were setting in, and, on the other hand, the agricultural interest was already coming to demand protection against the foreigner as the condition without which it did not pay to keep land under the plough. Already it was being argued that the diminution of tillage was destroying the breed of men to whom England had owed all her military triumphs. In the reign of Edward IV. we come upon the first corn law prohibiting the importation of corn at any port where the price of home-grown corn was less than six-and-eightpence. Down to that time the interests of the consumer had habitually prevailed; when there had been duties on corn, they had been upon its export, in order to keep the home price from rising.

Tillage and pasture.

The first corn law.

As to the status of the small holder it is sufficient to say that fifty years after the peasant revolt villeinage and forced labour had very nearly disappeared. The villein became a copyholder paying a rent. The term copyholder arose because the evidence of the tenure was contained in the copy of court roll, its entry in the enrolment of the

Disappearance of villeinage.

proceedings of the lord's 'customary court.' The copyhold gave permanence of tenure; the landlord could not eject the copyholder or his heirs or assigns so long as the rent was paid. But the copyholder remained politically distinct from the freeholder; he did not acquire the rights possessed by the latter of voting in the shire court.

Protection, the exclusion or restriction of the introduction of foreign produce by means of tariffs, with the object of enabling the home producer to secure an adequate profit, was only beginning to come into play, because foreign products were only beginning to compete with home products in the home market. Hitherto what the foreigner brought to England had been what Englishmen did not produce for themselves. Imports were taxed, but the purpose of the taxation was not protection; it was the provision of revenue that was aimed at, or occasionally the infliction of injury upon a hostile country, or a form of pressure to be relaxed in return for concessions on the part of the foreigner. Tariffs were an application to the foreigner of the principle that the privilege of being allowed to trade must be purchased by the payment of a toll to the lord. Locally the principle appears in the market fees pocketed by the lords of the manor, the Crown, or the borough authorities where charters had transferred to the borough the previous rights of the lord or of the Crown. Just as the outsider, the foreigner in the old sense, had to pay for admission to the market, so the alien had to pay for admission into England. Against foreign competition protection took a different form. As a producer the foreigner was not a competitor. Protection was applied to prevent him from competing as a distributor, not by taxing his goods, but by forbidding him to sell at all except in bulk.

The purpose of tariffs.

But with the development of a manufacturing industry in England competing with the foreign cloth manufacturer another method of self-protection was adopted. An additional duty was not imposed upon the importation of the foreigner's goods at the ports, but the duty upon the export of wool became protective in character, that is, it was levied with the

Taxes on exports.

express object of keeping down the cost of the raw material for the English producer and increasing it for the foreign producer. The English wool-grower had his market restricted for the benefit of the English woollen manufacturer. As he still had a profitable market for all the wool that he could grow, according to mediæval theory he had no ground of complaint—he was only barred from obtaining an excessive profit. The demand for English wool was so much in excess of the supply that even until the last quarter of the sixteenth century the process of converting tillage into pasture went on almost continuously in spite of legislation directed against it, because the supply never caught up with the demand. The position presents us with a curious complication of economic arguments. The profits of the wool-grower were reduced in order to increase the profits of the cloth-maker by enabling him to produce more cheaply, not by enabling him to raise his prices; but the wool-grower was still able to make such handsome profits that the constant increase of wool-growing constituted a social danger which became acute even before the fifteenth century was ended.

The first corn law, checking the import of corn in order to maintain home prices, did not come till the reign of Edward IV., but a hundred years earlier in the first years of Richard II. we have the first appearance of legislation intended to promote English shipping by the restriction of foreign competition. The Navigation Acts of Richard's reign introduced prematurely the idea of confining imports and exports to English bottoms or to the ships of the exporting or importing countries; there were to be no intervening carriers. At a later stage it became the object of Navigation Acts to transfer the main carrying trade of the world from the Netherlands to England; but this idea of appropriating the carrying trade was hardly active until the seventeenth century; in the fifteenth century the utmost that was thought of was to encourage the English to do their own carrying. And the motive was not even a commercial one. The military importance of the command of the narrow seas had been recognised after a fashion by King John, and quite definitely by Edward I. It formed part of the settled

Navigation Acts.

policy of Edward III., and its insufficiency had been proved in the latter years of the reign when the combination of French and Castilian fleets cut the English off from Gascony and endangered the domination of the Channel itself. The real object, therefore, of the early Navigation Acts was to foster shipping in order to ensure a fighting ascendency on the seas; they were the expression not so much of a commercial as of a naval policy. The object in view was not the increase of English trade in general or the prosperity of shippers, but the provision of the material for fighting fleets.

The whole English attitude of mind towards the foreigner is admirably illustrated by what might almost be called an imperialist manifesto in rhyme dating about the middle of the fifteenth century, and entitled *A Libell of English Policie*, in which the warmest praise is lavished upon Edward III. and Henry V. for their devotion to the principle of maintaining the command of the seas, and extreme hostility is manifested to the importers of foreign goods who induce the people of England to waste their substance on all manner of foreign trumperies which nobody ought to want, while they drain the country of silver and useful things like wool and tin, and incidentally take the bread out of the mouth of the English workman.

The 'Libell of English Policie.'

The mere unreasoning insular hostility to the foreigner for no reason except that he is a foreigner was exemplified especially in the peasant revolt, when communities of foreign traders shared with lawyers, landowners, and unpopular politicians the hostility of rioters. The sentiment was especially strong in London, the principal headquarters of the foreign associations. But there was also a hostility which was by no means wholly irrational and insular. The foreigners had been conceded their trading rights, partly because the government made money out of them, partly because it believed that the community benefited by their admission, and partly by way of bargain. Corresponding protection and liberty of trading were to be given to the English merchants in the trading centres to which the privileges had been extended. The great

Causes of hostility.

commercial cities of Germany made these arrangements before the English merchant had applied himself to the commerce of which the Hanseatic towns held the monopoly in their own hands. When at the end of the fourteenth century the English merchants began to push themselves into the Hanseatic sphere of operations, every obstacle was placed in the way of their obtaining the corresponding privileges and liberties; the struggle with the Hansa being particularly acute in the Baltic where the Merchant Adventurers were especially energetic in forcing an entry. Hence there was an ever-growing thirst for retaliation, for hitting back at the Germans by cancelling their privileges in England. In the fifteenth century the governments were not strong enough to respond to this demand. They needed the revenue which they drew from the German traders, and it would also appear that they required financing by the Germans, as their predecessors had been financed by the Lombards and still earlier by the Jews. German aid was forthcoming for Edward IV., because of his Burgundian policy. Hence at the very close of our period, Edward IV. enlarged instead of curtailing the privileges of the Hansa, and left the battle with them as a legacy for the Tudors.

Cloth-making.

The expansion of foreign commerce, which was one of the notes of the later Plantagenet period from Richard II. to Richard III., was largely the outcome of the development of the cloth-making industries. Even in the time of Richard II. what might be called the two great factions of the city of London were formed by the combinations of the 'clothing' gilds and the 'victualling' gilds respectively, each group seeking to dominate the government of London. By this time the old gild-merchant had in effect given place to the several craft-gilds in the control of trade. To the development of the clothing trade we may also in all probability attribute a process characteristic of the fifteenth and the first half of the sixteenth century, the decay of the boroughs, counterbalanced by the increasing prosperity of other towns. The evidence of the decay of the boroughs has led some investigators to infer a generally low standard of prosperity. But the fact would rather appear to be

that the boroughs drove the developing and most prosperous trades outside their own borders. They employed their legal powers of regulation under their charters in the interest of those groups which had acquired something like an oligarchical ascendency. The new men found that they could develop the new trades much more effectively when they were outside the jurisdiction of the boroughs. At an earlier stage, strict trade regulation had drawn the trade into the boroughs because of the greater security which it provided, lack of security having been the great obstacle to trade. But as general security increased, artificial regulation became itself an obstacle to enterprise, and the new trades betook themselves to centres where strict regulations could not be enforced, and especially where a group of families could not give themselves a legal monopoly. In spite of the decay of the boroughs, it is evident that the fifteenth century was a period of prosperity, at least in this sense that the aggregate wealth of the country was increasing. The mere fact too that villeinage disappeared in favour of copyholding, and that peasant grievances were of so little account in an essentially popular rising like Jack Cade's insurrection, showed that the poorer classes were tolerably well off. The great number of buildings, especially of a public and of an ecclesiastical character, erected at great cost by private individuals, proves that a great number of persons had accumulated much wealth.

Prosperity.

It seems curious that a period so much of which was occupied with the long and exhausting French war, and so much was broken by civil broils, should nevertheless have been a period of increasing wealth. But if the foreign wars were something of a strain upon the resources of England, they were fought upon French soil, and the fighting on English soil was of a less devastating and savage character than was usual in mediæval warfare. It is true that armies could not march up and down England without working a certain amount of destruction; it is true that the Lancastrian army of the north, when it marched upon London after Wakefield, dealt roughly with the cities on its line of march, the great northern road called Ermine Street. But the towns for the most part stood aside from the strife,

The wars.

and both the factions wished to be popular. It would have suited neither to drive neutrals on to the other side by wanton violence; it would have suited neither to alienate fatally the mercantile community whose common interests would have been jeopardised if the neutrality of the towns had not been on the whole respected. The Wars of the Roses shared with other civil wars in this country the characteristic of being very much less destructive than conflicts of a corresponding magnitude in any other country.

Vagrancy.

Nevertheless the Hundred Years' War and the Civil War between them had the effect of scattering up and down the country large numbers of discharged soldiers who were by no means disposed to turn their swords into ploughshares, who declined to dig, and were not at all ashamed to beg. Throughout the fifteenth century the 'sturdy vagabonds' were an increasing public nuisance; their ranks were joined by all those who preferred mendicancy with violence to honest work, and they were before long to be joined by those who would have preferred honest work at a living wage but were unable to get it. The problem of unemployment and relief, of differentiating between those whom it was a Christian duty to help and those who had no such claim, had not yet become acute; but its gravity was beginning to make itself felt. And hence even as early as the reign of Richard II. legislation ordered the sturdy vagrant to be returned to the hundred in which he was born, though perhaps at that time a factor in the passing of the law may have been the desire of the lords to prevent their villeins from escaping out of their jurisdiction. It was required also that the impotent poor, the poor who were physically incapable of maintaining themselves, should return to their own hundred, on the principle that the burden of maintaining them ought to fall upon their own proper locality.

Moral standards.

A certain moral deterioration was noted as characterising the fourteenth century as compared with the thirteenth. Its great figures were perhaps more picturesque; the stage properties, so to speak, were more magnificent, but there was less nobility, less of the spirit of self-sacrifice. Yet we

noted also that even the degenerating spirit of chivalry had much about it that was still admirable, even if it was somewhat superficial. A hesitation to subordinate the public good to personal ambitions, a habit of loyalty and courtesy, even a real magnanimity, were not wanting. The tone of a society in which such figures as those of Chaucer's knight and parson cannot have been unfamiliar, must have been on the whole healthy and kindly; if it begot revolutionary zealots like John Ball and bitter moralists like Langland, it begot also the kindliest and least cynical of humorists, Geoffrey Chaucer himself. Men had not lost their idealism even if the quality of their ideals was less pure.

But when we have passed into the fifteenth century it might almost be said that in the whole gallery of prominent Englishmen there are only two whom we can really admire, Henry V. and Bedford, and two more who command some respect, Richard of York and the Kingmaker, to whom we may perhaps add Cardinal Beaufort. The whole tone of public life was lower; the virtue of magnanimity had no place in it. The evil was characteristic not of England in particular but of Christendom in general. The corruption of the Church consequent upon the moral degeneration of the Papacy was spiritually destructive; a sordid materialism with its usual concomitant of stupid superstition permeated the community. Princes and prelates united to burn John Huss, ignoring the safe-conduct which had placed him in their power. Princes and prelates united to burn Joan of Arc. For the first time the stake found victims in England. The wholesale executions of the Wars of the Roses, the system of sweeping bills of attainder, had no precedent. The new abomination of impalement was introduced by the patron of learning and scholarship, himself no mean scholar, Tiptoft, earl of Worcester. Edward IV., as unscrupulous and at least as cold-blooded as his brother Richard, was probably the most cultured prince who had worn the crown of England for five hundred years. **Deterioration.**

For the age was one of intellectual progress severed from spirituality. The culture of Italy was penetrating into England, especially when it received a new impulse from the arrival of

fresh scholars, flying before the Turk, who captured Constantinople in the year 1453, which saw the English ejected from France.

Intellectual progress. The revival of learning was soon to bear a splendid harvest; schools and colleges were being founded for the dissemination of learning. Men were beginning to appeal from authority to reason, to be restive under the trammels which had been for centuries imposed upon intellectual speculation. A judge, Sir John Fortescue, discussed the theory of parliamentary powers; a bishop, Reginald Pecock, while he fell foul of the heresy of the Lollards, propounded the alarming theory that the criteria of reason ought to be applied to the doctrines of the Church, and even proposed the revision of the Apostles' Creed. The progressive spirit was just beginning to call mechanical invention to its aid; the printing press, first constructed in Germany about 1440, was set up in the precincts of Westminster Abbey by Caxton under the auspices of Edward IV. in 1477, and at least three other presses were started during the three years following.

The limitations of the movement, however, are marked by the fact that Chaucer had no real successors in England. Only by extreme courtesy can Lydgate and Occleve be granted admission into the immortal company of English poets. Poetry flourishes—poetry, that is, of dramatic or lyric quality—only in an atmosphere of idealism, and this was singularly lacking in the England of the fifteenth century. Only one work remains to show that the old spirit which gave their beauty to the Middle Ages was not dead, the *Morte Arthur* of Sir Thomas Malory, which was printed by Caxton—not the first work, but one of the first which issued from the new printing press. It is to Scotland, and most probably to a king of Scots, that we owe the truest poem of the century, the *King's Quair*. The critics have not yet succeeded in depriving James I. of the credit of its authorship.

II. Scotland

In the contemporary history of Scotland the records are so largely taken up with the raids and counter-raids on the English

border and the personal quarrels of the great lords, that it is by no means easy to disentangle what is of real historical importance; or indeed to distinguish between facts and fictions made current by the bias of the partisans of one or another of the great houses. It would be the natural desire of the political philosopher to be able to point to Scotland and say, 'This small and poor country preserved its liberties at the sword's point against a mighty foreign foe, and justified itself by achieving a higher state of political development than its neighbour.' Unhappily Scotland did not carry out the programme; she did not achieve a high state of political organisation; her parliament[1] acquired no effective power. For something like two hundred and fifty years after the death of the great liberator she lived in a perpetual state of storm and stress, as to which it can only be said that there was no single civil war so long and so bloody as the English Wars of the Roses. The normal course of political development was thrown violently back by the struggle for independence, and though Bruce saved the Scottish nation, he left it when he died in a position less advanced than that which it had reached when Alexander III. was cut off in his prime. It was only the intensity of the unconquerable spirit of nationalism which preserved Scotland from absorption by her mightier neighbour, yet that spirit did not even tend to bring about national unity or vigorous national organisation.

Effect of the struggle for independence.

Scotland was one, only in the sense that it was a region with an area permanently defined by geographical conditions which would not submit itself to the domination of England. That area itself fell into two divisions pretty definitely marked, the Highlands and the Lowlands; the former including also the western islands, the latter comprising the country south of the Forth and of Clyde mouth, with the coastal districts and open country on the east from the Forth estuary north to Aberdeen. The populations of those two regions respectively had little in common. The language of the Lowlands was the language of the North English; their customs were

Highlands and Lowlands.

[1] See Note IX., *The Scottish Parliament.*

akin to the customs of the North English, subjected to a very similar Norman modification, but resting upon a substantial Celtic substratum. The language of the Highlands was Gaelic, and its customs were wholly Gaelic. The Lowlands were organised upon the Norman feudal system modified by survivals of the Celtic clan system; the Highlands were organised upon the clan system with no appreciable modification. It can be maintained with something more than plausibility that the fate of Scotland turned upon the fundamental incapacity of the clan system for developing a central government from within, or adapting itself to a central government imposed from without. The Scots were never really merged in one nation until the clan system was broken up in the middle of the eighteenth century. This fundamental defect of Celticism prevented Celtic Ireland from achieving independence, and it prevented Celtic Scotland from either forming a separate kingdom or achieving supremacy over all Scotland. But neither in Ireland nor in Scotland did the Norman government of the English king or the Scots king achieve an effective control over the purely Celtic regions; purely Celtic we may call them, because in both cases the Scandinavian element was absorbed into the Celtic: in Scotland after the cession of the Hebrides by the king of Norway, following upon the battle of Largs, in the reign of Alexander III., and at an earlier date in Ireland.

Scotland in relation to England.

Scottish history in relation to England until the middle of the seventeenth century, is the history of Norman Scotland, feudal Scotland, the Lowlands; except in so far as at intervals there was some casual intriguing between the English court and the Lords of the Isles. It was on feudal Scotland that Edward I. attempted to set his heel; it was feudal Scotland that under Bruce's leadership wrenched itself free from the English grip; it was feudal Scotland that through all its endless and internal broils still bade defiance to the Southron, and ultimately sent its own king to ascend the English throne. That feudal Scotland did so was due to the Scottish commons more than to the nobility. The Scots folk had a personal independence of character and a vigour of self-

assertion rarely to be met with among mediæval peasantry; they were not to be driven. The English occupation had stirred their antagonism to a bitter intensity, and in no circumstances were they ever prepared to submit to an English domination. The commons, not the nobles, had struck for freedom under Wallace; to the commons far more than to the nobles King Robert had owed his success; and in after years, when Scottish nobles intrigued with England and occasionally received pensions from the English court, they were perfectly well aware that the men who would gather readily enough to their standards for a border foray, a feud with a rival, or even a contest with the Crown, would never join hands with an English invader. Scottish nobles might play at treason, but they probably did so the more readily because they knew that an English conquest could never be made good.

But in feudal Scotland feudalism approximated to the continental type very much more than in England, even the England of Henry VI. Had Robert I. had a successor of his own quality a strong monarchy based upon the support of the commons might have been established. But almost a century had passed before another strong ruler occupied the Scottish throne. Of the first eight-and-twenty years of his nominal reign David II. spent less than a dozen in Scotland. The remainder were passed partly in France while Edward Balliol was trying to retain his hold of the Scottish crown, and partly in captivity in England. During the fourteen years that remained to him he was occupied mainly in trying to scrape up the impossible ransom which was to pay for his release. The worthless son of the great king built nothing upon the foundations which his father had laid. When David died in 1370, the throne passed to his elder sister's son Robert, of the house of Fitzalan, who had held the hereditary stewardship of Scotland for many generations. The services of the father, Bruce's comrade, Walter the Steward, had won him the hand of the Bruce's daughter Marjory. Robert himself was past fifty when he became king, and though he had a creditable record behind him he had neither the natural political capacity

David II., 1329-1370.

The Stewarts: Robert II., 1370-1390.

nor the surviving vigour which might have enabled him to rule with a firm hand. To do so in any case would have been difficult enough for one who had been merely a prominent but not over-powerful noble. Robert was peaceable and well intentioned, but could exercise no appreciable control over the nobility, though his own position was tolerably secured by an exceedingly numerous progeny, legitimate and otherwise. He was not infrequently reduced to tendering apologies to the king of England for breaches of the border truce, by Douglases and others, notably the great *Chevauchée* (corrupted into Chevy Chase) or raid, which ended in the battle of Otterburn.

Again the position of the Crown, already weak enough, was not strengthened when Robert II. was succeeded in 1390 by his equally well-meaning and equally incompetent eldest son John, who took the name of Robert III., on account of the disagreeable precedents of John Lackland in England, John Balliol in Scotland, and John the Good of France. He too was long past fifty; his incompetence was so marked that his brother Robert, duke of Albany, had been appointed in preference to him to act as regent while their father was still alive. And Albany continued to hold the reins of government until his death in 1420 at the age of eighty-four, except for a brief interval when the crown prince David, duke of Rothesay, succeeded in displacing him. King Robert lived till 1406, when it is said that the news of the capture by the English of his son and heir James killed him. It is curious to observe that the second king of the house of Stewart, the family which has *par excellence* been associated with the theory of Divine Right, was of questionable legitimacy, along with all his brothers born of the same mother. Perhaps the most picturesque incident of his reign was the famous fight on the Inch of Perth between the thirty champions of the hostile clans Chattan and Kay. The identification of the second is something of a standing puzzle; the clan Chattan is that whose headship is disputed between Cluny Macpherson and M'Intosh of M'Intosh. The tale of that fight is the central incident of Scott's *Fair Maid of Perth*. It was a sort of application of the principle of ordeal by combat as

Robert III., 1390-1406.

expressing the judgment of Heaven upon the quarrel. According to tradition it established peace in the Highlands; but this could only mean that clan feuds for a time became a little less obtrusive.

The death or murder of the duke of Rothesay, Homildon Hill, and Shrewsbury, all fell within the reign of the monarch who as far as luck was concerned had gained nothing by changing his name from John to Robert. The tragic death of the eldest son was followed by the capture and captivity of the second. The death of the old king made no real difference to the governance of Scotland, which remained where it had generally been during his reign—in the hands of Albany. Though the duke was seventy years old when his brother died, he continued to prove himself an efficient, though by no means a great ruler. Conciliation was the keynote of his policy; avoidance of taxing the commons, avoidance of friction with the nobles, the smoothing down of friction between the nobles, and a general avoidance of open war with England. He could not press too energetically for the liberation of his son, who had been taken at Homildon Hill, without still more energetic pressure for the release of the young king; hence Murdoch himself was not set free till the year after Agincourt. It is at least doubtful whether the regent was at all anxious for the release of James. The nobles were allowed to follow their own devices, but Albany's activities were commonly exercised on the side of justice. We have seen the part played by the Scots in the Anglo-French war, unrestrained by the old regent.

The Regency of Albany, 1406-1420.

The great event of the regency was the battle of Harlaw, though perhaps its importance has been exaggerated. The greatest of the Highland magnates was the chief of the Macdonalds who claimed to be the Lord of the Isles as the descendant of that ancient hero of the race, Somerled. Even in the days of Alexander III. the Crown exercised a merely nominal jurisdiction in the regions where he held sway. In Bruce's day Angus of the Isles was the king's very good friend, and rendered good service at Bannockburn; but he remained virtually an independent prince, and more than one of the descendants of Somerled displayed an inclination to

The Red Harlaw, 1411.

make the independence still more complete. At the beginning of the fourteenth century Donald of the Isles laid claim to the earldom of Ross, having a title thereto sufficiently plausible but not conclusive; the counterclaim of the house of Albany was rather the stronger. The regent rejected Donald's plea, and in 1411 a great Highland host was collected, ostensibly to make the claim good. It is at least possible that Donald's ambitions aimed higher, and that he meant merely to use his claim to Ross as a means to establishing at least an independent Celtic dominion of the north. If so, the dream was dissipated at the 'Red Harlaw.' Donald with his great host marched upon Aberdeen; the earl of Mar, one of the Stewart kin, marched against him with a much smaller force. The battle was reputed to have been exceptionally bloody; both sides claimed to have won a great victory, but Donald retired. It may or may not be true that Harlaw actually saved Scotland from a permanent partition, or even a Celtic domination; at any rate, the danger never after it recurred in an acute form.

James I. in Scotland, 1424-1437.

Four years after Albany's death, King James I. was set free from his eighteen years' captivity and returned to Scotland. In the interval, under the regency of Murdoch of Albany, lawlessness had been increasing, and James with his personal experience of the methods of English government was bent upon establishing a strong controlling central authority. He struck fiercely at the house of Albany, which in his eyes was responsible for the misrule, and he imposed a heavy tax to raise his ransom money. His action in both respects was resented by the commons, with whom the house of Albany was popular. But James struck at every magnate who took the law into his own hands, which most of the magnates were habitually inclined to do. Consequently he was also unpopular with the nobility. He was a strong man who, if he had enjoyed a long life, might have succeeded in establishing a powerful monarchy. But he was assassinated in the thirteenth year after his return to Scotland, and until after the Union of the Crowns of Scotland and England every Stewart monarch was, like James himself, a minor when he succeeded to

the throne; all but one died violent deaths, and not one reached the age of fifty. Those facts sufficiently explain why the Crown was rarely able to achieve effective control, and was never able to retain it.

When James I: was murdered at Perth, James II. was six years old. Archibald, earl of Douglas, was made lieutenant of the kingdom, but did not apparently trouble himself with affairs of state. For some time there was a struggle for political ascendency, varied by occasional alliances, between the houses of Livingstone and Crichton. Douglas was succeeded in 1440 by his son William, whose vigorous character was viewed with equal alarm by Livingstone and Crichton; they united to compass his judicial murder. The vast Douglas estates were not forfeited, but passed to his great-uncle James, who had probably been a consenting party to his nephew's destruction. James Douglas died in 1443, and his son William became more dangerous than any of his predecessors. He began by uniting with Livingstone for the overthrow of Crichton, in which they were only partially successful; Crichton lost his ascendency, but was by no means crushed. By marriages and 'bands,' however, the power of the Douglas kin was rapidly augmented, the more effectively because they maintained their reputation for soldiership in a vigorous raid into the north of England in 1448. It seemed more than probable that if there should be a direct contest between the royal house and the greatest subject of the Crown, the Douglas would prove himself the stronger.

James II., 1437-1460.

Young King James, however, in 1449, at the age of eighteen, had become a personality to be reckoned with. Not as yet turning upon the Douglases, he struck at their allies the Livingstones in the winter of 1449-50; if the earl had suspicions they were lulled by the bestowal upon him of a solid portion of the Livingstone possessions. A year later the earl paid what might be called a state visit to Rome on the occasion of an ecclesiastical jubilee; on his return he found that the Crown had been vigorously enforcing its authority within his own earldom. Still there was no open breach, but rather an ostentatious if hollow public display of goodwill between

The fall of the Douglases.

the king and the earl. At the beginning of 1452 the appearance of amity was brought to a violent conclusion. James knew that Douglas had entered into a league with the Lord of the Isles and the 'Tiger' earl of Crawford, the greatest of the northern magnates. At an apparently friendly meeting, James urged Douglas to break the 'band'; Douglas refused, and James in a burst of fury slew him on the spot with his own hands. The brother and successor of the murdered earl at once broke into open rebellion, renouncing his allegiance, and sending his homage to Henry VI. of England. The king's act had produced something like the same effect as that of the murder of John of Burgundy at Montereau. Nevertheless James was able to make such an effective display of force that Douglas made his submission, whereupon he was ostensibly restored to the royal favour. For the two years during which the hollow reconciliation lasted, the king and the earl were both presumably preparing for a struggle. In 1455 the Crown was at open war with the Douglases. So vigorous was James that within a few months the great house of the Black Douglases was completely crushed, and its chiefs driven out of the country.

In the five years of life that were left to James before he was killed at the age of thirty by the explosion of a cannon at the siege of Roxburgh, he was giving promise that he would prove himself the most capable ruler that Scotland had known since Robert Bruce, with the possible exception of his own father. But again the promise was cut short, and once more a child of seven wore the crown of Scotland.

James III., 1460-1488. The Minority.

The overthrow of the Black Douglases had increased the estates and the power of the Crown enormously; none of the feudatories possessed the power of the fallen house, though another branch of it, the house of Angus, was to rise to great power upon its ruins. But when James III. succeeded to the throne, it was possible for a firm and judicious government to be conducted for some years, under the control of the queen-mother, of Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews, and of the earl of Angus. But in 1465 the last of the three and the best, Bishop Kennedy, was dead. For a time

the highest position in the country was captured by Sir Alexander Boyd, and during his brief ascendency was effected the marriage of the king to Margaret of Denmark, which resulted in the appropriation of the Orkneys and Shetlands to the Scottish Crown. The Boyds, objects of jealousy to the rest of the nobility, were overthrown by a coalition of their enemies, in which the young king would himself seem to have joined, in 1469. Still for another ten years the progress of events was not unsatisfactory. The confused relations with England, which had marked the period of the Wars of the Roses, were composed when Edward IV. became undisputed king after Tewkesbury; and on the other hand the Lord of the Isles, who had again been proving troublesome, was brought to submission.

But trouble was now to arise out of the character of the king himself. While he neglected affairs of state and was singularly lacking in the qualities required by a king who sought to control a turbulent and warlike baronage, his chosen society was that of lowborn favourites, architects, and musicians, not soldiers or statesmen. These tastes were viewed with contempt and disgust by contemporary public opinion; whereas the king's younger brothers, Alexander of Albany and Mar, possessed all the popular qualities. The king's jealous suspicions caused him suddenly to seize his two brothers and throw them into prison; Mar died almost immediately, and there were the usual rumours of murder. Albany broke prison and escaped to France, to become the inevitable figurehead for the plottings of discontented barons. In 1482 he reappeared on the scene intending to eject his brother from the throne, and having as allies the exiled Douglas and King Edward of England, to whom he had promised allegiance. The outcome has already[1] been referred to in the account of the reign of Edward IV. Peace was restored, but with it Berwick was restored to England. A second attempt to return on Albany's part came to nothing.

Alexander of Albany.

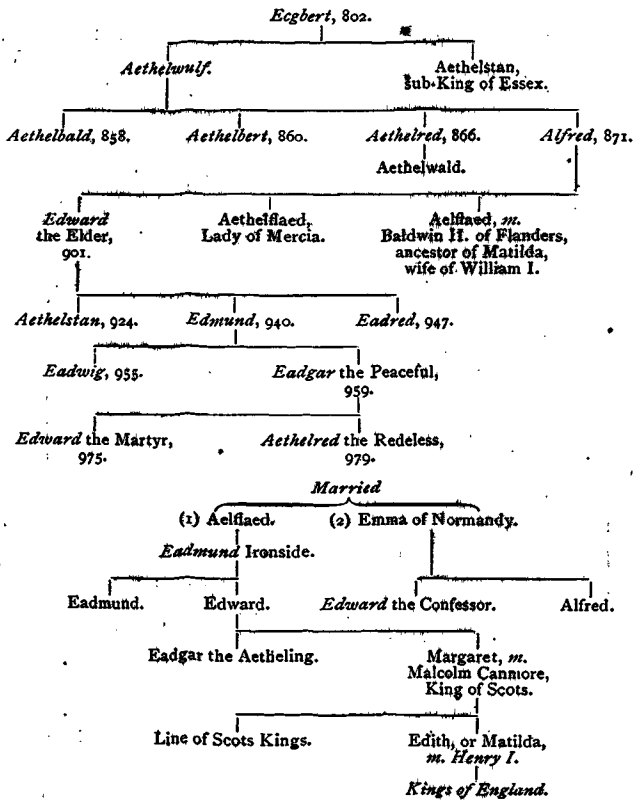
For Scotland we must very briefly carry our survey to a somewhat later date than the battle which made the Tudor king of England. If James had been a capable monarch the departure,

[1] See p. 465.

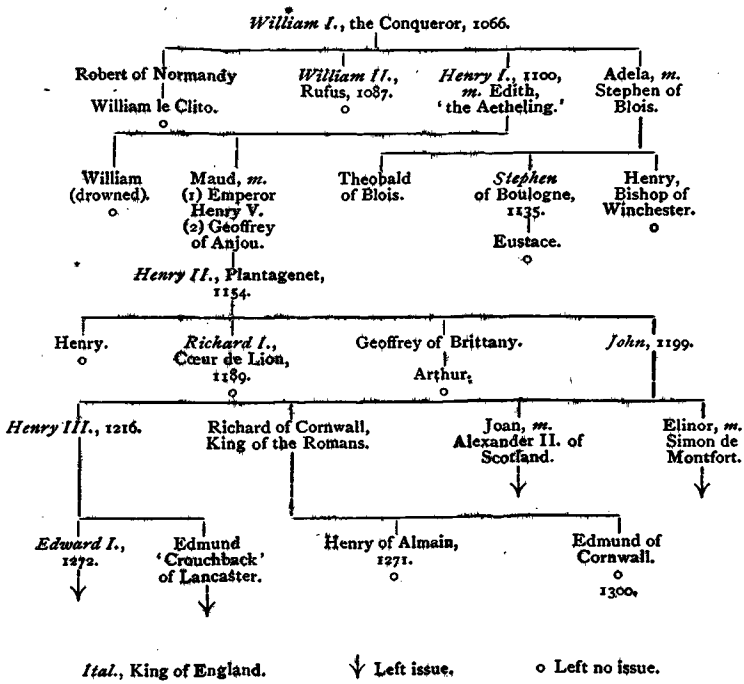
followed not long after by the death, of Albany would have been used for the organisation of his own supremacy. He failed to use his opportunity. In 1488 the nobles rose to overthrow an inefficient government and the ascendency of the favourites, making a figurehead of the young heir-apparent James, duke of Rothesay. The king's troops were routed at the battle of Sauchieburn, the king fled, but was discovered and murdered, and James IV., the fourth minor in succession, became king of Scots.

The end of James III., 1488.

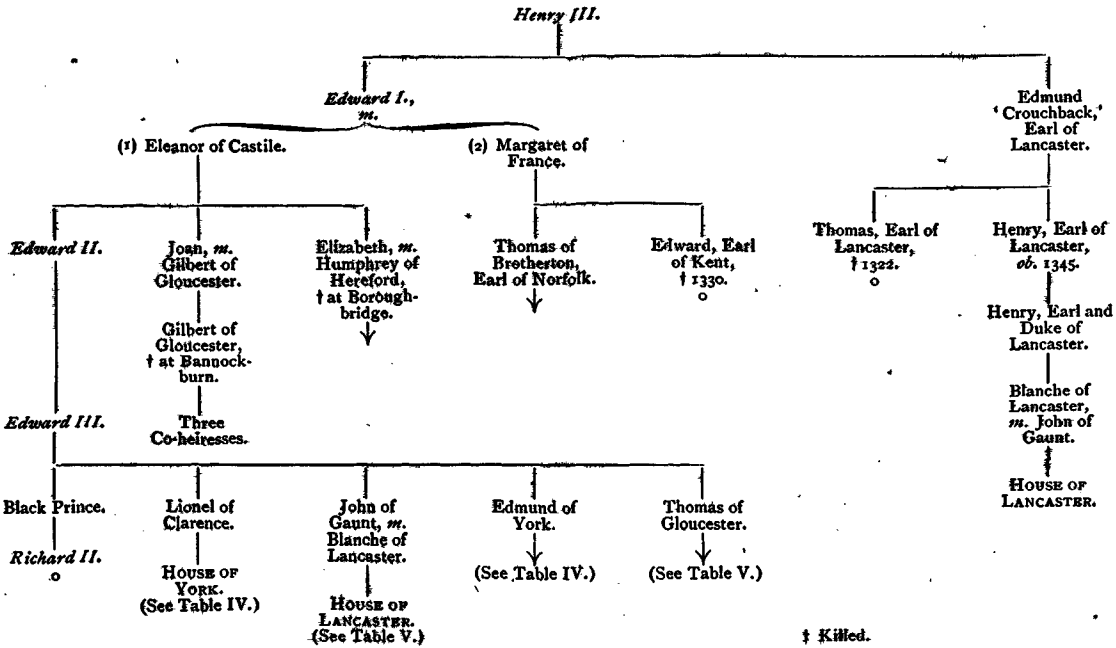
I. HOUSE OF WESSEX



II. THE NORMAN LINE AND THE EARLY PLANTAGENETS

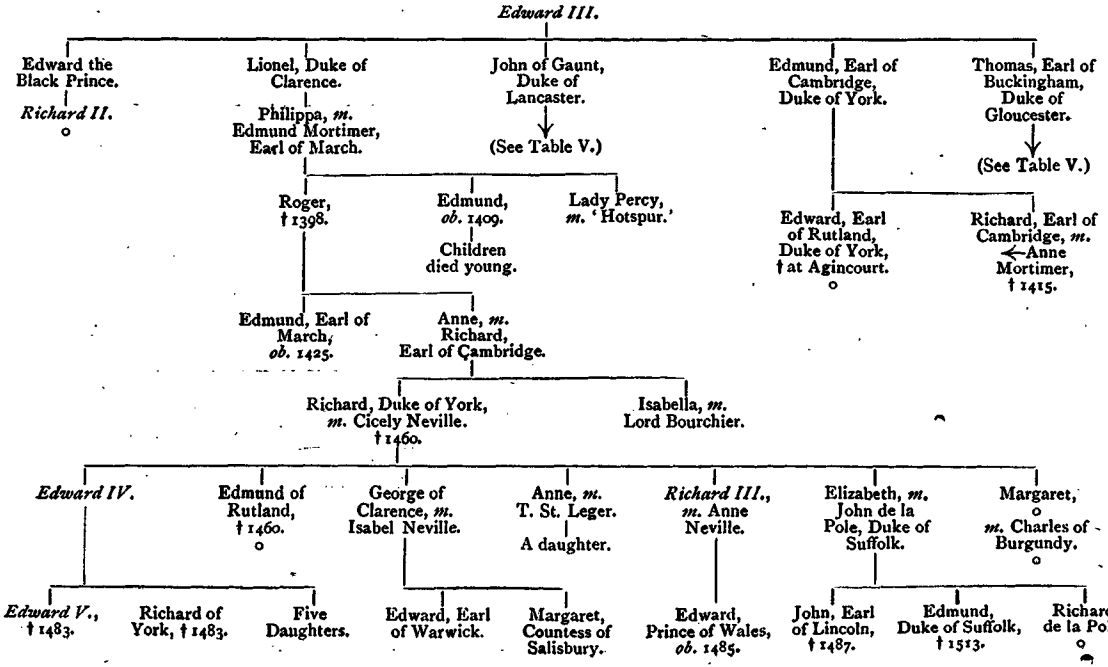


III. DESCENDANTS OF HENRY III. TO RICHARD II.


Henry III.
Edward I., m.
(1) Eleanor of Castile.
(2) Margaret of France.
Edmund 'Crouchback,' Earl of Lancaster.
Edward II.
Joan, m. Gilbert of Gloucester.
Elizabeth, m. Humphrey of Hereford, † at Boroughbridge.
Thomas of Brotherton, Earl of Norfolk.
Edward, Earl of Kent, † 1330.
Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, † 1322.
Henry, Earl of Lancaster, ob. 1345.
Gilbert of Gloucester, † at Bannockburn.
Henry, Earl and Duke of Lancaster.
Edward III.
Three Co-heiresses.
Blanche of Lancaster, m. John of Gaunt.
Black Prince.
Lionel of Clarence.
John of Gaunt, m. Blanche of Lancaster.
Edmund of York.
Thomas of Gloucester.
HOUSE OF LANCASTER.
Richard II.
HOUSE OF YORK. (See Table IV.)
HOUSE OF LANCASTER. (See Table V.)
(See Table IV.)
(See Table V.)
† Killed.

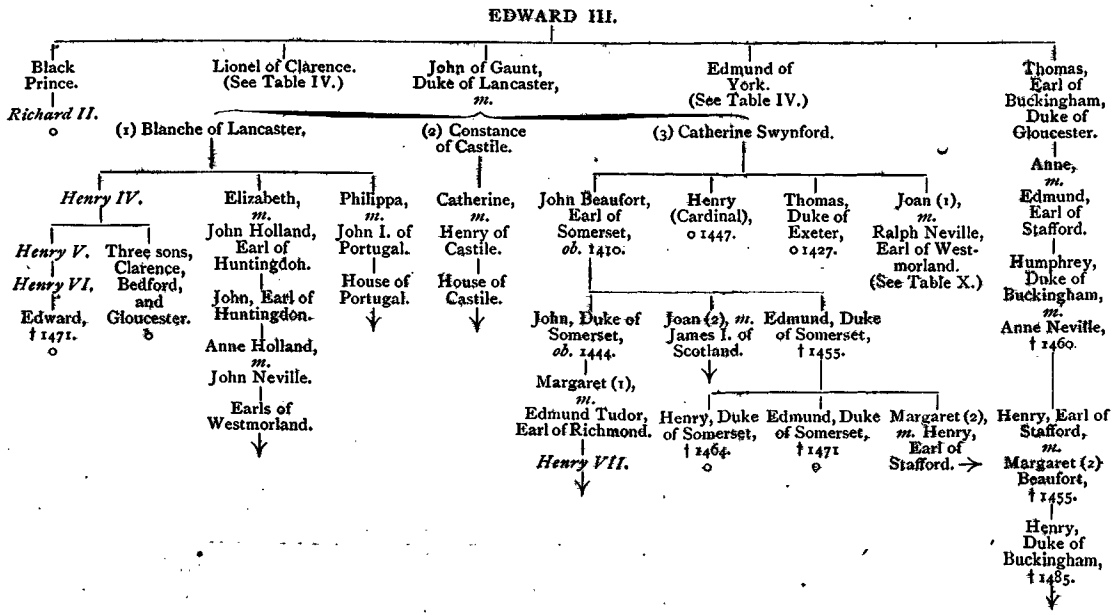
IV DESCENDANTS OF EDWARD III.

(1) House of York


Edward III.
Edward the Black Prince.
Richard II.
Lionel, Duke of Clarence.
Philippa, m. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March.
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.
(See Table V.)
Edmund, Earl of Cambridge, Duke of York.
Thomas, Earl of Buckingham, Duke of Gloucester.
(See Table V.)
Roger, † 1398.
Edmund, ob. 1409.
Children died young.
Lady Percy, m. 'Hotspur.'
Edward, Earl of Rutland, Duke of York, † at Agincourt.
Richard, Earl of Cambridge, m. Anne Mortimer, † 1415.
Edmund, Earl of March, ob. 1425.
Anne, m. Richard, Earl of Cambridge.
Richard, Duke of York, m. Cicely Neville. † 1460.
Isabella, m. Lord Bourchier.
Edward IV.
Edmund of Rutland, † 1460.
George of Clarence, m. Isabel Neville.
Anne, m. T. St. Leger.
A daughter.
Richard III., m. Anne Neville.
Elizabeth, m. John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk.
Margaret, m. Charles of Burgundy.
Edward V., † 1483.
Richard of York, † 1483.
Five Daughters.
Edward, Earl of Warwick.
Margaret, Countess of Salisbury.
Edward, Prince of Wales, ob. 1485.
John, Earl of Lincoln, † 1487.
Edmund, Duke of Suffolk, † 1513.
Richard de la Pole.

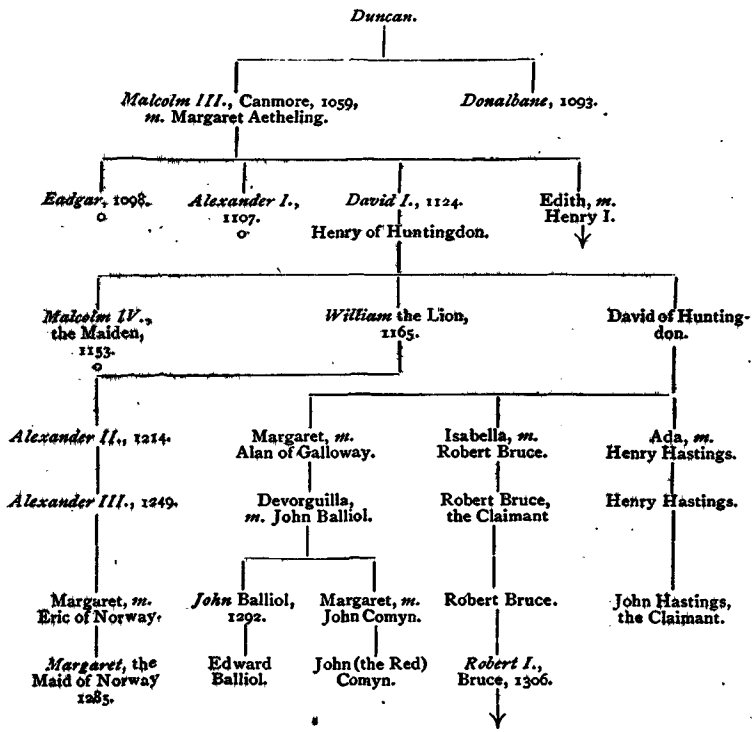
V. DESCENDANTS OF EDWARD III.

(2) LANCASTER, BEAUFORT, AND BUCKINGHAM


EDWARD III.
Black Prince.
Richard II.
o
Lionel of Clarence. (See Table IV.)
John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, m.
Edmund of York. (See Table IV.)
Thomas, Earl of Buckingham, Duke of Gloucester.
(1) Blanche of Lancaster,
(2) Constance of Castile.
(3) Catherine Swynford.
Henry IV.
Elizabeth, m. John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon.
Philippa, m. John I. of Portugal.
Catherine, m. Henry of Castile.
John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, ob. 1410.
Henry (Cardinal), o 1447.
Thomas, Duke of Exeter, o 1427.
Joan (1), m. Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland. (See Table X.)
Anne, m. Edmund, Earl of Stafford.
Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham, m. Anne Neville, † 1460.
Henry V.
Henry VI.
Edward, † 1471. o
Three sons, Clarence, Bedford, and Gloucester. ♂
John, Earl of Huntingdon.
Anne Holland, m. John Neville.
Earls of Westmorland.
House of Portugal.
House of Castile.
John, Duke of Somerset, ob. 1444.
Joan (2), m. James I. of Scotland.
Edmund, Duke of Somerset, † 1455.
Margaret (1), m. Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond.
Henry VII.
Henry, Duke of Somerset, † 1464. o
Edmund, Duke of Somerset, † 1471 ♀
Margaret (2), m. Henry, Earl of Stafford.
Henry, Earl of Stafford, m. Margaret (2) Beaufort, † 1455.
Henry, Duke of Buckingham, † 1485.

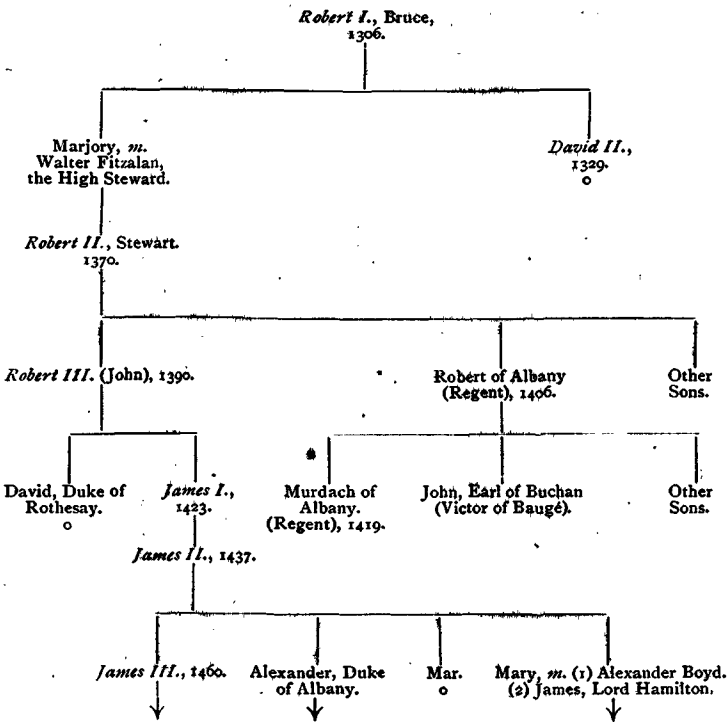
VI. SCOTTISH DYNASTIES

(1) From Duncan to Bruce

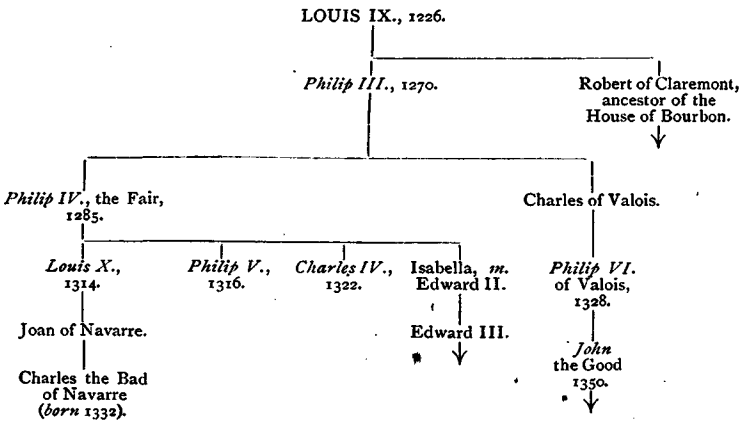


VII. SCOTTISH DYNASTIES

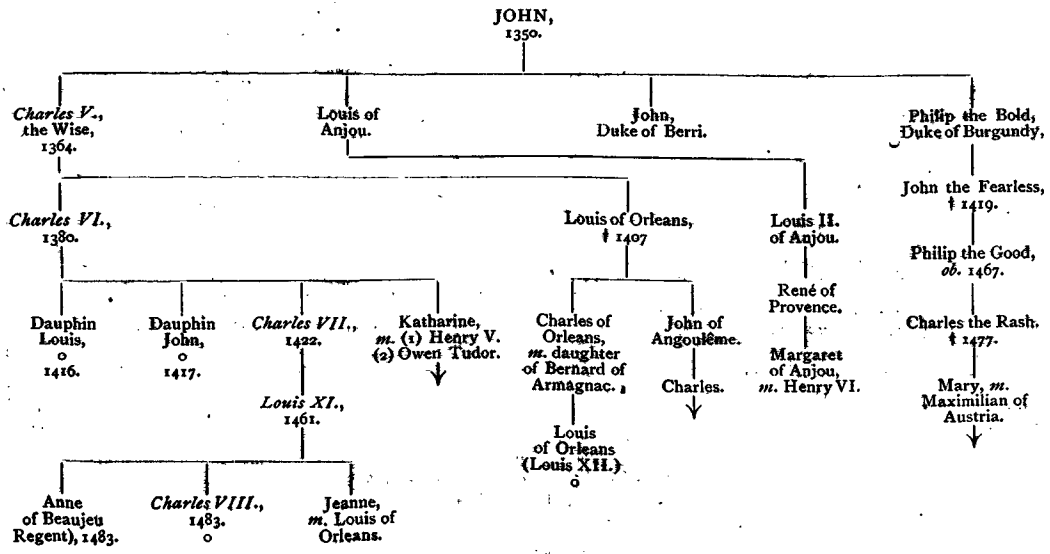
(2) The Bruces and Stewarts



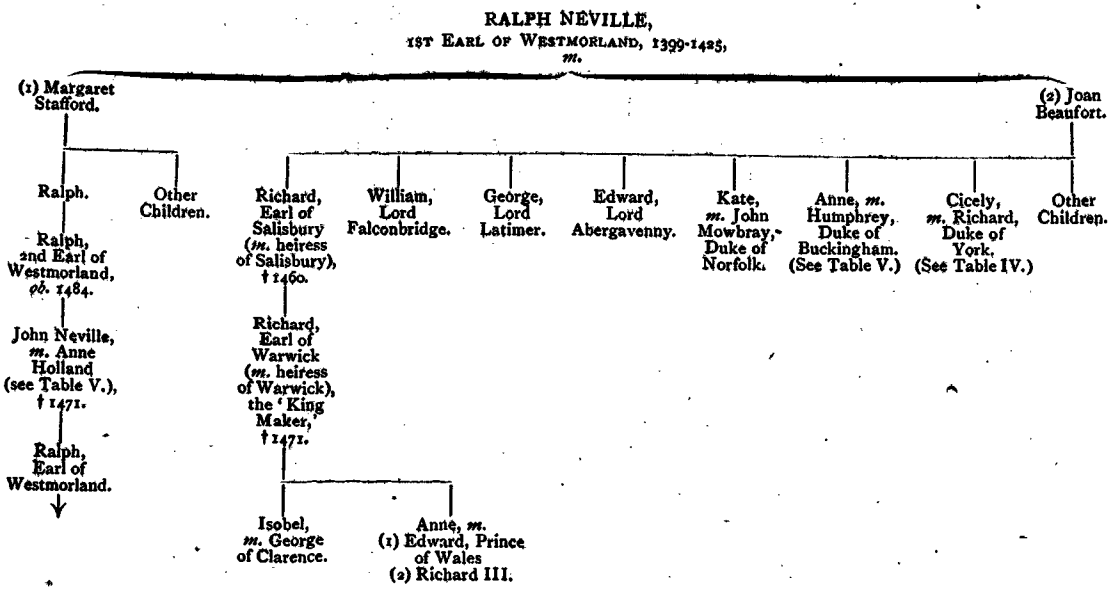
VIII. FRANCE: THE LATER CAPETS AND THE VALOIS SUCCESSION


LOUIS IX., 1226.
Philip III., 1270.
Robert of Claremont, ancestor of the House of Bourbon.
Philip IV., the Fair, 1285.
Charles of Valois.
Louis X., 1314.
Philip V., 1316.
Charles IV., 1322.
Isabella, *m.* Edward II.
Philip VI. of Valois, 1328.
Joan of Navarre.
Edward III.
John the Good 1350.
Charles the Bad of Navarre (*born* 1332).

IX. THE VALOIS: FRANCE, ANJOU, AND BURGUNDY



X. THE NEVILLES


RALPH NEVILLE,
1ST EARL OF WESTMORLAND, 1399-1425,
m.
(1) Margaret Stafford.
(2) Joan Beaufort.
Ralph.
Other Children.
Richard, Earl of Salisbury (m. heiress of Salisbury), †1460.
William, Lord Falconbridge.
George, Lord Latimer.
Edward, Lord Abergavenny.
Kate, m. John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.
Anne, m. Humphrey, Duke of Buckingham. (See Table V.)
Cicely, m. Richard, Duke of York. (See Table IV.)
Other Children.
Ralph, 2nd Earl of Westmorland, ob. 1484.
John Neville, m. Anne Holland (see Table V.), †1471.
Ralph, Earl of Westmorland.
Richard, Earl of Warwick (m. heiress of Warwick), the 'King Maker,' †1471.
Isobel, m. George of Clarence.
Anne, m. (1) Edward, Prince of Wales (2) Richard III.

NOTES

I. KING ARTHUR

THE check to the English advance and the great British victory of Mount Badon are attributed by Gildas to Ambrosius Aurelianus; he makes no mention of Arthur, the hero of Welsh tradition, with whom Ambrosius can hardly be identified; but in the history of Nennius, Arthur is the conqueror whose victories are enumerated, that of Mount Badon being the twelfth. In spite of the fairy tales which gathered about the name of the British hero, it is not easy to suppose that he was entirely mythical; the place-names connected with him point to his existence as a real person. Now the localities of most of the victories recorded by Nennius are more readily identified in Scotland and in the north of England than in the south, though Mount Badon itself is generally supposed to be Bath. Gildas seems to have an intimate knowledge of Wales and West Wales, but none of the north; whereas it was from the north that Nennius probably got many of his traditions. It may be suggested, therefore, that this is the reason for the silence of Gildas concerning Arthur, the great captain but not the king of the northern Celts. It might, then, be plausibly supposed that Arthur, after a series of victories in the northern regions, joined forces with the southern patriots, led by Ambrosius, and in conjunction with him won the last and greatest victory against the invaders in the south. The southern princes would naturally have magnified their own chief and have relegated the northern captain to a subordinate position. The English, of course, had no traditions concerning either. We cannot come within measurable distance of certainty on the point; but it is at least possible to believe that Arthur was a real captain, whose name would probably imply that he was of Roman descent, sprung from one of the officers who had commanded the Roman garrisons.

II. THE WEST SAXON CONQUEST IN THE ENGLISH CHRONICLE

'An. CCCC.XCI. (CCCC.XC.) In this year Aelle and Cissa besieged Andredesceaster, and slew all that dwelt therein; not even one Briton was there left.

'An. CCCC.XCV. In this year came two ealdormen to Britain, Cerdic, and Cynric his son, with five ships, at the place which is called Cerdices ora (Charford); and on the same day fought against the Welsh.

'An. D.I. In this year came Port to Britain, and his two sons, Bieda and Maegla, with two ships, at the place which is called Portsmouth; and forthwith landed, and there slew a very noble young British man.

'An. D.VIII. In this year Cerdic and Cynric slew a British king, whose name was Natanleod, and five thousand men with him; after that the land was named Natanlea as far as Cerdices ford (Charford).

'An. D.IX. In this year St. Benedict the abbot, father of all monks, went to heaven.

'An. D.XIV. In this year came the West Saxons to Britain, with three ships, at the place which is called Cerdices ora; and Stuf and Wihtgar fought against the Britons, and put them to flight.

'An. D.XIX. In this year Cerdic and Cynric assumed the kingdom of the West Saxons; and in the same year they fought against the Britons, where it is now named Cerdic's ford; and since the royal offspring of the West Saxons has reigned from that day.

'An. D.XXVII. In this year Cerdic and Cynric fought against the Britons at the place which is called Cerdic's Leag.

'An. D.XXX. In this year Cerdic and Cynric took the island of Wight, and slew many men at Wihtgarasburh (Carisbrook).

'An. D.XXXIV. In this year Cerdic, the first king of the West Saxons, died, and Cynric his son succeeded to the kingdom, and reigned on for twenty-six (twenty-seven) winters; and they gave all the island of Wight to their two nephews, Stuf and Wihtgar.'

In the above account Cerdic and Cynric land in England in 495, Port arrives in 501, 'the West Saxons' in 514, and in 519 Cerdic and Cynric take the title of king. Cerdic dies in 534, and Cynric reigns till 560. That is to say, of the two 'ealdormen' who arrive in 495, one dies after thirty-nine years, and the other after sixty-five, when he must have been at least ninety! This in itself would suffice to prove that the account is mythical. Similarly Wihtgar has pretty obviously come into being in order to account for the names of the Isle of Wight and

Carisbrook; but equally obviously the island had its name already —the Romans called it Vectis, of which Wight is merely the Anglicised form. Thirdly, 'Port' is a quite impossible name for an Angle, Jute, or Saxon, and was invented like Wihtgar to explain the name of Portsmouth, the *Portus Magnus* of the Romans. Fourthly, Cerdic does his fighting at Cerdic's Ora, Cerdic's Ford, and Cerdic's Leag. Of course, those places may have been named after the victor; but it seems equally possible that the victor was named after them, in view of the generally doubtful character of the tradition embodied in the Chronicle. Cerdic is not identifiable as a Teutonic name at all, but 'Caradoc's Ford' is easily explained as a name much earlier than the English conquest. From Caratacus, who was taken captive to Rome, down to Coroticus, king of Strathclyde in 450, who appears as 'Ceretic' in Nennius, there were plenty of 'Cerdics' among the Britons. We are inclined, therefore, to the hypothesis that the West Saxons invented Cerdic in order to provide themselves with a national hero, but that they were really a mixed body of Jutes from Hampshire and Saxons from the Thames valley when the really historical Ceawlin emerges as their leader in 560.

III. LORDS' RIGHTS

The most obvious, though unsupported, explanation of the origin of service and the payment of rents in kind is that the conquering hosts conceded privileges to their distinguished members. There is very little difficulty in supposing that when a family group took possession of a selected spot it agreed to contribute something to the wealth of the 'princeps' whose banner it had followed. And it may be suggested that when one of these captains was himself a member of the settlement a further privilege given might have been exemption from taking part in the common work by which his acre strips as well as those of every one else were tilled. In other words, the community would do the ploughing and sowing and reaping for him, without any idea of servitude. A third and most obvious form of privilege would be the allotment to the favoured individual of a double or treble portion of the land. Supposing this to have occurred, there would have been almost to start with (*a*) communities not attached to any privileged person at all; (*b*) communities which contributed produce to the support of a privileged person; (*c*) communities which tilled a privileged person's land for him; (*d*) communities in which from the outset one person had a larger proportion of land than the rest; (*e*) communities which combined the different types. Further, when it became desirable that a new piece of land should be taken up, it

would be natural enough that it should be done under the auspices of some person of comparative distinction who would enjoy like privileges. The tendency of privileges to become hereditary does not need to be emphasised. There is indeed no evidence that this was the way in which lordship, service, and what may be called produce rents were developed out of an original system of perfectly free and equal tenure; but it is an explanation which appears to be perfectly consistent with all the definitely ascertained facts. A township did not necessarily own any lord at all; and while some *ceorls* had no obligations, and the obligations of others varied, there is no evidence that there was among them any attendant variation of status.

IV. FREEHOLDERS

There were in the Middle Ages three typical forms of tenure in England: tenure by military service, or 'knight-service'; tenure by other than military services in 'free socage'; and tenure in 'villeinage.' The freeholder is he who holds land of his lord in free socage. The status of the freeholder was entirely distinct from that of the villein, although, as it has been noted in the text, no decisive condition of tenure can be laid down as appropriated always to the freeholder and never to the villein, unless it be that the freeholder could sell a horse or marry his daughter without leave of the lord, and the villein could not. The villein might be released from services in consideration of a rent, and the freeholder might owe services. The vital point, however, was that the freeholder was not regarded by the law as in bondage, and he had the right of attendance at the shire court and of taking part in the election of knights of the shire. Beside the freeholder and the villein there grew up a third type of non-military tenant, the tenant to whom the lord leased a holding for a term of years. The 'termor,' as the lessee was called, was not a villein; he was not in bondage to his lord; but he did not acquire with his holding the political rights of the freeholder. The freeholder was a free agent, owing no military service to a feudal superior, though he must obey the sheriff's summons to the shire levy. It is to be noted that when villeinage disappeared and the villein became for the most part a copyholder, he like the termor did not acquire the political rights of the freeholder. In the course of the fifteenth century the right of voting in the shire court was restricted to the forty-shilling freeholder, and this continued to be the law till the Reform Act of 1832.

V. WHO WERE BARONS?

It may be convenient to give the term 'baron' some further elucidation. The word itself meant 'man': the baron was the king's man, the man who held land directly from the king on a military tenure, the tenant-in-chief, irrespective of the extent of his estate. Among the barons for a long time after the Norman Conquest only one small group is distinguished as being in any way of superior rank, the earls; and it does not appear that any distinctive functions or privileges attached to an earldom as such. The political functions of Knut's earls or the Wessex ealdormen were appropriated to the *vice-comes*, the sheriff, the king's nominee, who held office by the king's favour.

But a customary distinction grew up between the greater and lesser barons, without legal definition. Men of great estate, men of weight and importance, were naturally brought into personal relations with the king as the smaller men were not. To such men the king would send a personal summons when a great council was about to be called; the rest would receive notice from the sheriff. The personal summons was presumably in the first instance merely a matter of courtesy; but since it was constantly applied to the same group only with what may be called marginal variations, the group became differentiated as that of the Greater Barons, *barones majores*, who were regarded as being entitled to the personal summons, while the rest, the *barones minores*, expected only the sheriff's summons. The sheriff's summons would naturally have been deemed sufficient for those who as a matter of convenience paid their feudal dues through the sheriff, or brought up their contingent of the feudal levies under the sheriff's banner as being too few to form a separate troop under a banner of their own. There was, in fact, no apparent dividing line except what custom and convenience established. During the thirteenth century the name of 'baron' becomes gradually restricted to the *barones majores*; and the general summons to the minor barons gives way to the calling of two or more elected 'knights of the shire' as representatives of the body.

To prevent confusion, it may be here pointed out that there is no direct connection between knighthood and tenancy-in-chief. Every one who held a knight's fee, an estate of not less than a given value, might be required to take up knighthood and to render military service as a knight, whether he was a tenant-in-chief or a mesne tenant. If he were a mesne tenant he served under his lord's banner; if he had no lord but the king, and no vassals, he would join under the sheriff. But a man did not necessarily take up his knighthood in order to be eligible as a 'knight of the shire,' as evidenced by Chaucer's Franklin.

VI. THE PLANTAGENET ARMIES

The Plantagenet king could call up troops of three kinds: the feudal levy, the shire levy, and hired soldiery. For the feudal levy the baron was bound to bring into the field the vassals who owed him military service, knights and others, unless he was relieved of the obligation by paying scutage. The shire levy brought into the field under the sheriff's banner all those in the shire who were liable to military service under the assizes of arms, the militia, which in Saxon times was called the *fyrd*. The limitation to forty days of the feudal obligation to military service was one of the strongest motives to the institution of scutage, which enabled the king to dispense with the feudal levy and to hire troops without limitation of time.

The wars of the Edwards overseas brought about a modification called Commissions of Array. The sheriff was required not to call up the whole shire levy or the bulk of it, as had been done, for instance, for the Bannockburn campaign, but to supply a definite number of efficient soldiers, men-at-arms, archers, or light troops, such as the Welsh who fought at Crecy. The Commission of Array was a form of conscription, of compulsory service; but the men were selected, and the selected men were allowed to provide efficient substitutes. Thus the bodies sent up from each shire, though smaller in numbers, were greatly superior in efficiency to the miscellaneous shire levy. The troops raised by Commission of Array were supplemented also by feudal levies, and here again there was a new departure. Edward III. began the practice of contracting with a baron or a popular captain, who undertook to bring into the field a given quantity of troops of all arms at a given rate of pay, instead of simply bringing up his vassals to be maintained at the king's wages. The nucleus of his force would no doubt in most cases be his own vassals, but he was free to hire volunteers. Consequently the armies of Edward III. after the first campaigns, and those of Henry V., were composed for the most part not of men serving under compulsion but of volunteers.

VII. JUSTICES OF THE PEACE

Under the early Plantagenets the practice was established of appointing, either by election or by the sheriff's nomination, knights of the shire charged with preserving the king's peace; in effect, that is, with police work. Out of this there grew up under the later Plantagenets the system of appointing responsible persons, not merely as *guardians* of the king's peace, chiefs of police, but as *justices* of the peace. Until

1360 they were still only *custodes*, without judicial functions; the indictments were laid before them, they arrested supposed evil-doers, held them in ward, and sent them for trial at the assizes; they did not themselves try or sentence the arrested persons. But by a statute of 1360 their powers were extended. They received authority themselves to try and to punish cases of felony 'in accordance with the laws of the realm.' And very soon after this the title Justices of the Peace displaced the earlier one of Custodians. The appointment of the Justices of the Peace was retained in the king's hands. The system was popular with the House of Commons, as giving authority to men of the same rank as the county members themselves, who habitually took a much more active share in the proceedings of parliament than their town colleagues. There was a general tendency to confer upon the new justices powers of dealing directly with questions of local administration; notably with such matters as the local regulation of wages, which in the towns was legally controlled by the gilds. In 1388 they were directed to hold their sessions quarterly. Two justices were competent to hold a trial. The normal procedure was a trial by jury, and the jurisdiction extended to most offences except treason, though there was an instruction that difficult cases should be reserved for the king's judges. During the fifteenth century the Justices of the Peace also received powers of dealing summarily, without a jury, with a variety of minor offences. This new institution was destined in later times to appropriate a considerable share both of jurisdiction and of the general control of local government.

VIII. THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRIAL BY JURY

During the fourteenth and (especially) the fifteenth centuries trial by jury was acquiring its modern character. Under the early Plantagenets the jury was a jury of presentment, a body of persons who did not hear evidence but were supposed to be acquainted with the facts. They were witnesses rather than judges—witnesses for the prosecution; on the strength of their previous knowledge of circumstances and character they presented or declined to present the man for trial. But now they were getting differentiated into what we call the Grand Jury and the Petty Jury—the jury which decides whether there is a case which ought to be tried, and the body of twelve jurors which actually decides on the facts. The Ordeal had disappeared as a means of refuting condemnation, although the right of the appeal to battle was not legally abolished until the nineteenth century. The right to actual trial before a jury had

in the time of Henry VI. reached the stage of recognition as a great preservative of the liberties of the subject, although the original process by indictment, brought into operation by Henry II., had been viewed with suspicion as depriving a man of his right to appeal directly to the judgment of God through the Ordeal. The condemnation of the Ordeal by the Church at the Lateran Council in 1215 put an end to the earlier practice, although it was still a long time before decision on the evidence by a jury was established with popular approval as the surest way of arriving at the truth. Moreover, it was still the case that juries were by no means always independent. Their liability to intimidation was the justification for the arbitrary jurisdiction exercised by the Royal Council during the fifteenth century, and by the new courts deriving therefrom which became so prominent under the Tudors and Stuarts.

IX. THE SCOTTISH PARLIAMENT

Parliament in Scotland played a much less important part than in England; we find nothing which was at all equivalent to the development of power in the English House of Commons. The War of Independence, like the reign of Edward I. in England, marks a dividing line between two periods, in the second of which parliament is comparatively active, but its influence never rises to a high level. The battles of the Crown are with factions of the nobility, they are not combats with a representative popular assembly. In the early period the kings of Scotland, like the kings of England, consulted with an assembly normally consisting of the greater barons and prelates, occasionally supplemented by lesser barons or tenants-in-chief. In the time of John Balliol the assembly had been given the name of parliament; the first time when burgesses were summoned to attend, so far as we know, was in 1326, sixty-one years after Simon de Montfort's parliament, the occasion being financial. Some financial control the Council had certainly possessed at a much earlier date, since in the time of William the Lion it refused to grant the Saladin Tithe, and shortly afterwards it did order taxation in order to pay Richard I. for the abrogation of the Treaty of Falaise. After 1326 it would seem that the burgesses were summoned when the business to be submitted to parliament was financial, but probably not at first otherwise. It seems clear that taxation could not be imposed without consent of parliament; but public expenditure in Scotland was small. English kings constantly required large sums from the country for the conduct of military expeditions in France or in Scotland on a large scale;

there was no corresponding burden on the Scots king's purse, since the fighting with England was to a great extent unofficial. The English parliament, because it possessed the power of the purse, developed an active interest in policy and a capacity for insisting on grievances. The Scottish parliament, which was rarely asked for supplies, lacked a similar incentive to political development. When in the reign of David II. it obviously spoke for the whole country in flatly rejecting the king's proposals to divert the succession to an English prince after his own death, David had to withdraw at once; but that does not alter the fact that in general the powers of the Assembly were small. In fact the voices of the magnates, lay and clerical, were as completely dominant as they had been in the Great Councils of the earlier Plantagenets. The lesser barons and burgesses were so unwilling to attend, and the magnates were so little inclined to give them a voice, that as early as 1367 the practice began of appointing a committee of the parliament to do its work and letting the rest go home. The committees presently came to be known as the Lords of the Articles. The selection of their members was in effect controlled by the magnates, though we do not know the method of selection at the earlier stages. The representative system had not as yet been introduced; for in the parliament of 1367 there were so many burgesses present that they were able to elect out of their own number to serve on the committee one or two burgesses for each borough. When James I. returned to Scotland from his captivity in England, he intended to use the parliament as an instrument for checking the power of the great feudatories; and he introduced a system of representation, but by no means in the English sense. In England the freeholders of the county or borough elected their representative; in Scotland it was apparently only the tenants-in-chief who exercised the franchise. The estates continued to meet in a single chamber; the lesser barons counted as peers along with the magnates, instead of being associated as in England with the representatives of the boroughs. There was no House of Commons acting as a popular chamber, and the delegation of the powers of parliament to the Lords of the Articles continued. And the selection of the Lords of the Articles was controlled by the dominant faction. If the king was dominant, it was controlled by him. If a faction of nobles was dominant, it was controlled by that faction. The parliament existed to little other purpose, so far as concerned general policy, than to register the will of the royal or baronial faction dominant for the time being.

INDEX

ABERCONWAY, treaty of, 271.
Aberystwyth, captured by David of Wales, 272.
Aclea, battle of, 51.
Acre, siege of, 193.
Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, plighted to Harold, 95.
'Adulterine' castles, 161.
Aeldgyth, married to Gryffydd of Wales, 93; to Harold, 94.
Aeldred, archbishop of York, 96.
Aelfgar, earl of East Anglia, 90; outlawed and pardoned, 92-93.
Aelfgifu, married to and divorced from Eadwig, 68.
Aelfheah, archbishop (St. Alphege), 81, 84.
Aelfhere opposes Dunstan, 70.
Aelfric, ealdorman, treachery of, 80.
Aelfthryth, wife of Eadgar, intrigues of, 70.
Aelle, of Sussex, 16, 17, 21.
—— king of Northumbria, 16, 18, 19.
Aethelbald, king of Mercia, 35; routed by Cuthred of Wessex, 35; murder of, 35.
—— king of Wessex, 52, 53.
Aethelberga, married to Eadwin of Northumbria, 24.
Aethelbert, king of East Anglia, killed by Offa, 37.
—— king of Kent, 18; recognised overlord of England, 19; prestige of, 20.
—— king of Wessex, 53.
Aethelflaed, the 'lady of Mercia,' 63; martial success of, 64.
Aethelfrith, king of Northumbria, 19; defeats Aidan, king of Scots, 20; defeats Celts at Chester, 20; defeated by Redwald and slain, 24.
Aethelgifu, her influence over Eadwig, 68.
Aetheling, the, 72; Alfred, the son of Aethelred, murdered, 86. Eadgar, see Eadgar.
Aethelnoth, archbishop, rejects Harold Harefoot, 86.
Aethelred, king of Wessex, 53, 54, 56; death of, 57.
—— the Redeless or Unready, 70; character of, 78; marries Emma of Normandy, 80; orders massacre of Danes on St. Brice's Day, 80; flees to Normandy, 81; recalled by the Witan, 82.
Aethelric, king of Northumbria, 18, 19.
Aethelstan, son of Ecgbert, 49.
—— 'the half-king,' 68.
—— king, son of Edward, great prestige of, 66; the dooms of, 66; seizes kingship of Northumbria, 66; subjugations of, 66; alliance against, defeated at Brunanburh, 66-67.
Aethelwald disputes succession of Edward the Elder and is killed, 63.
—— coadjutor of Dunstan, 70.
Aethelweard, king of Kent, 50.
Aethelwine, bishop of Durham, joins Hereward the Wake, 111.
Aethelwulf, king of Wessex, 50; campaign against North Welsh, 52; gives one-tenth of his estates to the Church, 52; his pilgrimage to Rome, 52; marries Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, 52; death of, 52.
Agincourt, battle of, 414-417.
Agricola, governor of Britain, 6-7.
Agriculture, 43; main groups of cultivators, 126 *et seq.*; condition of the rural population, 235, 242; ruined by the Black Death, 337; increase of pasture land, 376; the new order, 472-475.
Aidan, king of Scots, attacks Aethelfrith, 20, 27.
—— establishes Christianity in Northumbria, 27, 38, 46.
Alais, daughter of Philip II. of France, refused in marriage by Richard I., 193; offered to John, 196.
Albany, Alexander of, 491.
—— Murdoch of, captured at Homildon Hill, 398; retained by Henry IV. as a hostage, 403; released, 419; regency of, 488.
—— Robert, duke of, 397; becomes Regent of Scotland, 403; maintains the peace with England, 419; his administration, 486-487.
Albinus, 8.

Alchfrid of Northumbria, marries a daughter of Penda, 28.
Alcuin, 37, 46.
Aldfrid, king of Northumbria, 33.
Alexander I. of Scotland, policy of, 247-248.
Alexander II. of Scotland, policy of, 251.
Alexander III. of Scotland, minority and reign of, 252-253; question of homage to Edward I., 275; death of, 276.
Alexander III., Pope, counsels Becket to be moderate, 169.
Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, resists Stephen, 157.
Alfonso the Wise, king of Castile, 225.
Alfred the Great, 53; defeats the Danes at Ashdown, 56; defeated at Basing and Wilton, 57; starts a fleet, 57; opposes the Danes at sea, 58; escapes to Athelney, 59; defeats the Danes at Ethandun, 59; makes treaty of Wedmore, 59; defeats fresh invaders, 60; his work and character, 60-62; his development of national defence, 72.
Alfred, son of Aethelred, returns to England and is murdered, 86.
Aliens, stringency regarding, in Plantagenet era, 241, 350, 477.
Allectus, 9.
Alnwick taken by the Lancastrians, 453.
Alphege, archbishop of Canterbury, 81, 84.
Alton, treaty of, 144.
Ambrosius Aurelianus, 14.
Amiens, Mise of, 227.
Anarchy, after Constantine's withdrawal of the Roman troops, 10-12; under Stephen, 158; prevented by the Norman kings, 234.
Anderida, 16.
Andredesweald, the, 16.
Angles, establish kingdom of Northumbria, 16, 18; of Mercia, 18, 19, 20; origin of the, 39.
Anglesey, conquest of, by Suetonius, 6.
Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the, 13, 16, 19, 37, 38, 44, 51, 57, 62, 64, 65, 80, 235.
Angus, Pictish king, 34.
—— earl of, 490.
Anjou, lost by John, 204. See also Fulk and Geoffrey.
Anlaf, or Olaf, Norse leader, 67.
Anne of Bohemia, married to Richard II., 377; death of, 384.
—— of Beaujeu, regent of France, 470.
Anselm, abbot of Bec, made archbishop of Canterbury, 137-138; resists the tyranny of the king, 138-139; retires from England, 140-141; recalled by Henry I., 143; the dispute as to investiture, 146-147.
Antoninus, wall of, 8.
Appellants, the Lords, 382; Richard's vengeance on, 388, 395.
Apprentices, 239.
Aquitaine, John's losses in, 204; English garrisons withdrawn from, by Edward II., 313; Edward III.'s remnant of, 321, 324-325; restored to Edward III. by the peace of Bretigny, 341. See Gascony and Guienne.
Archery, importance of, at Senlac, 105; first use of the long-bow, 180; at Bannockburn, 305; value of, at Dupplin Moor, 322, Halidon Hill, 323, and Morlaix, 332; long-bow supersedes the cross-bow, 332.
Architecture, from 1066-1272, 246.
Armagnacs, the, 261, 386, 404, 406, 418, 419-420.
Arms, Assize of, 185.
Army, the early English, 54; of the Plantagenets (note on), 507-508.
Arras, conference of, 432.
Arsuf, Saladin defeated at, by Richard I., 194.
Art, from 1066 to 1272, 246.
Arteveldt, James van, 329.
—— Philip, 377.
Arthur, king, 15, 503 (note on).
—— of Brittany, his claim to the English throne, 202; supported by Philip II. of France, 203; defeated by John at Le Mans, 204; John suspected of his murder, 204.
Articuli super cartas, 294.
Arundel, bishop of Ely, dismissed from chancellorship, 381; becomes archbishop of York, 382; restored to the chancellorship, 386; banishment of, 388; returns from exile, 391; supports Henry IV., 393, 395; zeal against the Lollards, 399; dismissed but reinstated, 405.
—— earl of, one of the Lords Ordainers, 302; execution of, 314.
—— earl of, supports John of Gaunt, 367; dismissed by Richard II., 379; leader of opposition, 381; one of the Lords Appellants, 382; shares Gloucester's supremacy, 384; quarrels with Lancaster and Richard II., 386; executed, 388.
—— Empress Maud at, 158.
Asbiorn brings Danish force agains William I., 110.
Ashdown, battle of, 56.
Assandun, battle of, 82.
Asser, Bishop, 51, 57.

Assize of Arms, 185; of Clarendon, 188.
Attacotti, raids of the, 9.
Attainder, Acts of, 448, 452, 469.
Augustine, lands in Thanet, 22; ordained archbishop, 22; conference with the Church in Wales, 22-23.
Aurelianus, Ambrosius, 14.

BACON, ROGER, 245.
Badby, John, the Lollard, burnt at Smithfield, 405.
Badlesmere insults Isabella, wife of Edward II., 310.
Badon, Mount, battle of, 15.
Bagsceg, Danish leader, 56.
Baldred, ruler of Kent, 48.
Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, 192.
Ball, John, the Communist, 375, 481.
Ballads, 364.
Balliol, Edward, invades Scotland, 321-322; surrenders his rights to the Scottish throne, 339.
—— John, claims the Scottish throne, 277; coronation of, 278; supplanted by a committee of twelve, 282; deposed by Edward I., 285.
Baltic, the, commercial struggle in, with the Hansa, 478.
Bamborough, 27; taken by the Lancastrians, 453.
Bangor, Aethelfrith and the monks of, 20.
Bankers, Italian, 332, 354.
Bannockburn, battle of, 303 *et seq.*
Barbour, bishop of St. Andrews, his poem of *Bruce*, 365.
Barnet, battle of, 460.
Barons, the Norman, 121; elect Theobald of Blois to the throne of England, 153-154; their contempt for Stephen, 155; of Scotland and Edward I., 279; reconciliation with Edward I., 294; resent John's exactions, 206; refuse to serve John, 207, 210; rebel against him, 215; preserve the nationalism of England, 217-218; resist Henry III.'s favouritism of foreigners, 221 *et seq.*; refuse to aid Henry in his Poitou campaign, 223; struggle with Henry III., 226 *et seq.*; Norman in Scotland, 248; private wars of, in the reign of Henry VI., 446; who the barons were (note on), 506-507.
Barter, 130.
Battle, trial by ordeal of, 152.
Battles:—
Aclea, 51.
Agincourt, 414-417.
Arsuf, 194.
Ashdown, 56.
Assandun, 82.
Battles—*continued.*
Badon, Mount, 15.
Bannockburn, 303.
Barnet, 460.
Basing, 57.
Baugé, 422.
Besington, 37.
Bloreheath, 447.
Boroughbridge, 310-311.
Bosworth, 471.
Bouvines, 212.
Bramham Moor, 404.
Brémule, 148.
Brunanburh, 67.
Burford, 35.
Cambuskenneth, 289.
Canterbury, 51.
Castillon, 441.
Charmouth, 49, 50.
Chester, 20.
Chevy Chase. See Otterburn.
Clontarf, 177.
Crecy, 333-335.
Crévant, 425.
Dawston, 20.
Deorham, 19.
Dunbar, 285.
Dunnechtan, 29.
Dunsinane, 92.
Dupplin Moor, 322.
Edgecote, 457.
Ellandune, 48.
Ethandun, 59.
Evesham, 231.
Exeter (Alfred's siege of the Danes in), 58.
Falkirk, 291.
Formigny, 438.
Halidon Hill, 322-323.
Hallelujah Victory, 15.
Hastings (Senlac), 103.
Heathfield, 26.
Heavenfield, 27.
Hedgeley Moor, 454.
Hereford, 93.
Hexham, 454.
Hingston Down, 50.
Homildon Hill, 398.
Idle River, 24.
Kenilworth, 231.
La Crotoy, 336.
La Roche, 336.
La Rochelle, 344.
Largs, 253.
Le Mans, 203.
Lewes, 228.
Lincoln, Fair of, 217.
London, 50, 51.
Losecoat Field, 458.
Lumphanan, 92.

Battles—*continued.*
Maes Madog, 282.
Maldon, 79.
Maserfield, 28.
Meratun, 57.
Methven, 297.
Mons Graupius, 6.
Morlaix, 332.
Mortimer's Cross, 451.
Mount Badon, 15.
Najera or Navarrete, 342.
Nechtansmere, 29.
Neville's Cross, 335.
Northallerton, 156.
Northampton, 448-449.
Nottingham, 56.
Ockley. See Aclea.
Orewyn Bridge, 272.
Otterburn, 384, 486.
Patay, 429.
Poictiers, 339.
Portland, 50.
Radcot Bridge, 382.
Reading, 56.
Rochelle, 344.
Roosebeke, 377.
Sandwich, 51.
Sauchieburn, 492.
Senlac, 103.
Shrewsbury, 399.
Sluys, 329.
St. Albans (i), 445; (ii), 450-451.
Stamford Bridge, 96.
Standard, 156.
Tenchebrai, 145.
Tewkesbury, 460.
Thanet, 52.
Towton, 452.
Verneuil, 425.
Wareham, 58.
Wakefield, 450.
Wilton, 57.
Winchester, 53.
Winwaed, 29.
York, 55.
Basing, battle of, 57.
Baugé, battle of, 422.
Bayeux, capture of, by Henry V., 418.
—— tapestry, the, 94.
Bayonne, trade of, with England, 204; fall of, 441.
Beauchamp. See Warwick.
Beaufort, Henry, bishop of Winchester, 404; his party suggests the abdication of Henry IV., 405-406; attacked by Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, 427, 433; his advice at conference of Arras, 435; death of, 437.
Beauforts, the, children of John of Gaunt and Katherine Swynford, legitimised, 386; excluded from the succession, 403; political power of, 433-434; their ascendency and efforts to conclude peace with France, 436-438; unpopularity of their policy, 439.
Beaumont, Robert de, earl of Leicester, justiciar of Henry II., 163.
Becket, Thomas, appointed chancellor, 163; prominent in the French campaign, 165; appointed archbishop of Canterbury, 166; magnifies the Church, 167 *et seq.*; cited before a council at Northampton, 170; rupture with Henry II., 170; flees to Burgundy, 171; reconciliation with the king, 171; murder of, 172.
Bede, Venerable, 13, 15, 17, 20, 24, 25, 38, 44; greatness of, 46.
Bedford, John, duke of, 421; becomes regent of France, 423; his character, 423-424; marries Anne of Burgundy, 425; repudiates Gloucester's proceedings, 326; returns to England, 427; continues the war with France, 427; death of, 432.
Bellême, Robert de. See Robert.
Benedict XII., Pope, tries to mediate between Edward III. and Philip VI., 328.
Benedict of Peterborough, 245.
Benevolences, introduced by Edward IV., 463; declared illegal, 469; resorted to by Richard III., 470.
Beorhtric, king of Wessex, 36; death of, 47.
Beorhtwulf, king of Mercia, routed by the Danes, 51.
Beorn, Earl, 88.
Beornwulf, king of Mercia, 48; defeated by Ecgbert, 48; death of, 48.
Beowulf, 45.
Berhred, king of Mercia, attacked by the Danes, 56; ejection of, 57.
Bernard of Clairvaux, 244.
Bertha, wife of Aethelbert, 21.
Bernicia, kingdom of, 18, 27, 28, 30, 66, 246.
Berwick, taken by Bruce, 308; siege of, 308; besieged by Edward III., 322; recovered by Edward III., 338; treaty of, 339-340.
Besington, Cynewulf defeated by Offa at, 37.
Bigod, Roger. See Norfolk.
Bishops, the Norman, 122, 123.
Black Death, the, 260, 320, 337, 341, 358.
Black Prince, the, at Crecy, 334; sent to Gascony, 338; crushes the French at Poictiers, 339; aids Pedro the Cruel, 342; his rule in Aquitaine, 342-343; massacres the inhabitants of Limoges,

343; antagonism to John of Gaunt, 346; death of, 347.
Blanche of Castile, wife of Louis VIII. of France, 215; attacked by Henry III., 220.
'Blanchetaque,' 333.
Blood feud, the, 77.
Bloreheath, battle of, 447.
Boadicea, defeat of, 6.
Bocland, 73.
Bohun, de. See Hereford and Northampton.
Bona of Savoy, negotiations for her marriage to Edward IV., 455.
Boniface, St., denounces vices of the English, 36.
—— of Savoy, appointed archbishop of Canterbury, 222; his proposals for a constitution, 224.
Boniface VIII., Pope, arrogance of, brings downfall of the Papacy, 258-259; issues the bull *Clericis Laicos*, 286; arbitrates between Edward I. and Philip IV. of France, 291, 294; death of, 295.
'Bordars,' the, 126, 129.
Bordeaux, trade of, with England, 204; fall of, 441.
Boroughbridge, battle of, 310-311.
Boroughs, origin of, 131; commercial development of, 132; farming of the revenue by, 153; privileges of, 237-238.
Bosworth, battle of, 471.
Bourchier, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, 444; dismissal of, 446.
—— Lord, treasurer, dismissal of, 446.
Bouvines, battle of, 212.
Bow. See Archery.
Boyd, Sir Alexander, 491.
Brabant, alliance of, with Edward III., 327-330.
Bramber, Nicholas, trusted by Richard II., 379; execution of, 382.
Bramham Moor, battle of, 404.
Brantingham, Bishop, becomes a minister of Richard II., 385.
Braose, William de, rebellion of, 208; his wife and son starved to death by John, 209.
Brehon Law, 178.
Brémule, battle of, 148.
Bretigny, peace of, 341.
Bretwalda, title of, 48.
Brian Boroihme defeats the 'Ostmen' at Clontarf, 177.
Brigantes, the, 5, 7, 8.
Brigham, treaty of, 276, 279.
Brihtnoth, ealdorman, killed at the battle of Maldon, 79.
Bristol, revolt at, 308.
Britanni, the, 1, 2, 3; driven into the west, 13, 17; conquest of, 19 *et seq.*, 34; extirpation of, 44.
Brittany, loss of, by John, 204; Edward III. supports John of Montfort's claim to, 331; fighting in, 336-337; French success in, 344.
Bruce, Edward, 298; accepts the throne of Ireland, 306; killed at Dundalk, 307.
—— Robert, earl of Annandale, claims the crown of Scotland, 277.
—— Robert (ii) of Annandale, expelled from Scotland for friendliness to Edward I., 283; restored, 285.
—— Robert (iii) (King Robert I.), 289, 292, 293; coronation of, 296; slays the Red Comyn, 296; crowned king of Scots, 296; defeated at Methven, 297; gains adherents, 298; defeats Edward II. at Bannockburn, 303 *et seq.*; refuses the throne of Ireland, 306; death of, 317.
Bruce, Bishop Barbour's poem of, 365.
Bruges, truce of (1375), 344.
Brunanburh, battle of, 67.
Brut, Layamon's poem, 245.
Brythons, the, 2-3.
Buch, Captal de (Jean de Grailly), 339.
Buchan, earl of, at Baugé, 422; killed at battle of Verneuil, 425.
Buckingham. See Thomas of Woodstock.
—— Henry Stafford, duke of, supports Richard III., 466-467; revolts, 468-469.
—— Humphrey, earl of, 447, 448.
Burford, battle of, 35.
Burgesses, rights of the, 238-239.
Burgh, Hubert de, holds Dover against Prince Louis of France, 215; defeats French fleet off Sandwich, 217; administration of, as justiciar, 218-220.
—— Richard de, earl of Ulster, 307.
Burgundians, rivalry of, with the Armagnacs, 261, 386, 404, 406, 418, 419-420, 421.
Burgundy, 257, 261; buys off Edward III., 341; John, duke of, private treaty with Henry V., 411, 418; murder of, at Montereau, 421; Philip, duke of, terminates the alliance with England, 432; Charles, duke of, proposes marriage with Margaret, sister of Edward IV., 456; makes offensive alliance with Edward IV. against Louis XI. of France, 463.
Burh, the, or garrison town, 65, 73, 74.
Burnell, Robert, chancellor of Edward I., 262.

Burnt Candlemas, the, 339.
Butler, Edmund, justiciar of Ireland, 307.
Byzantine Empire, the, 97.

CADE, JACK, rebellion of, 439-440.
Cadwallon of Gwynedd, unites with Penda against Eadwin, 26; defeats Osric of Deira, 27; defeated by Oswald at Heavenfield, 27.
Caedmon, 45.
Caen, capture of, by Edward III., 333; by Henry V., 418.
Cæsar, Julius, invasion of, 3-5.
Caithness, 247.
Calais, siege of, 335; treaty of, 341.
Caledonians, defeat of, by Agricola, 6; raids of, 8.
Cambridge, Richard, earl of, executed for plotting against Henry V., 413.
Cambuskenneth, battle of, 289.
Camulodunum, 5; massacre of the Roman garrison at, 6.
Cannon, first used at Crecy, 335.
Canterbury, taken by the Danes, 51; see of, kept vacant by William II., 135.
Capet dynasty, the, 100.
Caradoc (Caratacus), 5.
—— (Coroticus), defeats the Piets and Scots, 16.
Carausius, makes himself emperor of Britain, 8; killed by Allectus, 9; 11, 12.
Carucage, 187, 201.
Cashel, council of, declares adherence to Henry II., 181.
Castillon, battle of, 441.
Castles, erection of, by William the Conqueror, 107, 109; 'adulterine,' 161.
Catherine. See Katharine.
Catus Decianus, 6.
Caxton, William, 482.
Ceadda, 31, 38.
Ceadwalla, king of Wessex, 33.
Ceawlin, king of Wessex, 18; campaigns of, 19, 20.
Celts, the, 2; disappearance of the Celtic language, 44; in Scotland, 246-247.
Centwine, king of Wessex, 32.
Ceolwulf, king of Northumbria, deposition of, 34; resumes and relinquishes the throne, 34.
—— king of Mercia, deposed by Beornwulf, 48.
—— the 'foolish thegn,' king of Mercia, 57.
Ceorls, 76.
Cerdic, king of the West Saxons, 16, 17, 18; house of, 93.
Chad, St. See Ceadda.
Charlemagne, 37; empire of, 97.
Charles IV. of France, 260.
Charles V. (the Wise) of France, 260.
Charles VI. of France, madness of, 386; death of, 423.
Charles VII. of France, crowned at Rheims, 429; agrees to a truce, 437; resumes hostilities and wins Normandy, 438.
Charles VIII. of France, 470.
Charles of Blois, claims Brittany, 331; defeated and captured at La Roche, 336.
—— of Valois, worsts the forces of Edward I. in Gascony, 282.
—— the Bad of Navarre, 340.
Charmouth, battle of (i), 49; (ii) 50.
Charolois, Charles, count of, 455, 456.
Charter, of Henry I., 143; second of Stephen, 155; of Henry II., 163; of John, see Magna Carta; confirmation of, by Edward I., 290, 291.
Charters bestowed on towns, 238.
Chartres recovered by the French, 431.
Château-Gaillard, built by Richard I., 198; capture of, by Henry V., 420.
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 320, 365-366, 481.
Chester, battle of, 13, 20.
Chevy Chase, 384, 486.
Chichele, archbishop of Canterbury, 427.
Chinon, Joan of Arc at, 428.
Chippenham, peace of, 59.
Chivalry, 363, 481.
Christianity, 11, 21, 25-26, 27; English types of, 45; conflicts with Islamism, 97, 99, 101-102.
Church, the, insularity of, in Britain and Ireland, 21; dispute between Augustine and the Welsh, 22-23, 26; struggle between Celtic and Latin, 30; corruption of, in eighth century, 38; two parties of, in Eadwig's reign, 68; Dunstan's reforms, 69; relations of William I. with, 121 *et seq.*; oppressed by William II., 134-135; relations with Henry I., 145-146; Stephen's relations with, 154-155, 157-158; conflict of Becket and Henry II., 168 *et seq.*; relations with John, 206 *et seq.*; survey of, during the Norman era, 242 *et seq.*; in Scotland, 248-249; relations with Edward I., 284, 286-287; with Edward III., 338; at the time of Edward IV., 462; corruption of, 481.
Circumspecte Agatis, 268.
Clanship, 39-40.
Clare, Richard de, see Strongbow. Earls of Gloucester, see Gloucester.
Clarence, George, duke of, marries Warwick's daughter Isobel, 456; suspected by Edward IV., 462; attainder and death of, 464.
—— Thomas, duke of, son of Henry IV., supports Archbishop Arundel, 405; commands a French expedition,

406; defeated and slain at Baugé, 422.
Clarendon, Assize of, 188; constitutions of, 170, 236.
Class hatred engendered by the Statute of Labourers, 361.
Claudius, emperor, 5.
Clement IV., Pope, friendliness of to Edward I., 295.
Clement VI., Pope, elected by the French cardinals, 377.
Clergy, the, resentment of, at John's exactions, 206; reject John de Grey, John's nominee to the archbishopric of Canterbury, 207; Norman discipline in, 243-244; of Scotland and the suzerainty of Edward I., 279-280; refuse grants to Edward I., 286; dismissed from State offices by Edward III., 346; opposition to John of Gaunt, 346, 347; quarrel with the Commons, 381.
Clericis Laicos, Papal Bull, 286.
Clermont, council of, 139, 145.
Clifford, Lord, 289, 302.
Clisson, Oliver de, 343.
Clontarf, battle of, 177.
Cloth-making, 478.
Cobham, Lord. See Oldcastle.
—— Eleanor, wife of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, 436, 437.
Coblenz, meeting of Edward III. and Lewis of Bavaria at, 328.
Coenwulf, king of Mercia, 47, 48.
Coifi, conversion of, 25.
Colchester, 5.
Columba, 21, 27, 30.
Comes, 8, 121.
Comitatus, 40, 41, 72.
Commendation, 119.
Commerce, in the Norman period, 130, 237; progress in the thirteenth century, 349 *et seq.*; to the end of the Middle Ages, 472 *et seq.*
Commons, House of, quarrel with the clergy, and object to the extravagance of Richard II., 381; relations with Henry IV., 400-401, 402, 403; packing and degradation of, under Edward IV., 462. See Parliament.
Commune concilium, 121.
Commutation, growth of, 358.
Comyn, John, claimant to the Scottish throne, 277; killed by Bruce, 296.
—— faction, the, 252, 297, 298.
Compiègne, Joan of Arc, captured at, 430.
Compurgation, trial by, 78.
Confirmatio Cartarum, 290, 291.
Conrad of Montferrat, claimant for the crown of Jerusalem, 193; assassination of, 194.
Constance, council of, 258-259, 417.
Constantine, king of Scots, defeated by Aethelstan, 66-67.
—— the Great, Emperor, 9.
—— British Emperor, 10, 11.
Constantius Chlorus, 9.
Convocation, 347.
Copyhold, 474-475.
Cornishmen, alliance of with Danes, 50.
Cornwall, coast of, raided by the French, 446.
Coroners, creation of, by Hubert Walter, 199.
Corn Law, the first, 474, 476.
Coroticus (Caradoc), 16.
Cottars, the, 126, 129.
Courtenay. See Devonshire.
—— Bishop of London, 347; succeeds to Canterbury, and opposes Wiclif, 378.
Courts of Law, 188-190.
Coutances, Walter of, justiciar. See Walter.
Coventry, parliament at, 448.
Crafts and craft gilds, 239-240, 350, 478.
Crecy, battle of, 333-335.
Cressingham, Hugh, made treasurer of Scotland by Edward I., 285; tyranny of, 288; death of, 289.
Crévant, battle of, 425.
Cross-bow, the, superseded by the long-bow, 332.
Crown, revenues of the, 73; power of the, 183-185; power of, prevented by the Church from becoming tyranny, 234; checks on the power of the, 461.
Crusades, the, 101, 140; influence of, 243.
Culture and learning, progress of, 481-482.
Cumberland, 1.
Cunobelinus, 5.
Curia Regis, the, 151, 189.
Currency, 130; increase of, under Henry I., 153; development of, 242.
Customs, origin of, 264, 352, 353.
Cutha, brother of Ceawlin, 19.
Cuthred, king of Wessex, routs Aethelbald, 35.
Cyneheard the Aetheling, slays Cynewulf, 35.
Cynewulf, king of Wessex, 35, 36; defeated by Offa, 37.
Cynric, king of the West Saxons, 16, 18.

DAGWORTH, governor of Brittany, 337.
Dalriada, united with Pictish kingdom by Kenneth M'Alpin, 65.
Damnonia, 19, 20.
Danegeld, 74, 80; heavy levy of, by William II., 134, 140; under Henry

I., 152; practically abolished under Henry II., 186.
Danelagh, the, 53, 54; delimited, 59; a menace to Wessex, 63; ceded by Eadmund without, East Anglia to Knut, 82.
Danes, the, first attacks of, 49; defeated at Hingston Down, 50; forces increased, 50-51; winter in Thanet, 51; defeated at Aclea, 51; defeated in Thanet, 52; winter in Sheppey, 52; raid on Hampshire, 53; winter again in Thanet, 53; conquest of the Danelagh, 55 *et seq.*; capture Northumbria, 55; invade Mercia, 56; institutions of, 57-58; final struggle with Alfred, 58, 59; treaty of Wedmore and Guthrum's fryth, 59; Hasting, 60; the conquest of England, 78 *et seq.*; oppose William I., 110.
David I., king of Scotland, takes oath to recognise Matilda, 149; his relations with Stephen, 154-155; invades England, 156; policy of, 248-249.
David II. of Scotland, married to Joanna, sister of Edward III., 321; defeated at Neville's Cross and taken prisoner, 335; ransomed, 339-340; feeble reign of, 485.
David, brother of Llewelyn ap Gryffydd, rebellion of, 271-273; executed, 273.
Deira, 19, 27, 28, 30, 65.
Demesne, the, 128.
Deorham, battle of, 19.
Derby, Henry, earl of. See Hereford, duke of, Lancaster, Henry, earl of, and Henry IV.
Dermot, king of Leinster, ejection of, 179; restored by help of Norman knights, 180.
Despenser, bishop of Norwich, suppresses the Eastern rising, 373; Flemish crusade of, 377; taken prisoner, 392.
—— Thomas, conspires against Henry IV. and is killed, 396.
Despensers, the, become favourites of Edward II., 309; overthrow of, 310; recalled by the king, 310; supremacy of arouses enmity, 312; capture and execution of, 314.
Devizes, Alexander, bishop of Lincoln, besieged in, 157.
Dialogus de Scaccario, by FitzNeal, 165, 245.
Dictum de Kenilworth, 232.
Diocletian, Emperor, 8.
Domesday Book, purpose and nature of, 125 *et seq.*; 189.
Dominicans, 244.
Dona, 167.
Donalbane, succeeds Malcolm Canmore, 137; deposed for Eadgar, 137.
Donald, Lord of the Isles, claims the earldom of Ross and fights the battle of Harlaw, 488.
Donis Conditionalibus, De, 267.
Dooms, of Alfred the Great, 61, 75; of Alfred's successors, 75, 76.
Dorset, Danish raids on, 50.
—— Thomas Beaufort, earl of, appointed chancellor, 405.
—— Thomas Grey, marquis of, 466.
Douglas, Sir William, joins Wallace, 288.
—— Lord James, 298, 303; ravages the north of England, 308; death of, 321.
—— James, earl of, killed at Otterburn, 384.
—— Archibald, earl of, 398, 399; killed at the battle of Verneuil, 425.
—— (Black), the, overthrown by James II., 489-490.
Dover, riot at, 89; successfully resists attack of Prince Louis of France, 215; raided by a French fleet, 283.
Druids, the, 11.
Dublin, Robert de Vere, marquis of. See Oxford, earl of.
Du Guesclin, Bertrand, 337, 342, 343, 344, 368.
Duke, introduction of the title of, 320.
Dunbar, 285.
Duncan, king of Scotland, killed by Macbeth, 91.
—— son of Malcolm Canmore, made king of Scotland, but is killed, 137.
Dundalk, battle of, 307.
Dunnechtan, battle of, 29.
Dunsinane, battle of, 92.
Dunstan, exiled by Eadwig, 68; becomes archbishop of Canterbury and chief counsellor of Eadgar, 69; his Church reforms, 69; legend of, 70.
Dunstanburgh, taken by the Lancastrians, 453.
Dupplin Moor, battle of, 322.
Durward faction, the, 252.
Duties, import and export, 475.

EADBERT, king of Northumbria, subdues the Britons of Strathclyde, 34; retires to a monastery, 34.
Eadburh, daughter of Offa, crimes of, 36.
Eadgar, king of Scotland, 137, 140, 247.
—— the Aetheling, 93, 94; elected king by the Witan, 106; flees to Scotland, 109; submits to William, 114.
—— 'the Peaceful,' successful reign of, due to Dunstan, 69.

Eadgyth, daughter of Godwin, married to Edward the Confessor, 87.
Eadmund, king of East Anglia, 54; Danes make terms with, 55; routed by the Danes and martyred, 56; honours paid to, 84.
—— the deed-doer, reign and assassination of, 67.
—— Ironside, opposes Knut, and is defeated at Assandun, 82; death of, 82.
Eadred, reign of, 67.
Eadric Streona, traitorous adviser of Aethelred the Redeless, 81; treachery of, to Eadmund, 82; executed by Knut, 83.
Eadric the Wild, insurrection of, 108, 114.
Eadwig (Edwy), reign of, 68.
—— brother of Eadmund, put to death by Knut, 82.
Eadwin, earl of Mercia, 95; defeated at Fulford, 96; 102, 106, 108; rebels against William I., 109; death of, 111.
—— son of Aelle, 19; takes refuge with Redwald, 23; made king of Northumbria, 24; marries Aethelberga, 24; nearly assassinated, 24; conversion of, 24-25; defeated by Penda at Heathfield and killed, 26.
Eadwulf, earl of Bernicia, 83; surrenders part of Northumbria to Malcolm, 84.
Eahlstan, bishop of Sherborne, 50; defeats the Danes, 51.
Ealdormen, status of the, 41, 72.
Eanfride, king of Bernicia, murder of, 27.
Earldoms, extent and powers of, restricted by William I., 119.
Earls, personal jurisdiction of the Norman, 120.
East Anglia, Danes ravage coast of, 50; subordinate to Wessex, 54; acknowledges supremacy of Edward the Elder, 64.
East Saxons, the, 18.
Easter, dispute between the Latin and Celtic Churches as to the date of, 30.
Eastern rising, the (in Peasant Revolt), 373 *et seq.*
Ecgberht, king of Wessex, 47; wars against the Welsh, 48; makes Wessex supreme, 48; complete sovereignty of, 49; death of, 50.
Ecgfrith, king of Northumbria, defeated and killed at Nechtansmere, 29.
Edgecote, battle of, 457.
Edinburgh, named after Eadwin, 24; burned by Richard II., 380.
Edith, daughter of Malcolm and Margaret, wife of Henry I., 143.
Edmund of Cornwall, regent during the absence of his cousin Edward I., 274.
Edmund (Crouchback), son of Henry III., nominated king of Sicily, 225; supported by the Papacy, 226; ancestor of Henry IV., 393.
—— of Langley, duke of York, son of Edward III., 367-368, 380.
Edward I., made nominal governor of Gascony, 225; marries Eleanor of Castile, 225; invested with Henry III.'s overseas dominions and Wales, 225; sides with Simon de Montfort, 227; held as hostage by Montfort after the battle of Lewes, 228; escapes and defeats Montfort at Evesham, 230; defeats Simon de Montfort the younger at Kenilworth, 230-231; vindictiveness of, after Evesham, 232; confirms the charters, etc., 232; joins the last important crusade, 232; accession of, 261; his ideal of national unity, 262; aims at re-establishing the supremacy of the crown, 263; parliaments of, 264-265; legislation of, 264 *et seq.*; conquest of Wales, 266; the methods of raising money, 267; conquest of Wales, 269 *et seq.*; absence in France, 274; arbitrates on the Scottish succession, 275 *et seq.*; war with France, 280 *et seq.*; suppresses the Welsh insurrection led by Madoc, 282; develops use of the navy, 284; invades Scotland and annexes the crown, 285; outlaws the clergy for refusing grants, 286; takes an army to Flanders, 288; makes a truce with Philip IV., 291; second invasion of Scotland, 291 *et seq.*; death of, 297; his economic and commercial policy, 352 *et seq.*
Edward II., intrigues and jealousies of his kinsfolk, 298-299; character of, 299; recalls Piers Gaveston, 299, 300; demands for remedy of grievances, 300-302; defeated by Bruce at Bannockburn, 303 *et seq.*; the Despensers, 309 *et seq.*; subdues the marchers, 310; rebellion of Lancaster and Hereford, 310; attacks Scotland, 312; concludes a thirteeen years' truce with Bruce, 312; relations with Charles IV. of France, 312-313; capture and deposition of, 314; murdered, 315; the wretchedness of his reign, 319.
Edward III., accession of, 314; minority of, 315 *et seq.*; marries Philippa of Hainault, 317; joins in overthrow of Mortimer, 317-318; recovers the Eng-

lish prestige, 319-320; his character, 320; reinstates Edward Balliol on the Scottish throne, 322-323; his policy towards Scotland, 323; his claim to the French throne, 326-327; strained relations with Philip VI., 327; invades France, 329; makes alliance with the Flemings, 329; his victory at Sluys, 329; makes truce of Esplechin, and loses his allies, 330; quarrels with Stratford, 331; supports John of Montfort, claimant of Brittany, 331; repudiates his debts to the Florentine bankers, 332; renews the war with France, 333; ravages Normandy and advances to Paris, 333; his victory at Crecy, 333-335; takes Calais, 335-336; signs a truce, 336; recovers Berwick, 339; concludes peace of Bretigny, 341; enlarges the estates of his kinsfolk, 346; death of, 348; his policy with regard to commerce and trade, 354-357; genealogical table of the descendants of, 496-497.

Edward IV., declared king, 451; coronation of, 452; his character, 453; marries Elizabeth Woodville, 454; the breach with Warwick, 455; imprisons Henry VI. in the Tower, 456; relations with Louis XI. of France, and Charles, duke of Burgundy, 456, 463-464; flight of, 459; defeats Warwick at Barnet and Margaret at Tewkesbury, 460; his policy, 461 *et seq.*; proposes war on France, 463; introduces benevolences, 463; attaints his brother Clarence, 464; intrigues against James III. of Scotland, 464-465; quarrels with Louis XI. of France, 465; death of, 465; his culture, 481.

Edward the Confessor, 86; reign of, 87 *et seq.*; marries Godwin's daughter Eadgyth, 87; piety of, 88.

—— 'the exile,' 86; death of, 93.

—— See Black Prince, the.

—— the Elder, 63; conquests of, 64-65.

—— the Martyr, reign and assassination of, 70.

—— Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI., killed at Tewkesbury, 460.

—— —— son of Richard III., 269.

Edwy. See Eadwig.

Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife of Henry II., 162; incites her sons to rebel against their father, 173; keeps John in check, 191; attacked by Arthur of Brittany at Le Mans, 203; death of, 204.

—— of Castile, 280; death of, 281.

—— of Provence, married to Henry III., 221.

Election, development of, by Hubert Walter, 199-200.

'Electors,' nominated by Simon de Montfort, 229.

Elizabeth, daughter of Edward IV., 468.

—— queen of Edward IV. See Woodville.

Ellandune, battle of, 48.

Ely, Hereward's camp of refuge at, 111.

English language supersedes French in literature, 364.

—— people, the, 1; character and polity of, 39 *et seq.*; early literature, 45.

Englishry, law of, 124.

Eorls, status of the, 42.

Eric, son of Harald Bluetooth, elected king of Northumbria, 67; expelled by Eadred, 67.

Ermenburga, queen of Ecgfrith, 32.

Escheat, 187.

Esplechin, treaty of, 330.

Essex, Danes overrun, 56; acknowledges supremacy of Edward the Elder, 64.

Ethandun, battle of, 59.

Europe, organisation and movements of during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, 98 *et seq.*; general history of to 1380, 256-261.

Eustace, count of Boulogne, visits England, 89.

—— son of Stephen, the Pope refuses to sanction coronation of, 160; death of, 160.

Evesham, battle of, 231; results of, 232.

Exchequer, organised under Henry I., 152; development of, under Henry II., 185 *et seq.*

—— court of, 189.

Exeter, Danes seize and surrender, 58; offers resistance to William the Conqueror, 108.

FAIR OF LINCOLN, the, 217.

Fairs, 351.

Falaise, treaty of, 192, 279.

Falkirk, battle of, 291.

Falkes de Bréauté, 219.

Famine of 1315-1318, 308.

Ferdinand, king of Aragon, recognises Richard III., 470.

Ferrars, Lord, killed at the second battle of St. Albans, 454.

Feudal system, beginnings of, 75-76; English and Norman contrasted, 117 *et seq.*

Feudalism in the reign of Henry VI., 446-447.

Finance, 241-242.

Fitzatholf, Constantine, execution of, 219.

Fitz-Neal, Richard, treasurer of Henry

II., 185; his *Dialogus de Scaccario*, 245.
Fitzosbern, Roger, earl of Hereford, 113.
—— William, receives earldom of Hereford, 108.
Fitzosbert, William, execution of, 200.
Fitzpeter, Geoffrey, justiciar, 201, 206, 211.
'Five boroughs,' the, 65.
Flambard, Ranulf. See Ranulf.
Flanders, crusade of Despenser, bishop of Norwich in, 377.
Fleet Prison, the, burnt in Wat Tyler's rebellion, 371.
Flemings, the, importation of, by Matilda and Henry I., 237; resistance of, to Philip IV., 260; English trade with, 326; Edward III.'s financial relations with, 354; massacre of, by Wat Tyler's followers, 371.
Florentine bankers, Edward III. repudiates his debts to, 332, 354.
Folcland, 73.
Folc-moot. See Moots.
Forced loans exacted by Richard III., 470.
Foreign relations, beginnings of, 256.
Foreign traders, hostility to, 240-241, 477-478.
Forest charter, the, of Henry III., 217; confirmation of, 290.
Forest laws of William I., 124.
Forfeiture, 107, 113, 119, 128.
Formigny, battle of, 438.
Fortescue, Sir John, 482.
France, 97; under the Capets, 100; makes strife against William I., 115; dominions of Henry II. in, 162-163; his campaign in Toulouse, 164-165; John's struggles with Philip II., 202-204, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211-212; Prince Louis aids the barons against John, 215; possessions of the Norman and Plantagenet kings in, 256-257; general history of, from Philip II. to Charles VI., 259-261; excludes females from the line of succession, 260; treachery of Philip IV. to Edward I., 280-281; forms alliance with Scots, 283; Edward I. takes an army to Flanders, 288; Edward III.'s claim to the throne of, 326; the Hundred Years' War, 328 *et seq.*; internal troubles of, 340; makes overtures for peace, 384; a peace concluded with, 386-387; the feud of Louis of Orleans and John of Burgundy, 403-404; campaign of Agincourt, 411 *et seq.*; Henry V.'s second invasion, 418 *et seq.*; under Bedford's regency, 423-432; concluding period of the Hundred Years' War, 432-442; Edward IV.'s relations with, 456-457; genealogical tables of the later Capets, 500; of the Valois, 501.
Franciscans, the, 244-245.
Frazer, bishop of St. Andrews, 277.
Frederick II., emperor, death of, 258.
Free Companies of France, the, 341-342.
Freeholders (note on), 506.
Freemen, the, 42, 126-129, 235; expansion of, 358.
Friars, the, 244.
Froissart, 363, 366.
Fulk, count of Anjou, 148.
Fyrd, the, 54, 72.

GAELS, the, 2.
Galloway, 246.
Game, William the Conqueror's love of, 124-125.
Gascoigne, Chief Justice, and Prince Hal, legend of, 408.
Gascony, 224, 225, 257; seizure of, by Philip IV., 281, 283; restoration of, 295; sequestrated by Charles IV., 312-313, 328; English trade with, 325; the Black Prince in, 338; loyal to England during the Hundred Years' War, 427.
Gaunt. See John of Gaunt.
Gaveston, Piers, favourite of Edward II., 299; appointed regent, 300; sent to Ireland, 300; recalled by Edward II., 300; banishment and recall of, 302; murder of, 302.
Genealogical tables: House of Wessex, 493; Norman and early Plantagenets, 494; descendants of Henry III. to Richard II., 495; descendants of Edward III., 496, 497; Scottish Dynasties from Duncan to James III., 498, 499; the French Capets and the Valois succession, 500; the Valois, 501; Nevilles, 502.
Geoffrey, count of Anjou, marries the Empress Maud, 150; attacks on Normandy, 154-155; annexes it, 160.
—— son of Henry II., joins the rebellion against his father, 174; wages war against Richard, 175.
—— natural son of Henry II., made archbishop of York, 192; arrested by Longchamp, 195.
—— of Monmouth, 245.
Germans, the, polity of, described by Tacitus, 40.
Germany, 98.
Gesiths, the, 41.
Gilbert of Gloucester. See Gloucester.
Gildas, chronicle of, 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 44.

Gild-merchant, 238.
Gilds, 239-240, 350; rivalry of the clothing and victualling, 478.
Giraldus Cambrensis, 245.
Glanville, Ranulf, justiciar, 189; accompanies Richard I. to the crusade, 192.
Glastonbury abbey, Knut's gifts to, 84; disturbances at, 243.
Glendower, Owen, rebellion of, 397; defeats and captures Edmund Mortimer, 398; makes a treaty with France, 401; power of, broken by Prince Henry, 404.
Gloucester, Gilbert de Clare, earl of (i), 227. (ii), son of the above, supports Montfort, 229; joins royalists, 230; urges conciliation after Evesham, 232; defeated in Wales, 272; marcher quarrels, 274. (iii), 295, 299; killed at Bannockburn, 305; partition of his inheritance, 309; character of, 319.
—— Thomas, duke of. See Thomas of Woodstock.
—— Humphrey, duke of, nominated regent of England by Henry V., 423; accepted as Protector only, 424; his bad policy, 425; marries Jacquelaine of Hainault, 426; quarrels with Beaufort, 427; political position of, 433-434; marries his mistress Eleanor Cobham, 435; sent to relieve Calais, 435; ruined by the folly of his wife, 436; arrest and death of, 437.
—— Richard, duke of, 462; becomes Protector, 466; sends Lord Hastings to execution, 466; takes the crown, 467; murder of the princes in the Tower, 467. See Richard III.
—— Robert, earl of, son of Henry I. See Robert, earl of Gloucester.
—— statute of, 265.
Godwin, made earl of Wessex, 83; marries Gytha, kinswoman of Knut, 84; supports Harthacnut's claim to the throne, 85; betrays Alfred the Aetheling, 86; gains ascendency over Edward the Confessor, 87; character and policy of, 88 *et seq.*; fall of, 90; return and death of, 90-91.
Goidels, the, 2.
Good Parliament, the, 347.
Gospatric, earl of Bernicia, supports Eadgar the Aetheling, 109.
Government, early English system of, 71 *et seq.*
Gower, John, 364.
Grand Assize, the, 188.
Graupian Mount, battle of, 6.
Great Council, the, 164, 183, 199; rejects extravagant demands of Henry III., 224; demands reforms from Henry III., 226. See Witan and Parliament.
Great and ancient custom, the, 265.
Gregory I., Pope, sends Augustine to the English, 21.
Gregory VII., Pope (Hildebrand), 99, 100, 121, 139.
Gregory IX., Pope, demands heavy contributions from the English clergy and appoints absentee Italians, 220.
Grey, Elizabeth. See Woodville.
—— John de, bishop of Norwich, nominated by John to the archbishopric of Canterbury and rejected by the clergy and the Pope, 207.
—— Richard, Lord, arrest of, 466; executed, 467.
—— Thomas. See Dorset.
—— Sir Thomas of Heton, executed for complicity in the conspiracy of Richard, earl of Cambridge, against Henry V., 413.
—— of Ruthyn, Lord, attacked by Owen Glendower, 397.
Grosseteste, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, becomes leader of the English clergy, 222; resists Papal exactions, 223; his treatise on estate management, 242; helps to raise the status of Oxford University, 245.
Gryffydd, king of North Wales, aggressions of, 92-93.
Gualo, papal legate, 216, 217, 218.
Guienne, 224, 257; bestowed on John of Gaunt, 386; loyalty of to England during the Hundred Years' War, 427, 436; conquest of, by France terminates the war, 441-442.
Gurth, son of Godwin, shares earldom of East Anglia, 93.
Guthrum, Danish king of East Anglia, 58; his assaults on Wessex, 58-59; conversion of, 59.
Guthrum's fryth, 59.
Guy of Lusignan, claimant for the crown of Jerusalem, supported by Richard I., 193.
Guy of Ponthieu, holds Harold to ransom, 94.

HADRIAN'S WALL, 7.
Hainault, William, count of, Isabella's alliance with, 314; Edward III.'s, 327-330.
Hakon, king of Norway, invades Scotland, 253.
Hales, Sir Robert, treasurer, 369; murder of, 371.
Halfdane, Danish leader, 56, 57.
Halidon Hill, battle of, 322-323.

'Hallelujah victory,' the, 15.
Hampshire, Jutish occupation of, 16, 18; Danish raids on, 50.
Hanseatic League, the, 351, 464, 478.
Hapsburg dynasty, the, 258.
Harald Hardrada, king of Norway, invades England and is defeated and slain, 96.
Harfleur, siege on, 413.
Harclay, Andrew, defeats Thomas of Lancaster at Boroughbridge, 310-311; made earl of Carlisle, 312; arrest and execution of, 312.
Harlech, siege of, 404.
Harold Harefoot, elected king by the Witan, 85; death of, 86.
Harold, son of Godwin, earldom of, 88; bestowed on Aelfgar, 90; restoration of, 90; governs England, 91; campaigns against Gryffydd, 93; elected king by the Witan, 95; coronation of, 96; defeats Harald Hardrada and Tostig, 96; defeated and killed at Senlac, 105.
—— of Caithness, revolt of, against William the Lion, king of Scotland, 250.
Harthacnut, supported by Godwin, earl of Wessex, 85-86; reign of, 86-87.
Hasting the Viking, 60.
Hastings, battle of. See Senlac.
—— John, claimant to the Scottish throne, 277.
—— Lord, execution of, 466.
Haxey's case, 387.
Hawarden, captured by David of Wales, 271.
Hawkwood, Sir John, 342.
Heathfield, battle of, 26.
Heavenfield, battle of, 27.
Hedgeley Moor, battle of, 454.
Hengist and Horsa, 16.
Henry I., quarrels with his brothers, 136; accession of, 141; training and character of, 142; election and coronation of, 143; charter of, 143; recalls Anselm and imprisons Ranulph Flambard, 143; marries Edith, daughter of Malcolm Canmore, 143; invades Normandy and takes Robert prisoner, 144-145; dispute with Anselm and Pope Paschal II., 145-146; his political aims, 147; relations with Emperor Henry V. and Louis VI., 147; wins Normandy, 148; appoints Matilda his heir, 149-150; death of, 150; his administrative reforms, 150 *et seq.*
Henry II., son of Empress Maud, abandons claim to English throne, 160; marries Eleanor of Aquitaine, 160; returns to England, 160; recognised successor to Stephen, 161; accession of, 162; extent of his dominions, 162-163; his continental ambitions, 163; character of, 163; his operations in France, 164; dealings with Malcolm IV. of Scotland, 164; subdues Wales, 164; asserts claim to Toulouse, 164-165; makes Becket archbishop of Canterbury, 166; his relations with the Church, 166 *et seq.*; rupture and reconciliation with Becket, 170-171; incites the murder of Becket, 172; submits to the Pope, 172; claims suzerainty of Ireland, 172; conspiracies of his sons, 173; revolt of his son Henry, 174; obliges William the Lion to do homage, 174; renewed troubles with his sons, 175-176; death of, 176; his administrative developments and reforms, 183 *et seq.*
Henry III., accession of, 216; minority of, 216-219; character of, 219; attacks France, 220; dismisses Hubert de Burgh, 220; dismisses Peter des Roches and his Poitevins, 221; his favouritism of foreigners, 221-222; marries Eleanor of Provence, 221; his campaign in Poitou, 223-224; his demands for supplies rejected by the Great Council, 224; yields the demands of the Great Council, 226; repudiates the Provisions of Oxford, 227; defeated and captured by Simon de Montfort at Lewes, 228; death of, 233; genealogical table of the descendants of, to Richard II., 495.
Henry IV., claims the crown, 393-394; character of, 394; his difficulties, 395; coronation and first parliament of, 395; plot against, 396; makes a futile invasion of Scotland, 396-397; defied by Owen Glendower, 397; defeats the Percies, 398-399; plots against, 401; campaign in Wales, 402; strained relations with Parliament, 402; captures and retains James, crown prince of Scotland, 402-403; conflict between the Arundel and Beaufort factions, 404-405; quarrels with the Prince of Wales, 405; the Beaufort party suggests his abdication, 405-406; death of, 406. See Hereford.
Henry V., his military success in Wales before his accession, 404; quarrels with his father (Henry IV.), 405; accession of, 406; his character, 407-409; claims the French crown, 409; his conception of an Anglo-French empire, 410; adopts vigorous measures

against the Lollards, 410-411; has a secret alliance with the duke of Burgundy, 411 *et seq.*; his demands of France, 411-412; takes Harfleur, 413; the battle of Agincourt, 413; visited by the Emperor Sigismund, 417; conquers Normandy, 418-420; makes the treaty of Troyes, 421; enters Paris, 421; besieges Meaux, 422; death of, 423.
Henry VI., coronation of, in Paris, 431; marries Margaret of Anjou, 437; temporary madness of, 444; recovers and restores the Somerset party, 445; captured by York, 445; mental relapse of, 446; reconciles the Queen's party and the Yorkists, 447; taken prisoner at Northampton, 449; escapes to Scotland, 452; captured by Edward IV. and sent to the Tower, 456; restored to the throne by Warwick, 459; again sent to the Tower by Edward IV., 460; death of, 461.
Henry VII., crowned on Bosworth field, 471. See Richmond, earl of.
Henry V., German emperor, marries Matilda, daughter of Henry I., 145; death of, 149.
Henry VI., German emperor, opposed by Richard I., 193; keeps Richard I. captive, 195.
Henry 'the younger,' son of Henry II., revolt of, 174; quarrels with his brother Richard, 175; death of, 176.
—— count of Champagne, elected king of Jerusalem, 194.
—— bishop of Winchester, obtains the crown for his brother Stephen, 154; quarrels with Stephen, 157; made papal legate, 158; supports Stephen again, 159-160.
—— son of David I. of Scotland, does homage to Stephen, 154; at the battle of the Standard, 156-157; obtains earldom of Northumberland, 157.
—— of Almaine, 228; murder of, 233.
—— of Trastamare, 342, 343.
Hereford, sack of, by Gryffydd, 93.
—— Henry, duke of, banished by Richard II., 389-391; confiscation of his estates, 391; returns to England and deposes Richard II., 391-393. See Henry IV.
—— Humphrey de Bohun, third earl of, quarrels with the earl of Gloucester, 274; refuses to serve Edward I. in Gascony, 287, 288; compels him to confirm the charters, 290, 291, 294.
—— Humphrey, fourth earl of, marries daughter of Edward I., 295, 299; taken prisoner at Bannockburn, 305; rebellion and death of, 310.
Heretico Comburendo, de, statute, 399.
Hereward the Wake, rebellion of, 111.
Hexham, battle of, 454.
Hidage, 187.
Hide of land, allotment of the, 43.
Hildebrand, 99; becomes Pope as Gregory VII., 100, 121, 243.
Hingston Down, battle of, 50.
Historia Brittonum, 13, 15.
Hohenstaufen dynasty, end of the, 258.
Holinshead, the Chronicle of, 407.
Holland, John, earl of Huntingdon, 387, 392.
—— Thomas, the younger, earl of, 388, 392.
Holy Land, the, pilgrims to, 140.
—— Roman Empire, the, 98.
Homildon Hill, battle of, 398.
Horn, Alderman John, and the Peasants' Revolt, 370.
Horsa, Jutish leader, 16.
Hotspur, Harry, captured at Otterburn, 384; resigns justiciarship of Wales, 397; killed at the battle of Shrewsbury, 399.
House-carls. See Huscarles.
Hubert de Burgh. See Burgh, Hubert de.
'Hue and cry,' the, 200.
Hugh, bishop of Lincoln, opposes Hubert Walter, 200-201.
Hugh of Chester, 115; supports William II., 134.
Hugh of Lusignan, supports Richard of Cornwall's claim to Poitou, 223.
Humphrey, duke of Gloucester. See Gloucester.
Hundred Rolls, the, 265.
Hundreds, the, origin of, 41.
Hundred Years' War, causes of, 324 *et seq.*; from 1338 to 1360, 328 *et seq.*; to 1377, 341 *et seq.*
Hunting of the Cheviot, the ballad of, 384.
Huntingdon, John Holland, earl of. See Holland.
Husbandry, 242.
Huscarles, Knut's force compromise between Harold Harefoot and Harthacnut, 85; at Senlac, 103, 105.
Huss, John, 417, 481.
Hwiccas, defeat of the, 47.

IBERIANS, the, 2.
Iceni, the, 5, 6.
Ida, founds kingdom of Northumbria, 16; death of, 18.
Idle river, defeat of Aethelfrith at the, 24.

Illumination, art of, 246.
Impalement, practice of, introduced by Tiptoft, earl of Worcester, 481.
Industries, growth of, 237, 242; introduction of Flemish cloth-workers, 356; wool-growing, 476; cloth-making, 478.
Ine, king of Wessex, abdication of, 35.
Ingvar, invades East Anglia, 55.
Innocent III., Pope, power of, 102; demands dismissal of Hubert Walter from the justiciarship, 200-201; quarrels with John, 207-208; lays England under an interdict, 208; annuls Magna Carta, 214; death of, 216; greatness of, 243.
Inquisition of the sheriffs, 186.
Interdict, papal, England placed under, in the reign of John, 208.
Investiture, 139, 145.
Iona, monks of, protect Oswald, 27.
Ireland, Scots from, settle in Caledonia, 177; missionaries from, to the Scots and Picts, 177; invasion of, by Eegfrith, 177; Danish and Norse settlers in, 177; defeat of the Ostmen at Clontarf by Brian Boroihme, 177; polity of, 178; design of William the Conqueror on, 178; conquest of, contemplated by William II., 179; Henry II. claims suzerainty of, 172; annexation of, by Henry II., 179 *et seq.*; John in, 182; throne of, offered to Robert Bruce and accepted by his brother Edward, 306; the statute of Kilkenny, 345; visited by Richard II., 386; Yorkists in, 438, 447.
—— Robert de Vere, duke of. See Oxford, earl of.
Irish Church, 181.
Isabella, wife of Edward II., insulted by Lady Badlesmere, 310; intrigues against the Despensers, 312; obtains the restoration of Gascony from Charles IV., 313; becomes mistress of Roger Mortimer and conspires against Edward II., 313-314; deposes him, 314; claims the crown of France for Edward III., 316.
Isles, the, independence of, 487-488.
Isobel of Angoulême, married to John, 203; to Hugh of Lusignan, 223.
—— of Gloucester, married to John, 191.
Isle of Wight, Jutish occupation of, 16, 18.
Italy, general state of, in the thirteenth century, 258.
Itinerant justices, 152. See Judicial system.

JACQUELAINE OF HAINAULT, marries Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, 426.
Jacquerie, the, 269, 341, 361.
James I. of Scotland, held prisoner by Henry IV.; 403; released. 426; attacks Roxburgh, 435; murdered, 437; the *King's Quair* of, 482; his policy, 488.
James II. of Scotland, reign of, 489-490.
James III. of Scotland, 490-492.
Jarls, 54.
Jerusalem, capture of, by Saladin, 176; dissensions of Richard I. and his fellow-crusaders about the crown of, 193.
Jews, the, detestation of, 241; massacre of, 242; expelled by Edward I., 353.
Joan of Arc, delivers Orleans from the English, 428-429; defeats Talbot at Patay, 429; capture, trial and execution of, 430-431, 481.
Joanna, daughter of Henry II., married to Alexander II. of Scotland, 251.
—— daughter of Edward II., married to David II. of Scotland, 321.
John, rebellion of, 176; his folly in Ireland, 182; marries Isobel of Gloucester, 191; intrigues of, 195-197; becomes king, 201; his character, 201-202; his claim to the throne debatable, 202; marries Isobel of Angoulême, 203; war with Arthur of Brittany, 203-204; loses Normandy, 204; his demands rouse opposition, 206-207; quarrels with Pope Innocent III., 207 *et seq.*; suppresses Welsh rising, 208; provokes general bitterness, 209; deposition by and submission to the Pope, 209-210; hostilities with France, 209-210, 211-212; his conflict with the barons, 210 *et seq.*; accepts Magna Carta, 213; his war with the barons and Louis of France, 215; death of, 216; his character, 216.
—— king of France, taken prisoner at Poictiers, 339; agrees to terms of peace, 340; ransom of, 341.
—— of Brittany, 293, 298.
—— of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, his command in France, 344; marries (i) Blanche of Lancaster, (ii) a daughter of Pedro the Cruel, 345; (iii) Katharine Swynford, 386; leads the anti-clerical party, 346; his proposal as to the succession, 347; ascendency of, 347; his loyalty, 367; appointed to command of the fleet, 368; palace of Savoy burnt by the mob, 371; his expedition to Scotland, 380; his claim to the throne of Castile and expedition to Portugal, 380; recalled from Spain, 385; quarrels with Arundel, 386; death of, 391.

Judicial system, the, 76; under Henry I., 150 *et seq.*; under Henry II., 188-190.
Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, wife of Aethelwulf and Aethelbald, 52; and of Baldwin 'the Forester,' 53.
Jury, origin and development of, 77, 188-189; Hubert Walter revises method of selecting, 199; note on the later development of trial by, 509.
Justices, itinerant sent out by Henry I., 152; corrupt, suppressed by Edward I., 275. See Judicial system.
—— of the Peace (note on), 508-509.
Jutes, the, settle in Kent, 17; origin of, 39.

KARL THE GREAT, king of the Franks, 37. See Charlemagne.
Kemp, archbishop and chancellor, death of, 444.
Kenilworth, defeat of Simon the younger at, 231; *Dictum de*, 232.
Kennedy, bishop of St. Andrews, 490.
Kenneth M'Alpin, unites Dalriada with the Pictish kingdom, 65.
Kent, Jutes settle in, 17; kingdom of, under Aethelbert, 20; conversion of, by Augustine, 22-23; peasantry of, not villeins, 236, 358. See Peasants' Revolt and Cade, Jack.
—— Edmund, earl of, conspires against Edward II., 313; executed, 316.
—— Thomas Holland, the younger, earl of. See Holland.
Kilkenny, statute of, 345.
King, Witan's right of choosing, 41; law of succession, 41; rights of, 73, 74.
King's Bench, Court of, 190.
King's Quair, the, 482.
Knighthood, distraint of, 265.
Knights of the shire, the, 199.
Knut, elected king by the Danes in England, 81; defeats Eadmund at Assandun, 82; reign and policy of, 82-85; marries Emma, widow of Aethelred, 83; receives homage from Malcolm of Scotland, 84; visits Rome, 85; wins Norway from Olaf the Thick, 85.
—— king of Denmark, projects invasion of England, 114.

LABOURERS, statute of, 337, 359-361; Gloucester's oppressive measures against, 384; repeal of the statute demanded by Jack Cade, 439; condition of, at the end of the Middle Ages, 473-474. See Villeins.
Lacey, Hugh de, made justiciar of Ireland, 181.
La Crotoy, battle of, 336.
Lancaster, Edmund, earl of. See Edmund.
—— Henry, earl of (i). See Leicester.
—— Henry, earl of (ii), his successes in France, 333.
—— Henry, duke of. See Hereford.
—— John, duke of. See John of Gaunt.
—— Thomas, earl of, 299; opposes Edward I., 307; power of, 308; insurrection against, in Lancashire, 308; rebels, 310; defeated at Boroughbridge and executed, 311; character of, 311.
Lancastrian dynasty, the, 434.
Land tenure, under the early English, 42-43, 73; changed by William I., 117 *et seq.*
Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, 113; character and work of, 122-123; crowns William II., 133; death of, 134.
Langland, William, 320, 364, 481.
Langton, Stephen, recommended by Pope Innocent III. for the archbishopric of Canterbury, 207; policy of, 211; suspended by Pandulph, 214; obtains Pandulph's withdrawal, 218; England's debt to, 244.
Largs, battle of, 253.
Latimer, Lord, impeachment of, 347; appointed to the Council of Regency, 367.
Latin language, the, 10; use of, 245.
La Rochelle, defeat of the English fleet off, 344.
Lay investitures, dispute as to, 139, 145.
Layamon, 245.
Leak, compact or treaty of, 308.
Learning, revival of, 482.
Leges Henrici, 151.
Leicester, Henry, earl of, made custodian of Edward II., 314; becomes earl of Lancaster, and nominal head of the administration, 315; incapacitated by blindness, 316.
—— Simon, earl of. See Simon de Montfort.
—— Henry VI. summons a Great Council at, 445.
Le Mans, 203.
Leo IX., Pope, refuses to confirm Stigand's appointment, 91.
Leofric, earl of Mercia, 87, 88, 91.
Leofwine, earl of Mercia, 83.
—— son of Godwin, shares earldom of East Anglia, 93.
Leopold, duke of Austria, takes Richard I. prisoner and sends him to Henry VI. of Germany, 195.
Lewes, battle of, 228; Mise of, 228.

Lewis of Bavaria, emperor, allies himself with Edward III., 328-329.
Libell of English Policie, the, 477.
Lichfield made an archiepiscopate, 37.
Limoges, capture of, by the Black Prince, 343.
Lincoln, charter of (1194), 200; Fair of, 217.
—— earl of, 300.
Lindisfarne, 27.
Lionel, duke of Clarence, son of Edward III., governs Ireland, 345.
Lisieux, captured by Henry V., 418.
Literature, Saxon, 45; of the Norman era, 245; to Richard II., 364 *et seq.*; to the end of the Middle Ages, 482.
Llewelyn ap Gryffydd, makes alliance with Simon de Montfort, 230; concludes peace with Edward, 232; policy of, 254-255, 269-270; submits to Edward, 271; killed after the battle of Orewyn Bridge, 272.
—— ap Jorwerth, alliance of, with Richard Marshal against Henry III., 221; policy of, 253-254, 269.
Lollards, the, 378, 395, 399, 405; suppression of, by Henry V., 410-411.
Lombards, the, finance the crown, 353-354.
London, attacked by the Danes, 50; stormed by the Danes, 51; has privilege of immunity from ordeal of battle, 152; the commune of, 196, 200; supports Simon de Montfort, 227; commune of, cancelled, 238; treaty of, 341; acclamation of Edward IV. by, 451.
Long-bow, use of the. See Archery.
Longchamp, William, made joint-justiciary by Richard I., 192; appointed papal legate, 192; agitations against, 195; deposition of, 195.
Lords, the jurisdiction of, under Henry I., 151; note on the rights of the, 505.
—— of the Isles, 250, 487; English intrigues with, 484.
Losecoat Field, battle of, 458.
Lothian, ceded to Malcolm II., 84; population of, 246; ceded to Edward III., 323.
Louis VI. of France, policy of, 147; contends with Henry I. for Normandy, 148.
Louis VII. of France, 160.
Louis VIII. of France, aids the barons against John, 215; withdraws from England, 217; death of, 219.
Louis IX. of France, 220; bestows Poitou on his brother Alphonse, 223; arbitrates between Henry III. and the barons, 227; chivalry of, 243.
Louis X. of France, 260.
Louis XI. of France, assists Margaret against the Yorkists, 453; Warwick's negotiations with, for the marriage of Edward IV. to Bona of Savoy, 455; relations of Edward IV. with, 456; wins Warwick over to the Lancastrian side, 458; buys off Edward IV., 463.
Lucy, Richard de, justiciar of Henry II., 163.
Ludican, king of Mercia, 48.
Lusignans, throng to the court of Henry III., 223; antagonism to, 226.
Lydgate, John, 482.

MACBETH, kills Duncan, king of Scotland, 91; defeated and slain at Lumphanan, 92.
MacHeths, the, Scottish claimants, 247, 250.
MacWilliams, the, Scottish claimants, 250.
Mad Parliament, the, 226.
Madog, insurrection of, 282.
Maes Madog, battle of, 282.
Magna Carta, 213-214; reissue of, 216.
Magnum Concilium, 120.
Maine, evacuation of, 438.
Malcolm I. of Scotland holds part of Strathclyde from Eadmund, 67.
Malcolm II. of Scotland, harries Northumbria, 80; takes part of Northumbria, 84; does homage to Knut, 84.
Malcolm III., Canmore, of Scotland, 91-92; marries Margaret of Wessex, 92; does homage to William the Conqueror, 112; raids England, 114, 136; submits to William II., 136; slain at Alnwick, 136; anglicising of the Lowlands by, 247.
Malcolm IV. of Scotland ('the Maiden'), deprived of earldom of Northumberland by Henry II., but does homage to him, 164; policy of, 250.
Maldon, battle of, 79.
Malet, William, 110.
Maletolt levied by Edward I., 287.
Malory, Sir Thomas, 482.
Mandeville, Sir John, 364.
Manor, origin and nature of the, 126 position of the lords of the, 128-129.
Mantes, death of William I. at, 115.
Manufactures, 242.
Map, Walter, 245.
Marcel, Stephen, 340.
March, Edmund Mortimer (i), earl of, marries daughter of Lionel of Clarence, 345; opposes John of Gaunt, 346, 347. (ii), plots in favour of, 401, 404, 413; death of, 426.

March, Edward, earl of, 450; wins the battle of Mortimer's Cross, 451; declared king, 451. See Edward IV.
—— Roger Mortimer (i), earl of. See Mortimer, (ii), heir-presumptive of Richard II., made Lieutenant of Ireland, 386, 389; death of, 391.
Mar, earl of, Regent of Scotland, defeat of, at Dupplin Moor, 322.
—— earl of (brother of James III.), imprisonment and death of, 491.
Marches, exceptional powers of the earldoms of the, 119, 269; curtailed by Edward I., 273.
Margaret, wife of Malcolm Canmore, 136; anglicising of the Lowlands by, 247.
—— wife of Eric of Norway, 276.
—— the Maid of Norway, 276.
—— of Anjou, married to Henry VI., 437; triumphs over Richard, duke of York, 446; seeks the help of Scotland, 449; escapes to Scotland, 452; her efforts to gain support, 453; goes to Flanders, 454; taken prisoner at Tewkesbury, 461; ransomed by Louis XI., 464.
Markets, 351.
Market towns, 130.
Marlborough, statute of, 232.
Marriage of minors in wardship, 187.
Marshal, William, earl of Pembroke, 206; opposes John, 207; loyalty to John, 211, 215; virtual dictator during minority of Henry III., 216-218.
—— Richard, earl of Pembroke, demands the dismissal of the Poitevins, 221; defeated and killed, 221.
Martin, papal legate, failure of, 224.
Maserfield, battle of, 28.
Matilda, daughter of Henry I., married to Henry V., German emperor, 145; recognised heir to English throne, 149; married to Geoffrey of Anjou, 150; her title to the English throne, 153; appeals to the Pope, 154; arrives in England, 158; proclaimed 'Lady of England,' 159; arouses the opposition of London, 159; leaves England, 160.
Matthew Paris, 245.
Maud, Empress. See Matilda.
Maximilian, archduke, formally recognises Richard III., 470.
—— emperor, 8-9.
Meatæ, raids of the, 8.
Meaux, siege of, 422.
Melun taken by Henry V., 421.
Meratun, battle of, 57.
Mercenaries, under Stephen, 158; extensive employment of, by John, 209, 211; suppression of, by William Marshal, 218.
Merchant adventurers, the, 473.
Merchant gilds, 238.
Merchants, statute of, 267.
Merchet, 236.
Mercia, kingdom of, 16; under Penda, 26-29; assumes definiteness, 33; dominance of, in the eighth century, 34; greatness of, under Offa, 36-37; subordinate to Wessex, 54; acknowledges supremacy of Edward the Elder, 64; reorganised, 64.
Merciless Parliament, the, 382-384.
Mesne tenants, 128.
Methven, battle of, 297.
Middle English, the, 16.
Middle Saxons, the, 18.
Minot, Lawrence, 364.
Mirebeau, John defeats Arthur of Brittany at, 203-204.
Mise of Amiens, 227; of Lewes, 228.
Mohammedanism. See Crusades.
Moleyns, Adam De, bishop of Chichester, murder of, 439.
Monasticism, Norman reorganisation of, 123, 243-245.
Montague, John Neville, Lord, 452; defeats Lancastrian forces at Hedgeley Moor and Hexham, 454; commands royal forces in the North. 457; goes over to Warwick, 459; killed at Barnet, 460.
Montereau, murder of John of Burgundy at, 421; taken by Henry V., 421.
Montfort. See Simon de Montfort.
—— John of, claimant of Brittany, 331.
Montgomery family, Henry I. makes alliance with, 136; rebellion of, 144.
Montreuil, treaty of, 294.
Moots, the, or formal assemblies, 41, 76.
Morality, deterioration of, in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, 480-481.
Moray. See Randolph.
Morkere, chosen earl of Northumbria, 95; defeated at Fulford, 96, 102; ambition of, 106; rebels against William I., 109; joins Hereward the Wake, 111.
Morlaix, battle of, 332.
Morte Arthur, the, 482.
Mortimer, Edmund (i) and (ii), earls of March. See March.
—— Edmund, Sir, defeated and captured by Owen Glendower, 398; marries Glendower's daughter and declares against Henry IV., 398; death of, 404.
—— Roger, 230, 232; becomes justiciar

of Ireland, 307; imprisonment and escape of, 311; conspires with Isabella against Edward II., 313; maladministration and tyranny of, 315-316; becomes earl of March, 316; executed, 318.
Mortimer's Cross, battle of, 451.
Mortmain, statute of, 266, 386.
Morton, Thomas, bishop of Ely, afterwards cardinal, imprisoned by Richard III., 466; and Buckingham's rebellion, 468.
Mount Badon, battle of, 15.
Mowbray, John, seizes Gower, but is deprived of it by Despenser, 309-310.
—— John (ii). See Norfolk.
—— Robert. See Northumberland.
—— Thomas. See Norfolk.
Murdoch of Albany. See Albany.
Murray, Andrew, Scottish patriot, 288.

NAJERA, battle of (Navarrete), 342.
Names, place, 41.
National consolidation, movement towards, 101, 218, 257.
—— defence, early English, 72.
Navarrete, battle of, 342.
Navigation Acts, 476-477.
Navy, Alfred's, 57; development of, by Edward I., 284.
Nechtansmere, battle of, 29.
Nennius, 13, 14.
Neolithic period, the, 2.
Nevilles, the, political power of, 433; genealogical table of, 502.
Neville's Cross, battle of, 335.
Newcastle, treaty of, 323.
New Forest, appropriated by William I., 124.
Newgate, burnt in Wat Tyler's rebellion, 391.
Nigel, bishop of Ely, treasurer of Henry II., 163, 185.
Norfolk, Roger Bigod, earl of, refuses to serve Edward I. in Gascony, 287; 288; compels him to confirm the charters, 290, 291, 294; surrenders his estates to the crown, 295.
—— Thomas, of Brotherton, earl of, conspires against Edward II., 313.
—— John Howard, duke of, 467, 470-471; slain at Bosworth, 471.
—— John Mowbray, duke of, 433, 450, 451, 452.
—— Thomas Mowbray, duke of (earl of Nottingham), 367; banished by Edward II., 389-390.
Norham conference, the, 277.
Norman Conquest, the, 102 *et seq.*; political changes resulting from, 117 *et seq.*
Norman and Plantagenet kings, genealogical table of, 464.
Normandy, Danish raids on, 50, 54; loss of, by John, 204; conquered by Henry V., 418-420; regained by France, 438.
Normans, expansion of the, 98; William I. fills the Church with, 122; genius of the, 125.
Northallerton, battle of the Standard at, 156.
Northampton, Becket cited before a council at, 170; treaty of, 317, 321, 322; battle of, 448-449.
—— William de Bohun, earl of, wins the battle of Morlaix, 332.
Norsemen, the, first approaches of, 38; descent of the, 49, 53, 64, 67, 177. See Danes.
Northmen. See Danes, and Norsemen.
Northumberland, Robert Mowbray, earl of, revolts against William II., 135, 138.
—— Henry Percy, earl of, 367, 389; rebellion of, pardoned by Henry IV., 399; further rebellion of, 402; killed at Bramham Moor, 404.
—— earl of, 470, 471.
—— earldom of, promised by Stephen to Henry, son of David of Scotland, 154, 155.
Northumbria, kingdom of, founded by Ida, 16; under Aethelfrith, 19; under Oswald, 27-28; divided between Oswy and Oswin, 28; under Oswy, 28-29; decadence of, under Aldfrid, 33-34; under Ceolwulf and Eadbert, 34; acknowledges Ecgbert's supremacy, 49; chaos in, 54; kingship of, seized by Aethelstan, 66; subjugated by Eadred, 67; made an earldom, 67-68.
Norway, king of, overlord of the Isles, 247; Eric cedes them to Scotland, 253.
Nottingham, Danes at, 56; 'Opinions' of, 381, 389.
—— Thomas Mowbray, earl of, 367. See Norfolk.
—— —— earl of, rebellion and execution of, 401-402.

OCCLEVE, WILLIAM, 482.
Ockley. See Aclea.
Oda, archbishop of Canterbury, divorces Eadwig and Aelfgifu, 68.
Odo, bishop of Bayeux, made earl of Kent, 108; imprisoned, 114; rebels against William II., 133-134.
Offa, king of Mercia, 35; recovers the overlordship, 36; his Welsh campaigns, 37; treats with Karl the Great,

37; kills his brother Aethelbert and annexes East Anglia, 37; death of, 37.
Offa's Dyke, 37.
Olaf, or Anlaf, Norse leader, 67.
—— Tryggveson, invades England and extorts ransom, 79; death of, 81.
Oldcastle, Sir John, Lord Cobham, 405; trial for heresy, escape and conspiracy of, 411; captured and burnt, 419.
Open field, the, 43, 129.
Ordainers, the Lords, 301, 302, 307.
Ordeal, trial by, 78, 152, 188.
Ordericus Vitalis, 132, 150.
Orewyn Bridge, battle of, 272.
Orkneys, the, 247.
Orleans, Charles of, 411; taken prisoner at Agincourt, 417; released, 436.
—— Louis of, murdered by John of Burgundy, 404.
—— siege of, 428; raised by Joan of Arc, 429.
Orleton, bishop of Hereford, 314.
Ormesby, William, made Chief Justice of Scotland by Edward I., 285; tyranny of, 288.
Oslac, earl of Northumbria, exiled, 70.
Osric, king of Deira, 26; defeated by Cadwallon and slain, 27.
Ostmen, defeat of, by Brian Boroihme, 177.
Oswald, king of Northumbria, defeats Cadwallon at Heavenfield, 27; promotes Christianity, 27; supremacy of, 28; defeat and death of, at Maserfield, 28.
Oswald II., king of Northumbria, slain by his bodyguard, 35.
Oswin, king of Deira, 28; murder of, 28.
Oswy, king of Bernicia and then of Northumbria, 28; defeats Penda at Winwaed, 29; death of, 29; at Synod of Whitby, 30.
Otho, papal legate, extortionate demands of, 222.
Otterburn, battle of, 384.
Otto IV., emperor, supports John, 202, 210; defeated by Philip II. of France at Bouvines, 212.
Overlordship of Ceawlin, 19; of Aethelbert, 20-21; of Eadwin, 24, 27; claims of the Northumbrian, 29; of Mercia recovered by Offa, 36.
Oxford, Provisions of, 226; university of, 245.
—— Robert de Vere, earl of, favoured by Richard II., 379; created marquis of Dublin and duke of Ireland, 381.

PAGANISM, 21.
Pandulph, papal legate, suspends archbishop Langton, 214; arrogance of, 218.
Papacy, the, 97; corruption of, 99; Hildebrand's conception of, 100; dominates Europe after the eleventh century, 102; William I. and the, 123; relations of William II. with, 139; dispute with Henry I. as to lay investiture, 145-146; Henry II. makes submission to, 172-173; John's quarrel with and submission to, 207-210; intervention of, between John and the barons, 214; oppresses the English clergy, 220; exactions of, precipitate crisis between Henry III. and the barons, 226; triumph of, 243 *et seq.*; fall of Boniface VIII., the Great Schism, and the Council of Constance, 258-259; relations of Edward I. with, 266, 268, 286-288, 291, 294-295; recognises Bruce as king, 312; mission of pacification to Edward III., 328; efforts to secure peace between England and France, 336; Edward III.'s distrust of, 338; moral degeneration of, 481.
Paris, Edward III. advances to, 333.
Parliament, The Mad, 226; Simon de Montfort's, 228-229; development of in 1275, 264; the Model, 283-284; of 1322, 311; introduction of the second chamber, 320; the Good, 347; the Merciless or Wonderful, 382, 384; of Shrewsbury, 389; procedure of, in reign of Henry IV., 400; protests against the expenditure and methods of Henry IV., 400; the Unlearned, 401; asserts its control over supplies, 403.
—— the Scottish (note on), 510-511.
Paschal II., Pope, dispute with Henry I. about lay investiture, 145.
Pasture land, increase of, 474.
Patay, battle of, 429.
Paulinus, conversion of the north by, 25, 27.
Pax Romana, 10, 12.
Payment in kind, 242.
Peada, son of Penda, king of, the Middle Angles, 28; murdered, 29.
Peasantry, development of in the thirteenth century, 349; progress of, checked by the Black Death, 363. See Villeins.
Peasants' Revolt, the, 370 *et seq.*
Peckham, John, archbishop of Canterbury, contends with Edward I., 266.
Pecock, Bishop, 482.
Pecquigny, treaty of, 464.
Pedro the Cruel, king of Castile, aided by the Black Prince, 342; death of, 343.
Pembroke, Richard de Clare, earl of. See Strongbow.

Pembroke, John Hastings, earl of, defeated off La Rochelle, and taken prisoner, 344; anti-clerical leader, 346.
—— Lord Herbert, earl of, defeated and captured at Edgecote, 457.
—— Richard and William Marshal, earls of. See Marshal.
—— Jasper Tudor, earl of, raises Lancastrian forces, 451; at Tewkesbury, 461.
—— Aymer and William de Valence, earls of. See Valence.
Penalties, legal, early English, 76; under Henry I., 152.
Penda, king of Mercia, defeats Eadwin at Heathfield, 26; defeats Oswald at Maserfield, 28; dominion of, 28; killed at battle of Winwaed, 29.
Percies, the, rebellion of, against Henry IV., 398-399. See Hotspur, Northumberland, Worcester.
Peter des Roches, justiciar, 211, 214; entrusted with guardianship of Henry III., 216; influence of, 218; dismissal of, 219; attacks Hubert de Burgh, 220; surrounds the king with Poitevins, 221; dismissal of, 221.
Peter's Pence, 351.
Peterborough, sacked by Danes, 111.
Pevensey, landing of William I. at, 96.
Philip II. of France, 175; and Richard Cœur de lion, 176, 192, 193; intrigues with John, 196; Arthur of Brittany seeks support of, 202; defeats John's allies at Bouvines, 212; death of, 219.
Philip III. of France, policy of, 259.
Philip IV. of France ('the Fair'), policy of, 259; his treacherous dealings with Edward I., 280-281; makes an alliance with Scotland, 283; troubles of, 295.
Philip V. of France, 260.
Philip VI. of France, 260; Edward III. does homage to, for his possessions in Aquitaine, 321, 326-330, 336.
Philip, son of king John of France, captured at Poictiers, 339; made duke of Burgundy, and marries Margaret of Flanders, 343; relations with England, 421, 426, 431, 432.
Philippa of Hainault, queen of Edward III., 317; begs the lives of the burgesses of Calais, 336.
Philipot, John, 368.
Phœnicians, the, trade of, with early Britons, 3.
Picardy, Danish raids on, 50.
Picts, the, 2; raids of, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17.
Piers Plowman, 361, 364.
Plautius, Aulus, subdues the greater part of England, 5.
Poictiers, battle of, 339.
Poitevins, dismissal of, by Henry III., 221; fresh intrusion of, 224; ejection of, demanded by the English barons, 226.
Poitou, John's expedition to, 210; campaign of Henry III. in, 223.
Pole, John de la, named heir-presumptive by Richard III., 469.
—— Michael de la, appointed chancellor, 379; his character, 379; unpopularity of his policy, 379; dismissed and impeached, but released, 381.
—— William de la. See Suffolk.
Poll taxes, 369.
Ponthieu, 328, 336.
Portland, Danish attack on, 50.
Præmunire, statute of, 338, 345, 386.
Pretanes, the, 1.
Primogeniture, 191.
Printing, introduction of, by Caxton, 482.
Privy Council, growth of the powers of, 462.
Property, nature of, among the early English, 42.
Prosperity, growth of, during the Middle Ages, 478-479.
Protection, 475.
Provisions of Oxford, 226; of Westminster, 227, 232.
Provisors, statute of, 338, 386.
Pytheas of Massilia, 1.

Quia Emptores, statute of, 268.
Quo Warranto, writ of, 265.

RADCOT BRIDGE, battle of, 382.
Ragman Roll, the, 285.
Ragnar the Viking, 55.
Ralph, earl of Hereford, defeated by Gryffydd, 93.
Randolph, Thomas, earl of Moray, ravages the north of England, 308; regent of Scotland, 317, 321.
Ransom, payment of, to Danish invaders, 79, 80.
Ranulf Flambard, extortions of, 134-135; imprisoned by Henry I., 143; escapes to Normandy, 144.
Ranulf, earl of Chester, 215.
Reading, battle of, 56.
Rectitudines Singularum Personarum, 76.
Redwald, king of East Anglia, 23; supports Eadwin against Aethelfrith, 24; death of, 24.
Redwulf, king of Northumbria, slain by the Danes, 51.
Reeve. See Sheriff.

Relief, 187.
Rent, substitution of money for service, 376.
Religiosis, De. See Mortmain.
Representation, development of, by Hubert Walter, 198-199.
Revenue, royal and national, 73, 152, 186-188.
Rheims, besieged by Edward III., 341.
Rhuddlan, statute of, 267.
Rhys of Towy, revolt of, 274.
Rich, Edmund, archbishop of Canterbury, protests against Cardinal Otho's extortions, 221; death of, 222.
Richard I., Cœur de Lion, joins the rebellion against his father, 174; goes to war with his brothers Henry and Geoffrey, 175; his quarrel with Philip II. of France, 175; becomes king of England, 190; his constant absence from England, 190; his generosity, 191; and the crusade, 191 *et seq.*; sells offices, etc., 192; quarrels with Philip II. of France, 193; marries Berengaria, 193; quarrels with Henry VI. of Germany and supports Tancred, 193; conquers Cyprus, 193; defeats Saladin at Arsuf, 194; captured by Leopold, duke of Austria, and held captive by Henry VI. of Germany, 195; ransomed, 196; again sells offices, etc., 197; hostilities with Philip II. of France, 197-198; death of, 198; character of, 201.
Richard II., accession of, 367; minority of, 367-379; first parliament of his reign, 368; meets insurgents' leaders at Mile End, 371; confers with them at Smithfield, 372; marries Anne of Bohemia, 377; refuses parliament's demand for the dismissal of his ministers, 381; the government taken out of his hands, 381-382; his incongruous character, 383-384; regains power, 384; strengthens his position, 385; makes peace with France, 386; marries Isabella of France, 387; banishes the dukes of Hereford and Norfolk, 389-390; his despotism, 390; his expedition to Ireland, 391; surrender and deposition of, 392-393; death of, 396.
Richard III., reign of, 467-471; killed at Bosworth, 471. See Gloucester.
Richard, earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., 222, 223; supports the barons, 224; elected king of the Romans, 225; captured at the battle of Lewes, 228.
—— son of William I., killed in the New Forest, 125.
Richard of Ely, 111.
Richmond, Henry, earl of, 461; plans to join Buckingham, 468; at the French Court, 470; crowned on Bosworth field, 471.
Rivers, Richard Woodville, Lord, executed by Warwick, 458.
—— Anthony Woodville, earl, arrested, 466; executed, 467.
Roads, the Roman, 11.
Robert I. (Bruce), king of Scotland. See Bruce.
Robert II. (Stewart), king of Scotland, reign of, 485-486.
Robert III., king of Scotland, troubles of, with his nobles, 397.
Robert, earl of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I., supports Matilda, 149; qualified oath to Stephen, 154; decides for Maud, 155; brings her to England, 158; taken prisoner and exchanged for Stephen, 159.
—— duke of Normandy, son of William I., leads an army against Scotland, 114; rebels against his father, 115; succeeds to Normandy, 133; pawns his duchy, 140; refuses the crown of Jerusalem, 142; his claim to the English throne asserted by William of Breteuil, 143; makes treaty of Alton with Henry I., 144; captivity and death, 145.
—— of Artois, 327.
—— de Commines, murder of, 109.
—— of Bellême, forms alliance with Henry I. against Robert of Normandy, 136; banished by Henry I., 144; supports Louis VI., but is captured by Henry, 148.
—— of Jumièges, made archbishop of Canterbury, 89; outlawed, 90.
—— of Mortain, made earl of Cornwall, 108; receives nearly eight hundred manors from William I., 109, 119; rebels against William II., 133.
Robin of Redesdale, rebellion of, 457.
Rochester, Danish attack on, 50.
Roderick, king of Connaught, attacks Dermot, king of Leinster, 179; refuses submission to Henry II., 181; swears fealty, 182.
Roger, bishop of Salisbury, 150; organises the Exchequer, 152; power of, 157, 244.
—— of Hoveden, 245.
—— of Wendover, 245.
Roman Empire, the, 8, 12.
Romans, the, invade and occupy Britain, 3 *et seq.*
Roosebeke, battle of, 377.

Roses, Wars of the, problems of succession involved in, 434-435; battle of St. Albans (i), 445; (ii), 450-451; of Bloreheath, 447; of Northampton, 448-449; of Towton, 452; of Barnet and Tewkesbury, 460.
Rothesay, duke of, death of, 397.
Rotuli Hundredorum, 265.
Rouen, taken by Phillip II. of France, 204; besieged and taken by Henry V., 419-420.
Roxburgh, the 'Foul Raid' on, 419; attacked by James I. of Scotland, 435; siege of, by James II. of Scotland, 449-450.
Rutland, Edward, earl of, son of Edmund, duke of York, divulges plots against Henry IV., 396, 401; killed at Agincourt, 416.
—— Edmund, earl of, son of, Richard, duke of York, murder of, 450.

ST. ALBANS, battle of (i), 445; (ii), 450-451.
St. Alphege, 81, 84.
St. Brice's Day, massacre of Danes on, 80.
St. Germanus, 14, 15.
St. Hugh of Lincoln, 212.
St. Malo, failure of Lancester's attack on, 369.
St. Patrick, 14, 16.
St. Paul's, riot between John of Gaunt's supporters and Londoners at, 348.
St. Swithin, 50.
Saladin, captures Jerusalem, 176; defeated by Richard I. at Arsuf, 194.
—— tithe, the, 187; refused by Scotland, 250.
Salisbury, the great moot at, 114; oath of allegiance to William I. at, 120; cathedral of, 246; treaty of, 276.
—— John Montague, earl of, 388, 392, 396, 399.
—— son of the preceding, killed at Orleans, 428.
—— Richard Nevill, earl of, appointed chancellor, 444; joins York, 445, 447; beheaded after Wakefield, 450.
—— William Longsword, earl of, captured at Bouvines, 212.
Sandwich, defeat of the Danes at, 51; defeat of French fleet by De Burgh off, 217; sacked by French fleets, 446; seized by Warwick, 448.
Sauchieburn, battle of, 492.
Sawtre, William, martyrdom of, 400.
Saxons, in Roman period, 8; aid of invoked, by Britons against Picts and Scots, 14, 15; invade Britain, 16; settlements of, 18; their origin, 39.
Saye, Lord, 'tried' and executed by Jack Cade, 440.
Schiltrons, 291, 305.
Schism, the Great, 377.
Scotland, overlordship of Northumbria in, 29; incorporation of Picts under Kenneth M'Alpin, 65; controversy as to vassalage of, 65; Aethelstan subdues Constantine, 66-67; Eadmund cedes Cumbria to Malcolm I., 67; acknowledges suzerainty of Eadgar, 69; Northumbria north of the Tweed ceded to, 84; usurpation of Macbeth and restoration of Malcolm III., 91-92; William the Conqueror's expedition to, 112; Robert, son of William the Conqueror, marches into, 114; anglicising of the Lowlands by Margaret, wife of Malcolm Canmore, 136-137; William II. supports Duncan, 137; David I. takes oath of allegiance to Empress Maud as heir of Henry I., 149; Stephen's relations with David I., 154, 155; invasion of England by David I., 156-157; William the Lion obliged to do homage to Henry II., 174; condition of, in the eleventh century, 246; internal affairs of, from 1066-1272, 246 *et seq.*; claim of Henry III. to vassalage of, denied by the Pope, 252; the struggle with Edward I., 263-264, 275, *et seq.*, 282-283, 290-293, 297; independence of, recognised by England, 317; invaded by Richard II. and John of Gaunt, 380; Scots at Baugé, 422; at Verneuil, 425; effect of the struggle for independence, 483; differences between the Highlands and the Lowlands, 483-484; feudalism in, 484-485; reign of David II., 485; of Robert II., 485-486; of Robert III., 486; the regency of Robert, duke of Albany, 486-487; the battle of Harlaw, 486-487; the regency of Murdoch of Albany, 488; the reign of James I., 489; the reign of James II. and the political struggle between the Douglases, Livingstons and Crichton, 489-490; the reign of James III., and the plots of Alexander of Albany, 490-492; genealogical tables of the kings of, 498-499.
Scots, the, 9; incursions of, into England, 14, 17.
Scottish Parliament, the (note on), 510-511.
Scotus, Duns, 245.
Scrope, Richard, archbishop of York,

conspires against Henry IV., 401; executed, 402.
Scrope, Henry of Masham, Lord, execution of, 413.
—— William. See Wiltshire, earl of.
Scutage, introduction of, by Henry II., 165; heavy imposition of, by John, 207, 242.
Secondarius, title of Alfred the Great, 54.
Senlac, battle of, 103 *et seq.*
Sens, taken by Henry V., 421.
Serfdom, origin of, 42 *et seq.*; under William I., 117 *et seq.*, 126 *et seq.*, 235-237; decline of, 358.
Severus, emperor, his campaign in Scotland, 8; wall of, 9.
Sheppey, Danes winter in, 52.
Sheriffs, function of the, 120, 151, 153; inquest of the, 186.
Shire, the, 41, 54.
Shire Courts, the, 199.
Shire-moot, 41.
Shrewsbury, treaty of, 270; Parliament of, 389; battle of, 399.
—— See Talbot.
Sibbey, Alderman Walter, and the Peasants' Revolt, 370.
Sicily, Edmund, son of Henry III., nominated king of, 225.
Sigebryht, king of Wessex, 35.
Sigismund, emperor, visits England, 417.
Sihtric, king of Northumbria, 66.
Simon de Montfort, 222-223; sent to govern Gascony, 224; becomes leader of the opposition to Henry III., 225; defeats the king's forces at Lewes, 228; his parliament, 229; his pact with Edward, 229; defeated by Edward at Evesham, 230-231; his aims and character, 231, 243.
—— —— the younger, defeated at Kenilworth, 230-231.
Siward, earl of Northumbria, 87, 91.
Sluys, battle of, 329.
Social conditions: eighth century, 36; under the Normans, 129 *et seq.*; to 1272, 235 *et seq.*; under the Edwards, 362 *et seq.*
Sodor and Man, 247.
Somerled, Lord of the Isles, 250.
Somerset, John Beaufort, duke of, 388; commands an expedition intended for Guienne, 436; death of, 436.
—— Edmund Beaufort, duke of, 436-437; governor of Normandy, 438; favoured by Henry VI., 440; his banishment demanded by the Commons, 441; committed to the Tower, 444; killed at St. Albans, 445.
Somerset, Edmund Beaufort, fourth duke of, defeated at Tewkesbury, 460; dragged from sanctuary and executed, 461.
Spain, condition of, in the thirteenth century, 257.
Stafford, Henry. See Buckingham.
Stamford Bridge, battle of, 96.
Standard, battle of the, 156.
Stanley, Lord, 470; at Bosworth, 471.
Staple, ordinance of the, 337, 472-473; merchants of the, 356-357.
Statutes:—
of Acton Burnell, 267, 355.
Circumspecte Agatis, 268.
De Donis Conditionalibus, 267.
De Heretico Comburendo, 399.
of Gloucester, 265.
of Labourers, 337, 359-361, 439.
of Merchants, 267, 355.
Mortmain, 266, 386.
Navigation Acts, 476-477.
Praemunire, 338, 341, 386.
Provisors, 338, 386.
Quia Emptores, 268.
of Rhuddlan, 267.
of the Staple, 337.
of Treasons, 337.
of Wales, 267, 274.
of Westminster (i), 264, 352; (ii), 267; (iii), 268.
of Winchester, 268.
Stephen of Blois, takes oath to recognise Matilda, 149; captures the crown of England, 154; appeals to the Pope, 154; relations with the Church, 154-155; employs mercenaries, 155; baron's contempt for, 155; conflict with David of Scotland, 155-157; estranges the clergy, 157-158; taken prisoner and exchanged for Robert of Gloucester, 159; tries to have his son Eustace crowned, 160; recognises Henry, son of Maud, as his heir, 161; death of, 161.
Stewarts, the, kings of Scotland, 485 *et seq.*
Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, 91, 96; deposition of, 122.
Stirling Castle surrenders to Edward I., 293; before Bannockburn, 303.
Stratford, John, chancellor, 320; Edward III. quarrels with, 331.
Strathclyde, 20, 54; supremacy of Edward the Elder acknowledged in, 64, population of, 246.
Strongbow, success of, in Ireland, 172; Dermot's first overtures to, fail, 180; responds to Dermot's renewed appeal, 180; receives earldom of Leinster, 181.

Sub-infeudation, suppression of, 268.
Succession, illegitimacy and the, 85, 149; female, 149-150; French law of, 260; Act of (1407), 403.
Suetonius Paulinus, conquest of Anglesey by, 6; defeats Boadicea, 6.
Sudbury, Archbishop, murder of, 371.
Suffolk, William de la Pole, earl of, takes command of the siege of Orleans, 428; defeated by Joan of Arc, 429; arranges a truce with France, 437; impeachment and murder of, 439.
Supplies, Commons assert their control over, 403.
Surrey, John and William de Warenne, earls of. See Warenne.
Sussex, invaded by the Saxons, 16, 18, 29.
Sutherland, 247.
Sweyn Forkbeard, raids on England, 79, 80; acknowledged king, 81.
—— son of Godwin, 88; outlawed, 89; murders Beorn, but is pardoned, 89.
—— Estrithson, king of Denmark, claim of, to throne of England, 94, 95; sends a force against William I., 110.
Swynford, Katharine, married by John of Gaunt, 386.
Synods, initiated by Lanfranc, 122. See Whitby, Synod of.

TACITUS, 6; his description of German polity, 40.
Talbot, Sir John, defeated by Joan of Arc at Patay, 429; defeated and killed at Castillon, 441-442.
Tallages, 187.
Tallagio non Concedendo, De, 290.
Tariffs, 475.
Taxation, 73, 74, 126; in Scotland, 250; of imports and exports, 475.
Tenchebrai, battle of, 145.
Tewkesbury, battle of, 460.
Thanet, Danes winter in, 51; Danes defeated in, 52.
Thegns, loyalty of, 35, 41, 71; definition of, 72; status and obligations of, 128.
Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, 157, 158, 160; negotiates treaty of Wallingford, 161; chief adviser of Henry II., 163; death of, 166.
—— of Blois, 148; election of to the throne of England, 153-154; supports Stephen, 154.
Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury, reorganises English episcopate, 31-33, 38, 46.
Thomas of Woodstock, son of Edward III., 345; made earl of Buckingham, 367; becomes duke of Gloucester, 368; ambitions of, 380; opposes Richard II., 381; oppressive rule of, 384; murder of, 388.
Thor, the Teutonic deity, 21.
Thorkill the Tall, invades England, 81; serves Aethelred the Unready, 81; made earl of East Anglia, 83.
Thurston, archbishop of York, 156.
Tillage, decline of, 474, 476.
Tiptoft, John, earl of Worcester, introduces impalement, 481.
Tithes, 73.
Tonnage and poundage granted to Richard III., 469.
Tostig, son of Godwin, 88; made earl of Northumbria, 92; outlawed, 95; killed at Stamford Bridge, 96.
Towns, early English, 41; the township not always identical with the vill, 126; charters bestowed on by John, 206; development of, under Plantagenets, 237; prosperity of, under the Edwards, 349. See Boroughs.
Towton, battle of, 452.
Trade, 130, 132; growth of, from 1066-1272, 237 *et seq.*; detailed regulation of, 240; encouragement of, by the Crown, 349; development of, foreign, 351; nationalised regulation of, 352; encouragement of by Edward IV., 464; expansion in foreign markets, 472 *et seq.*
Treasons, statute of, 337.
Tribalism in Ireland, 178.
Tressilian, Chief Justice, 379; execution of, 382.
Tribute, 69.
Trial, methods of, under the early English, 77-78; under Henry I., 152 under Henry II., 188-190.
Trinoda necessitas, 73.
Troyes, treaty of, 421.
Tudor, Sir Owen, defeated and killed at Mortimer's Cross, 451.
—— Jasper. See Pembroke.
Tyrrel, Walter, 141.

UBBA, invades East Anglia, 55; Guthram leagues with, 58; killed, 59.
Uhtred, repels attack of Malcolm II. on Northumbria, 80.
Unemployment, increase of, in the fifteenth century, 480.
Unlearned Parliament, the, 401.
Urban II., Pope, 101; overtures of William II. to, 139.
Urban VI., Pope, repudiated by the French, 377.
Ulfketyl, ealdorman of East Anglia, 80.
Usury, 241.

VALENCE, Aymer de, earl of Pembroke, 298; takes control of the administration, 308; death of, 312.
Valence, William, earl of Pembroke, 230, 273, 299.
Valois, French dynasty of, 260; genealogical tables of, 500, 501.
Vassalage, 118-119.
Vagrancy, 480.
Vere, Robert de. See Oxford, earl of.
Verneuil, battle of, 425.
Vikings, the, 53.
Villages, early English, 41.
Vills, origin and nature of the, 126.
Villeins, the, 126, 129, 235-237, 357-358; gradual disappearance of, 376-377, 474-475.
Vinogradoff, Professor, on *folcland* and *bocland*, 74.
Virgate of land, allotment of, 43.
Vortigern, 15.
Vortimer, son of Vortigern, 15.

WAGES, payment of, supersedes forced labour, 358.
Wakefield, battle of, 450.
Wales, tribute imposed on, 69; Harold's wars in, 93; hostilities with William the Conqueror, 108, 114; condition of, in the thirteenth century, 253-255; conquest of, by Edward I., 266-267, 269-274; statute of, 267, 274; the lords of the marches, 269, 273; insurrections of, under Edward I., 282, and Edward II., 308; rebellion of Owen Glendower, 397, 398, 401, 402.
Wallace, William, 285, 288; wins the battle of Cambuskenneth and is proclaimed *Custos Regni*, 289; defeated at Falkirk, 291-292; betrayal and execution of, 293.
Wallingford, treaty of, 161.
Walls, the Roman, 7, 8.
Walter of Coutances, his commission from Richard I., 195; becomes justiciar, 196.
—— Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury and justiciar, 197; his efficient administration, 198 *et seq.*; dismissed from the justiciarship, 201; appointed chancellor, 206; death of, 207.
—— of Henley, his treatise on husbandry, 242.
—— Map, 245.
Waltheof, earl of Huntingdon, 108; joins Eadgar the Aetheling, 110; divulges the conspiracy of Roger Fitzosbern and Ralph Guader, 113; executed, 114.
Walworth, William, 368, 372.
Wardship, 187.
Wareham, battle of, 58.
Warenne, John de, earl of Surrey (i), against Montfort, 230; governor of Scotland, 285; defeated at Cambuskenneth, 289; 299; (ii), supports Edward II., 301, 302.
—— William de, earl of Surrey, 134.
Wars of the Roses. See Roses.
Warwick, Guy de Beauchamp, earl of, 302, 307.
—— Thomas de Beauchamp, earl of, 382; arrest of, 388.
—— Richard Neville, earl of, 'the kingmaker,' 433-434, 445, 446; seizes Sandwich, 448; defeats Henry VI.'s forces at Northampton, 448-449; repulsed at the second battle of St. Albans, 450-451; his breach with Edward IV., 455; takes him prisoner, 457; executes Lord Rivers, 458; flees to the Court of France and goes over to the Lancastrian side, 458; releases Henry VI., 459; defeated and killed at Barnet, 460.
Wars, effects of, on the history of the Middle Ages, 479-480.
Wat the Tiler of Dartford, 370.
—— Tyler, insurrection of, 370-372.
Wedmore, peace of, 59.
Welsh, the, defeated by Aethelfrith near Chester, 20; league with Penda against Eadwin, 26; distribution of, 34; Offa's campaign against, 37. See Wales.
Wenceslaus, king of Bohemia, 377.
Weregeld, 77.
Wessex, 16, 17, 18, 19, 29; assumes definiteness, 33; under Ine, 35; decline of, after Ine, 35; supremacy of, under Ecgbert, 47; extent and constitution of, 54; genealogical table of the House of, 493.
West Saxons, the, dominion of, under Cynric, 16; note on, 503-505.
Westminster, provisions of, 227-232.
—— statute of (i), 264; (ii), 267.
Westmorland, Ralph Neville, earl of (i), 399, 401; (ii), 468.
Whitby, synod of, 30.
White ship, wreck of the, 149.
Wiclif, John, 320, 346; protected by John of Gaunt, 348; teaching of, 361-362; his translation of the Bible, 365; his doctrines, 377-378.
Wilfred, bishop of York, opposes the Celtic Church, 31; his see divided by Theodore, 32; appeals to the Pope, 32; makes Sussex the sphere of his labours, 32; restored to Northumbria, 32, 38, 46.

William the Conqueror, visits Edward the Confessor, 90; his claim to the English crown and Harold's promise to, 94; lands at Pevensey, 96; defeats Harold at Senlac, 103-105; marches on London, 106; crowned, 107; enacts forfeitures and fines, 107; insurrections against, 108 *et seq.*; devastates the north of England, 110; pardons Gospatric and Waltheof, 111; is defied by Hereward the Wake, 111-112; receives homage from Malcolm of Scotland, 112; finally quells insurrections among the English, 112; rebellion of Roger, earl of Hereford, and Ralph Guader, 113; hostilities with Scotland and Wales, 114; troubles with France and his son Robert, 115; death of, 115; his character, 115-116; his relations with the Church, 121 *et seq.*

William II., crowned without election, 133; rebellions against, 133-134; breaks his promise of good government, 134; oppressions of, 134-135; seizes revenues of the Church, 135; hostilities with his brothers, 136; marches against Malcolm Canmore and receives his submission, 136; supports Duncan against Donalbane, 137; falls ill and makes Anselm archbishop, 137; invades Normandy, 138; Robert Mowbray rebels against, 138; his quarrel with Anselm, 139; extortions of, 140; attempts subjugation of Wales, 140; his demands of Anselm, 140-141; campaigns in France, 141; death of, 141.

William the Lion, king of Scotland, captured and obliged to do homage to Henry II., 174; purchases his independence from Richard I., 192; policy of, 250.

—— son of Henry I., drowning of, 149.

—— Clito, 145, 148, 150.

—— count of Hainault, Isabella's alliance with, 314.

—— of Jumièges, 132.

—— of Malmesbury, 150, 159.

—— of Wykeham, leader of the clerical party, 346, 347; becomes a minister of Richard II., 385.

Wilton, battle of, 57.

Wiltshire, William Scrope, earl of, 391.

Winchelsea, archbishop, refuses contributions to Edward I., 286; loses power, 295; banishment and recall of, 299-300.

Winchester, statute of, 268.

Winwaed, battle of, 29.

Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, 293.

Witan, the, 41; composition and powers of, 71, 120.

Woden, 21; English kings claim descent from, 41.

Wolves' heads, tribute of, imposed on a Welsh king, 69.

Wonderful Parliament, the, 382, 384.

Woodstock. See Thomas of.

Woodville, Elizabeth, marries Edward IV., 454; aggrandisement of her kinsfolk, 455; 465, 467.

Wool, life subsidy on, granted to Richard II. by Parliament, 389; increase of wool-growing, 476. See Staple.

Worcester, Thomas Percy, earl of, 389.

—— John Tiptoft, earl of, 481.

Wulfhere, king of Mercia, 29.

Wulfnoth, 81.

Wykeham, William of. See William.

YARD OF LAND, allotment of, 43.

Yonge, Thomas, petitions for recognition of Richard of York as heir to the throne, 441.

York, seized by the Danes, 55; attacked by Eadgar the Aetheling, 109; massacre of Jews at, 242.

—— archbishopric of, foundation of, 34.

—— Edmund, duke of, marries Isabella of Castile, 345; deserts Richard II., 392.

—— Edward, duke of. See Rutland.

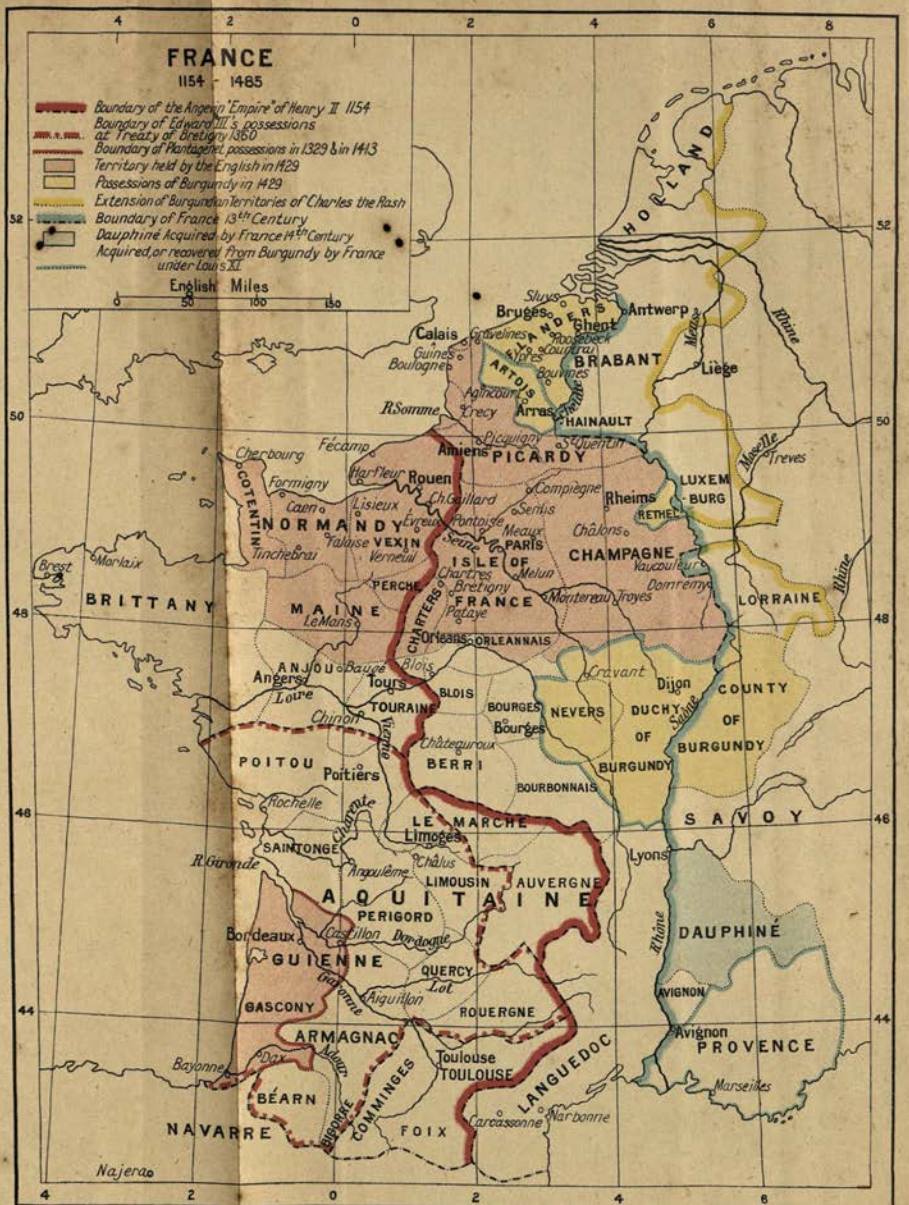
—— Richard, duke of (father of Edward IV.), 426-427; his alliance with the Nevilles, 433; his relation to the line of succession, 434; succeeds Bedford in France, 435; made lord-lieutenant of Ireland, 437; returns to London, 440; opposes Somerset, but is formally reconciled with him, 441; appointed Protector, 444; captures Henry VI., 445; resumes the government, 446; claims the crown, 449; killed at Wakefield, 450.

—— Richard, duke of (son of Edward IV.), 467.

THE
BOMBAY
BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

John Bartholomew & Co. Edin.r

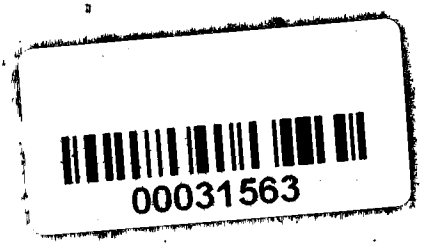
John Bartholomew & Co. Edin.



John Bartholomew & Co. Edin.r

Innes's Eng. Hist. Vol. I.

John Bartholomew & Co. Edin.


00031563

Digitized with financial assistance from

HT Parekh FOUNDATION

An Initiative by HDFC

WITH YOU, RIGHT THROUGH

on 28 December, 2018